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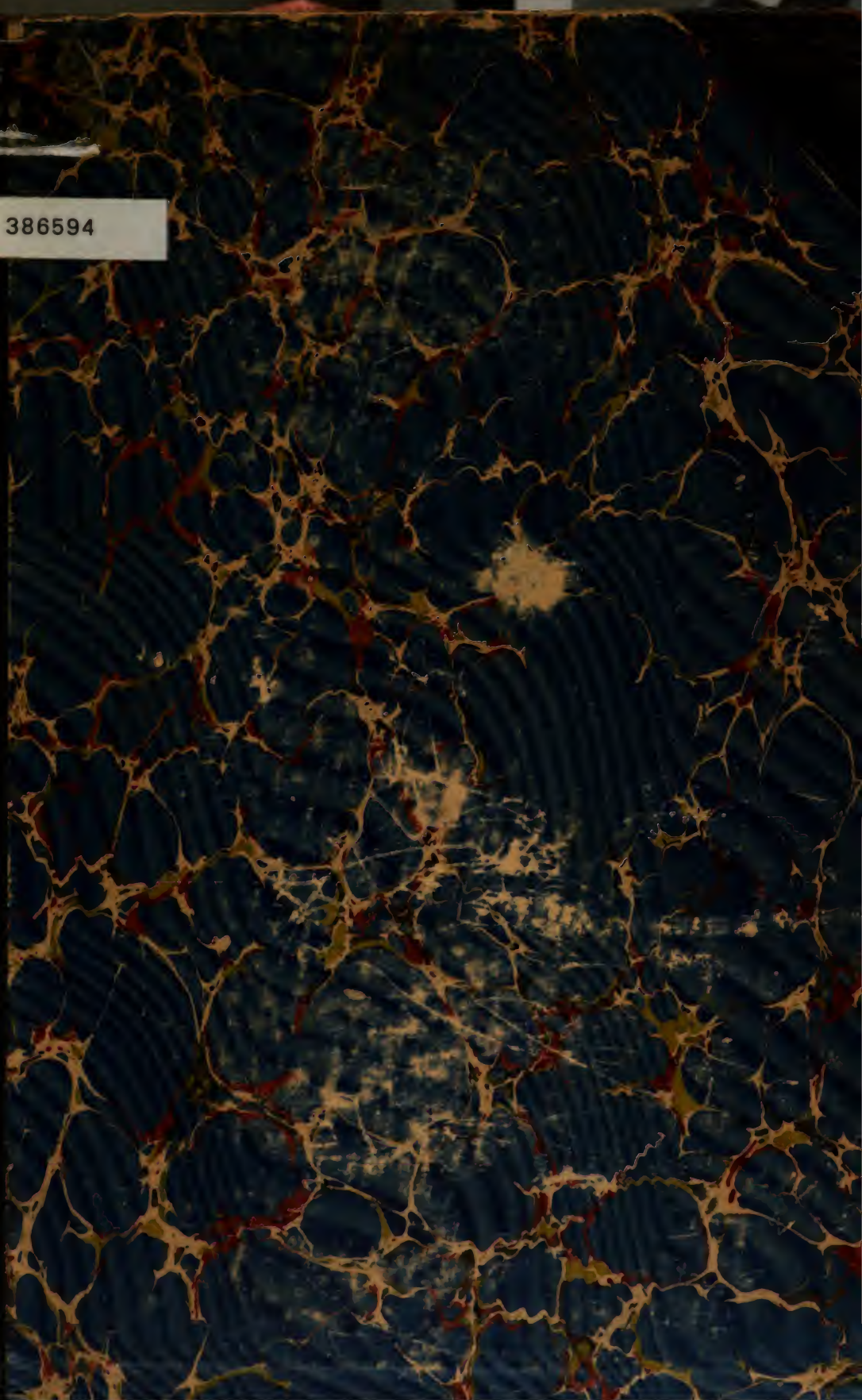
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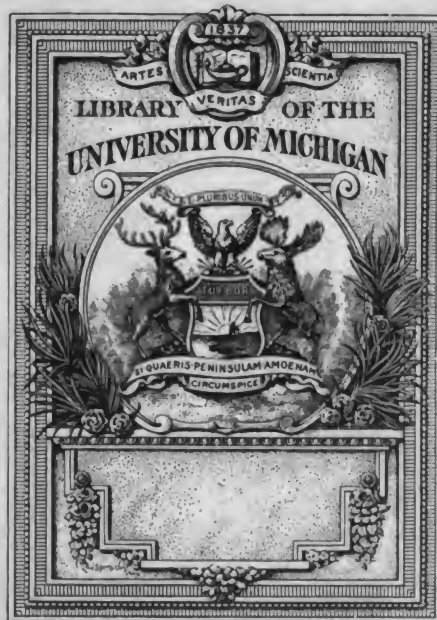
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# THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF THEOLOGY

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## THE NEW TESTAMENT DOCTRINE OF THE CHURCH.

By CHARLES A. BRIGGS,  
New York.

THERE are existing in the church at the present time, as there have been for centuries, a number of varying speculative theories about the church. These theories are represented in a number of parties or schools. They all claim to adhere to the biblical doctrine of the church, and they are doubtless sincere in the claim. In fact, all of these parties and schools have unfolded the biblical doctrine by logical deduction and practical application, and have used other sources than the Bible for this purpose. This is quite legitimate. The "Chicago-Lambeth articles" state that the historical episcopate should "be locally adapted in the methods of its administration to the varying needs of the nations and peoples called of God into the unity of the church;" but that is true also as to every other part of the doctrine of the church. It should be in all respects locally and temporally adapted. Parties and schools are the instruments in the hands of the divine Spirit for making experiments in adaptation, in testing and verifying theories, as the church advances in her mission in this world.

I shall not attempt to give the church doctrine of the church. The church doctrine of the church is defined in the creeds, liturgies, and confessional books of the several organized communions in Christendom. This doctrine is based on Holy Scripture; but



it is also based on traditions transmitted in historic succession from the teachings and institutions in the great apostolic sees of Rome, Alexandria, Ephesus, Antioch, and Jerusalem. This doctrine is also a resultant of the logical unfolding of biblical and traditional doctrine in its adaptation to different nations and epochs. All this church doctrine may be implicitly involved in the doctrine of Holy Scripture, may be a legitimate, logical deduction and practical application of biblical material. But it is not biblical doctrine. The biblical doctrine is strictly limited to the express statements of Holy Scripture. To this express teaching I shall limit myself.

The biblical doctrine of the church cannot be ascertained by a merely superficial citation of proof-texts from King James' Version, or even from the Greek Textus Receptus and the Masoretic text of the Old Testament; all of which contain later accretions and dislocations of biblical material. I shall endeavor to give the biblical doctrine as based on a rigorous and thorough criticism of the biblical material.

The New Testament doctrine of the church, like most New Testament doctrines, is built on Old Testament doctrine. Those who attempt to understand New Testament doctrine by itself alone may be compared to those who look at a beautiful castle whose foundations, supporting hillsides, and adjoining valleys are all shrouded in mist and cloud. We shall begin the study of the New Testament doctrine of the church by presenting the Old Testament foundations. The New Testament doctrine of the church was constructed by using the technical, historical terms, prepared by divine providence in the Old Testament dispensation.

I. The most important term is *ἐκκλησία*, rendered by "church" in the English New Testament. The late Dr. Hort thinks that the words "church" and "congregation," both legitimate renderings of *ἐκκλησία*, have been so involved in later partisan conceptions that it is impracticable to attain the pure biblical idea of *ἐκκλησία* without discarding them and transliterating by *ecclesia* itself. I agree with him as to the facts of the case. But this situation is a common one in biblical theology. The method

which I have endeavored to pursue, in all my use of technical biblical terms in biblical theology, is a different one, namely, to purge the biblical words of their later partisan bias and theoretic accretions, and set them in their genuine biblical light and color. Our battleships are not discarded when their bottoms have been fouled by tropical marine deposits. We put them in the dry-docks and clean them, and they become as powerful and useful as ever.

1. For the study of *ἐκκλησία* we get little light from classic Greek. Thayer-Grimm says: "Among the Greeks, from Thucydides down, it means an assembly of the people convened at the public place of council for the purpose of deliberating." It is used in this sense, in the New Testament, only in Acts 19:32, 39, 41. In the Greek versions, the Septuagint, Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, it translates usually the Hebrew *קָהָל*. This Hebrew *קָהָל* is, however, more comprehensive than *ἐκκλησία*. It has the same fundamental meaning of "assembly," but this may be of an army, a crowd, a band of robbers, as well as a political and religious assembly. It also means the act of assembling and the body itself as assembled. In the Pentateuch, the earliest part of the Old Testament translated into Greek, *קָהָל* is rendered by the Greek *συναγωγή* in Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers. These are the chief passages in the Law where the Hebrew religious community, organized and meeting for worship, is described. Deuteronomy has a different usage; *ἐκκλησία* is used for *קָהָל* in all passages (Deut. 4:10; 9:10; 18:16; 23:1, 2; 31:30) but one (5:19 (22)), where *συναγωγή* is used. This shows for Deuteronomy the hand of another and later translator than for the other books of the Pentateuch. The phrase, *ἐκκλησία Κυρίου* (*i. e.*, Yahweh), begins in Deut. 23:1 (2), 2 (3), 3 (4), 8 (9).

In the Prophets, the second layer of the canon, *קָהָל* is rendered by *συναγωγή* in Jeremiah and Ezekiel often; in Isaiah the word is not used. But in the translation of the Minor Prophets *ἐκκλησία* is used in the two passages, Micah 2:5; Joel 2:16—the only ones in the collection using *קָהָל*. In the prophetic histories in all passages the same translation by

*ἐκκλησία* is made. It is interesting to note, however, that G<sup>A</sup> gives *ἐκκλησία* in one passage, Ezek. 32:3; Aquila in five passages, Ezek. 23:47; 26:7; 32:3, 22, 23; and Theodotion in six passages, Ezek. 23:47; 26:7; 27:27; 32:3, 22, 23, showing an increasing tendency in later times to the use of *ἐκκλησία*. This is confirmed by the translator of the chronicler who in thirty-eight passages uses *ἐκκλησία* for *כְּנִס*. So also in the Psalter *ἐκκλησία* is used eight times; in Proverbs once; in Job once; *συναγωγή* is used only in Ps. 40:11 (10), and Prov. 21:16, for special reasons.

It is evident, therefore, that in the earlier translations of the Old Testament into Greek *כְּנִס* was rendered by *συναγωγή*, in the later translated by *ἐκκλησία*. We are thus at the very foundations of our study brought face to face with the fact that *συναγωγή* was an older Greek term than *ἐκκλησία* for Israel as an organized religious body, and so we should not be surprised that it has continued among the Jews to the present time. The collective Israel is now, as ever since the Pentateuch was translated into Greek, known as "the synagogue." The collective Christianity has been known as "the church," the earlier Christians preferring this term to "synagogue." The two terms are, indeed, synonymous terms, with little practical difference in meaning.

More common in the Pentateuch than *כְּנִס* is *קָהָל*, "congregation, company assembled by appointment," used 115 times in the priest's code, and translated by *συναγωγή*. There are two passages in which *קָהָל* and *כְּנִס* are used together (Exod. 12:6; Numb. 14:5), translated in Greek by one word, *συναγωγή*. Probably these are conflation.

We thus have in the Old Testament the use of *קָהָל* and *כְּנִס*, terms to indicate the entire religious community of Israel. These were rendered by "synagogue" and "church." *Συναγωγή* came first to have a local sense of a single community, and thus probably *ἐκκλησία* became more common among the Greek Jews for Israel as a whole, although the Palestinian Jews adhered to the older word. It was natural, therefore, for Christians to use *ἐκκλησία* by preference, which itself was also used for the

local assembly as well as the whole body. This double sense of both words was established in the Old Testament.

2. The New Testament doctrine of the *ἐκκλησία* must be built on the teaching of Paul. There are only three cases in the gospels in which the word *ἐκκλησία* is put in the mouth of Jesus, viz., Matt. 16:17-19; 18:15-20. It is improbable that in either case Jesus used the Aramaic *ܡܠܟܘܬܐ*. It seems altogether probable that he used in the former case "kingdom" or "house," for either of these words is more in accordance with the context, and the imagery of the passage and later references to it. In the latter case "the disciples" or "brotherhood" was probably used for a similar reason. Jesus, as we shall see later on, used "kingdom" where Paul used *ἐκκλησία*.<sup>1</sup>

3. The use of *ἐκκλησία* apart from Paul and his disciples is confined to James 5:14; Rev. 1:4—3:22, nineteen times; Rev. 22:16; 3 John 6, 9, 10; always of the local *ἐκκλησία*, where *συναγωγή* would have been equally appropriate.

4. *Εκκλησία* is used in the book of Acts twenty-two times. In three of these the reference is to the Greek assembly (viz., 19:32, 39, 41), as we have seen; six to the church in Jerusalem (8:1, 3; 11:22; 12:1, 5; 15:4); four to the church at Antioch (11:26; 13:1; 14:27; 15:3); one each to the church at Ephesus (20:17) and at Cæsarea (18:22); thrice to a number of churches in different cities (14:23; 15:41; 16:5).

Several passages need special attention. The phrase "the whole church," Acts 5:11; 15:22, seems to comprehend the whole Christian body. So also "the church throughout all Judea and Galilee and Samaria," Acts 9:31; for Christianity had not extended farther at that time. Stephen, Acts 7:38, refers to the "church in the wilderness," plainly indicating the continuity of the church of his day with the church of that day. But the most important passage is Acts 20:28, where Paul warns the elders of the church at Ephesus:

"Take heed unto yourselves, and to all the flock, in the which the Holy Spirit hath made you overseers, to feed the church of the Lord, which he acquired with his own blood."

<sup>1</sup> See BRIGGS, *Messiah of the Gospels*, pp. 190 f.

"There is a great difference of opinion as to the reading here. The external authority of MSS., versions, and citations is not decisive. Tischendorf, DeWette, Meyer, and the mass of German critics read 'church of the Lord;' Scrivener, Westcott and Hort, and the leading British scholars read 'church of God.' If any unprejudiced man will compare the great mass of authorities cited on both sides, he will be convinced that there is ample room for difference of opinion. The context favors 'church of the Lord.' This reading is also favored by the fact that it is a unique reading and, therefore, difficult. Nowhere else in the New Testament do we find the phrase 'church of the Lord.' The scribe in doubt would follow the usual phrase.

"The church of the Lord' is only found here in the New Testament, but it is the same in idea as the church of which Christ is the head, according to the epistle to the Ephesians. 'The church of God' is a favorite expression of Paul in his epistles. Indeed, the word 'church' is a Pauline word. In his theology it takes the place of the kingdom of grace of the gospels and of the Jewish Christian writers.

"The church of the Lord' has been acquired as a possession by him. The means by which this precious acquisition has been made is his blood. This blood, according to the reading which has been adopted, is the blood of the Messiah. We are reminded of redemption by the blood of Christ, the lamb without blemish and without spot, of the first epistle of Peter. Here, as there, the blood is doubtless the blood of the sacrifice of the new covenant as represented in the cup of the Lord's Supper. Parallel with the church is the flock. This parallelism is favored by the words of Jesus which connect flock and kingdom, and it is in accordance with the teachings of Jesus when he appointed his apostles to act as shepherds of the flock. The church of the Lord is the flock of the Messiah which is to be fed by shepherds appointed by him. These shepherds were constituted by the Holy Spirit, so that they are shepherds of the flock of Christ, by the authority of Christ. The elders of the local church at Ephesus are addressed, according to the context. The apostle rises from the conception of the local church and flock to the universal church and flock, and recognizes that the elders of the local church are shepherds of the universal church of the Lord. They are overseers, who have the flock in charge. The elders are bishops in the church." (*The Messiah of the Apostles*, 1895, pp. 80-83.)

Dr. Hort calls attention to the fact that Paul here has in



mind Ps. 74 : 2, where it is rendered in the Septuagint by συναγωγή, and that Paul does not hesitate to substitute ἐκκλησία for it.

"Of course, in strictness the words belong only to the one universal Christian ecclesia; but here they are transferred to the individual ecclesia of Ephesus, which alone these elders were charged to shepherd. In the epistles we shall find similar investment of parts of the universal ecclesia with the high attributes of the whole. This transference is no mere figure of speech. Each partial society is set forth as having a unity of its own, and, being itself a body made up of many members, has therefore a corporate life of its own; and yet these attributes could not be ascribed to it as an absolutely independent and, as it were, insular society; they belong to it only as a representative member of the great whole." (*The Christian Ecclesia*, 1898, pp. 102-3.)

This passage just considered, in which Luke puts the word ἐκκλησία Κυρίου in the mouth of Paul, may introduce us to Paul's doctrine of the ἐκκλησία. We may study it in its three stages of growth in the Pauline epistles: (1) in the earlier group of epistles, viz., Gal., 1 and 2 Thess., 1 and 2 Cor., Rom.; (2) in the epistles written during the Roman captivity, viz., Eph., Phil., Col., Philem.; and (3) in the pastoral epistles, viz., 1 and 2 Tim., Titus.

(1) The term "church" is used three times in Gal., four times in Thess., thirty-one times in Cor., and five times in Rom.

In the epistle to the Galatians Paul speaks of the local assembly or synagogue (1:2, 22); but also of these local churches as in Christ (1:22), and of the organized body of Christians as the church of God which he had persecuted (1:13).

Paul does not in the epistles to the Thessalonians rise above the local assembly or synagogue (1 Thess. 1:1; 2:14; 2 Thess. 1:1), but he teaches that these local assemblies are organized *in* God the Father (1 Thess. 2:14; 2 Thess. 1:4), and that they are churches belonging to God, in union and communion with God (1 Thess. 2:14; 2 Thess. 1:4). This is based on the Old Testament usage of the church of Yahweh (ἐκκλησία Κυρίου).

In the epistles to the Corinthians Paul commonly refers to the local church, especially to the local church at Corinth, to

which he writes as an organized assembly of Christians.<sup>2</sup> But Paul also conceives of the whole body of Christians as "the church of God." It was this church that he persecuted (1 Cor. 15:9), and this church that we are to consider in not giving occasion of stumbling (10:32). In the first epistle to the Corinthians Paul conceives of the church as endowed by God with a ministry. God himself hath "set in the church the apostles, prophets, teachers, powers, gifts of healing, helps, governments, kinds of tongues" (12:28). It is evident that he is not thinking of an order of the ministry in a later sense, but of special graces given by God to certain men whom he has given to the church for its edification. He thinks of this church thus endowed as the body of Christ.

The body is here conceived under the image of a human body with a human head. Christ is the head, all Christians are members of his body, having a diversity of gifts. There are feet, ear, eye, nose, feeble and uncomely parts, comely parts. There should be no schism in the body. "In one Spirit we were all baptized into the one body." It is, therefore, not an invisible organism; it is a visible organization. There must be harmony and coöperation of all members—no schism on the one side, and no dishonoring of weak and uncomely parts on the other.

In the epistle to the Romans Paul speaks of the church in Cenchreæ (16:1); a local church (16:5); churches (16:4, 16); churches of Christ (16:16); the whole church of which Gaius was a minister (16:23). The only additional phrase is "church of Christ" in place of "church of God" of the other epistles.

(2) The doctrine of the church in the epistles of the imprisonment shows a decided advance. There is little reference to local churches. Paul speaks of churches in general (Phil. 4:15); church in Laodicea (Col. 4:15, 16); a local church

<sup>2</sup> First Cor. 1:2; 6:4; 14:4, 5, 12, 23; 2 Cor. 1:1; and also as assembled in a local sense, 1 Cor. 11:18, 22; 14:19, 28, 35; 16:1. He also speaks of the churches of Galatia, 1 Cor. 16:1; of Asia, 1 Cor. 16:19; of Macedonia, 2 Cor. 8:1; of local churches without name, 1 Cor. 4:17; 7:17; 11:16; 14:33, 34; 2 Cor. 8:18, 19, 23, 24; 11:8, 28; 12:13. These churches are, on the one side, churches of God (1 Cor. 1:2, 11:16; 2 Cor. 1:1) and, on the other, churches of saints (1 Cor. 14:33 ("consecrated, holy ones")).

(Philem. 2). The doctrine of the whole church is in the apostle's mind. He recalls that he persecuted the church (Phil. 3:6); God gave Christ to be head over all to the church (Eph. 1:22); Christ is especially head of the church (5:23); the church is subject to Christ (5:24); Christ loves the church and gave himself up for it (5:25); Christ nourisheth it (5:29); God is to receive glory in the church (3:21); the mystery of Christ and the church is great (5:32); the church makes known the manifold wisdom of God to the angels (3:10); Christ is to present it to himself a glorious church (5:27); he is head of the body, the church (Col. 1:18); his body is the church (1:24).

In these epistles Christ is conceived as enthroned in heaven as the head of the church and as the head over all things to the church. The church is subject to him as wife to husband. He loves it, gave himself for it, and nourisheth it, and will eventually present it to himself a glorious church. The church on earth is to glorify God, and the church in heaven will make known the manifold wisdom of God to the angels.

(3) The use of *ἐκκλησία* in the pastoral epistles is confined to the first epistle to Timothy. "Let not the church be burdened" (1 Tim. 5:16), doubtless refers to the local church. The church of God, of which the bishop is to take care (1 Tim. 3:5), may be the local church, as it is parallel with his own house. But the church of the living God (1 Tim. 3:15) must be the whole church.

"The apostle advises Timothy 'how men ought to behave themselves in the house of God, which is the church of the living God, the pillar and ground of the truth.' The house of God is here, as in the epistle to the Ephesians, the household of God, the family of which God is the father. As the household there was parallel with commonwealth and temple, so here it is the church of the living God. The church of the living God takes the place of the church of God of the earlier Paulinism, and the church of the later Paulinism. God is the living God here in order that the church may be conceived of as a living church, composed of living men, behaving themselves properly in the family of God. A living church is similar to the living temple of the epistle

to the Ephesians. The church is conceived of as the pillar and ground or stay of the truth. This is a later conception of the church. In the epistle to the Ephesians the temple was composed of living stones and of living buildings. The stones and the buildings were parts of the structure. Here the whole church is conceived of as a pillar on which the truth is lifted up and as a ground or stay upon which it rests. The figure is probably that of a platform or basis supported by a pillar. The church is this basis and its pillar. The truth is that which rests upon this base, and is lifted up before the world on it. The truth that is thus lifted up and supported is the living truth; it is the mystery of godliness; it is the Messiah himself, as set forth in the lines of an ancient credal hymn, which follows. It is possible that the writer has in mind the Messianic conception of the Old Testament that the Messiah is the cope-stone which finishes the structure of the new temple, which is brought forth with shoutings, 'Grace, grace unto it.' The Messiah as the cope-stone here would be the antithesis to the Messiah as the corner-stone of the epistle to the Ephesians. The Messiah, thus exalted as the cope-stone, the head of the church, is the revelation of the mystery of God." (*The Messiah of the Apostles*, 1895, pp. 228, 229.)

The epistle of the Hebrews may be added here, not as written by Paul, but as having a conception nearer to the later Paulinism. Heb. 2:12 quotes Ps. 22:23 (22), and so represents the New Testament church and the Old Testament church as one in praising God. Heb. 12:23 represents the church of the first-born, the martyrs, as a heavenly church.

We may now sum up the Pauline use of *ἐκκλησία*: It is the church of God, of the living God, of Christ, of the Lord, as *in* God the Father and *in* Christ. It is the body of Christ over which Christ reigns in love and in nourishing care. The church holds him up as her truth. The church is a church of saints on earth and of the first-born martyrs in heaven. The earthly church glorifies God. The heavenly church tells angels the manifold wisdom of God. The church of the New Testament is the historical continuation of the church of the Old Testament. The entrance to the church is by baptism in the Spirit. Its officers are given by God. The one church embraces a number of local churches, in different cities and provinces. The

church is one. Nowhere is there more than one church in one place. The local church is the representative of the whole church in the particular city. The church is divine—it is *in* God and Christ and the divine Spirit. It is holy—it is composed of baptized and consecrated ones. It is one with the Old Testament church and with the heavenly church. There is nothing to justify the distinction between an invisible and a visible church.

II. As we have proceeded, it has become evident that we cannot limit the New Testament doctrine of the church to the use of the word *ἐκκλησία*. Other terms are constantly appearing in the parallelism of the writings. These terms are also, in all cases, Old Testament terms. The most important of these is *kingdom of God* (*βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ*). This is the earliest word in the Old Testament used of Israel as an organization. It is found in a poetic source of the Ephraemitic story of the exodus (Exod. 19:6). God says to Israel: "*Ye shall be unto me a kingdom of priests*" (*מַמְלֶכֶת כֹּהֲנִים*). The nation as a whole, in its unity as an organization, is constituted by God at once a kingdom and a priesthood, a royal priesthood and a priestly kingdom. This was not the establishment of a dynasty of kings. That came later in the dynasty of David. It was not the institution of a hierarchy of priests. That also came later in the hierarchy of Aaron. But the whole nation as an organism was constituted a kingdom and instituted a priesthood under God their king. This conception of Israel as a kingdom of God persists in the poetry and prophecy of the Old Testament. The Messianic prediction conceives of the Messiah as the king of the kingdom, in whom the dynasty of David and the royalty of Yahweh alike culminate.

It was, therefore, eminently natural and proper that Jesus the Messiah should use the term "kingdom" for the organization he came to establish in the world. The kingdom in the teaching of Jesus is both historical and eschatological. As historical it is the kingdom of grace in this world; as eschatological it is the kingdom of glory either in heaven or of the last days which follow the second advent of our Lord. On Peter as the rock this kingdom is to be built. Peter has the keys to open its

gates and to close them. The gates of Hades will not prevail over this kingdom; it is eternal.<sup>3</sup> This kingdom had its historical beginning in heaven when Jesus ascended and sat down on his throne at the right hand of the Father, welcomed by all heaven as the Lion of Judah. It began on earth when the Holy Spirit descended on the day of Pentecost and organized the kingdom. Peter thus interpreted the event when he said: "This Jesus did God raise up, whereof we all are witnesses. . . Being therefore exalted to the right hand of God, and having received of the Father the promise of the Holy Spirit, he hath poured forth this, which ye see and hear. For David ascended not into the heavens; but he saith himself, 'The Lord said unto my Lord, "Sit thou on my right hand, till I make thine enemies the footstool of thy feet."' Let all the house of Israel therefore know assuredly that God hath made him both Lord and Messiah, this Jesus whom ye crucified." (Acts 2:32-36.) From this time on throughout the New Testament writings Jesus is not only the Messiah, the king; but he is also called Lord, a term which in the Jewish usage is applied to God, but which in Christian usage is applied almost exclusively in the New Testament to Jesus Christ.<sup>4</sup>

Peter in his first epistle applies the fundamental passage of the Old Testament, as to the kingdom of priests, to the Christian body when he writes: "But ye are an elect race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a people for God's own possession, that ye may show forth the excellencies of him who called you out of darkness into his marvelous light: who in time past were no people, but now are the people of God: which had not obtained mercy, but now have obtained mercy" (1 Peter 2:9-10). It is evident that Peter sees the entire Christian community as the royal priesthood of the Old Testament institution, now under the reigning king and high priest Jesus the Messiah.

All faithful Israel carried over the kingdom of God of the Old Dispensation into the kingdom of God under the New

<sup>3</sup>See BRIGGS, *Messiah of the Gospels*, pp. 324 f., where all the passages in the gospels are discussed.

<sup>4</sup>See BRIGGS, *Messiah of the Apostles*, pp. 86 f.



Dispensation. The unfaithful Jews were as truly excluded from that kingdom for their unbelief and refusal to recognize the Messianic king as were Esau and his descendants in patriarchal times and the Samaritan schism in post-exilic times. The church of Christ is the kingdom of God, and there is no other kingdom of God under the New Testament dispensation. The kingdom of Christ is in true historical continuity to the kingdom of God of the Old Testament. It abides in the world as the kingdom of grace; it continues in the heavens and subsequent to the second advent as the kingdom of glory. This is the kingdom over which Christ reigns as Lord, according to Paul, having "the name above every name; that in the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven and things on earth and things under the earth, and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father" (Phil. 2:9-11). "For he must reign till he hath put all his enemies under his feet" (1 Cor. 15:25).

It is evident, from Paul's use of the terms "lordship" and "reign" of Christ, that he conceives of the organized Christian community as a kingdom, just as the other New Testament writers do. But, in fact, Paul always uses the term "kingdom" in an eschatological sense, and uses "church" for the Christian organization in this world.<sup>5</sup> It is quite significant that those New Testament writings which use "kingdom" for the Christian organization in this world, such as the four gospels, 1 Peter, the earlier Hebrew apocalypses, do not use the word "church," while the epistles of Paul, James, and the Apocalypse of the epistles, which emphasize "church," use "kingdom" in an eschatological sense. There is a mixed usage only in the book of Acts, which may be due to the variation between sources and authors. It is interesting also to note that the epistle to the Hebrews uses "kingdom" for the organization in this world (Heb. 12:28), but "church" only for the Old Testament organization and the assembly of the martyrs in heaven. It is evident, therefore, that there is a documentary difference in the use of the terms "kingdom" and "church" in the New Testament, and therefore we should be cautious in drawing distinctions between them.

<sup>5</sup>See BRIGGS, *Messiah of the Apostles*, pp. 538 f.

Let me say that I have carefully examined all the uses of these and cognate terms in both Testaments, and as a result of my investigations I declare that nothing can be more false than the distinction between "kingdom" and "church" asserted by many moderns. These are chiefly men who are displeased with the historic church and seek refuge in the kingdom as taught by Jesus Christ in the conceit that this is something larger and better. In fact, "church" and "kingdom" differ only as synonymous terms. There is nothing of importance which can be asserted of the kingdom of God which may not be also asserted of the church of God, if we faithfully use biblical material without speculation and theorizing. Jesus is king of the kingdom, and he reigns over it, subduing all external enemies under his feet, or transforming them by his grace into citizens of his kingdom. He is also the head over all things to his church. The church and the kingdom are coextensive; both are Old Testament institutions and New Testament institutions; both are institutions of this world, and both are eternal institutions of the world to come; both are organizations in the midst of the world and of the universe; both will eventually subdue and absorb the world and also the universe; the one is as spiritual as the other, the one is as external as the other.

III. The term "people" is equal in antiquity to the term "kingdom." It is found in the same poetic source of the Ephraemitic writer already mentioned; it is also in the ancient lyrics, and is a favorite conception of Deuteronomy and the earlier prophets. The fundamental thought connected with the term "people" is redemption. "Ye shall be a peculiar treasure unto me from among all peoples" (Exod. 19:5); "the people thou hast gotten" (Exod. 15:16); "Yahweh's portion is his people; Jacob the lot of his inheritance" (Deut. 32:9). It is found in that grand picture of the consolidation of the nation under Yahweh's dominion given in Isaiah: "Israel shall be the third with Egypt and with Assyria, a blessing in the midst of the earth: for that Yahweh Sebaoth hath blessed them, saying, 'Blessed be Egypt my people, and Assyria the work of my hands, and Israel my inheritance'" (Isa. 19:24, 25). Little use is made

of this conception of people in connection with the Christian community, doubtless because it implies at the bottom a national particularism, done away with in the New Dispensation. The term is used just enough to show that the Christian community inherits the Old Testament continuity in this regard. So Peter says, in the passage already cited, that Christians are "a people for God's own possession;" "which in time past were no people, but now are the people of God" (1 Peter 2:9, 10). And in the epistle to Titus it is said: "Our Savior Jesus Christ; who gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto himself a people for his own possession, zealous of good works" (Titus 2:14). So Paul in the epistle to the Galatians (6:16) uses the sacred term "Israel of God" for the Christian community.

IV. The prophet Isaiah uses the image of the "vine" in a vineyard to set forth the conception of the relation of Yahweh to his people (Isa., chap. 5), and this becomes a still more beautiful symbol in the eightieth psalm. No wonder that it became a favorite symbol for carving upon the entrance to Jewish synagogues. Jesus uses it to set forth the vital organic relation between himself and his disciples. "I am the vine—ye are the branches," said the Master (John 15:5). The prophet Ezekiel (17:22-24) uses a similar image when he selects the cedar of Lebanon, and Jesus when he selects the mustard plant (Matt. 13:31, 32), and Paul when he uses the olive tree (Rom. 11:17-24). There are, in the organized body of Christians, the vital source in Christ, the organic common life, and the continuity of growth that are seen in the plant and the tree.

V. The prophet Ezekiel (34:11-31) uses the image of the "flock and shepherd." This became a favorite conception of the psalmists (Pss. 80, 95, 100; Isa. 40:1-12). It was used by Jesus (Luke 15:3-7; John 10:1-18) and by Paul (Acts 20:28, 29). Jesus commissions Peter to feed his flock (John 21:15-17). It then became one of the favorites of the early Christians, the most frequent of all in the martyr age, when they painted and carved this conception in the Roman catacombs. Jesus teaches that there is but one flock, and that, while some sheep may be

scattered and lost, it is the work of the shepherd, not to organize them into separate flocks, but to bring them back to the one flock, that there may be "one flock, one shepherd" (John 10:16).

VI. One of the most frequent conceptions of the organized community in the Old Testament times is that of "the city of God." This conception sprang up when the kingdom had virtually been reduced to the city of Jerusalem and its environs, so that practically city and kingdom were one and the same. It is Jeremiah who first sees the holy city of the restoration and pictures it as more sacred than the ancient ark of the covenant, bearing the name "Yahweh *our* righteousness," holy in its entire suburbs (Jer. 3:17; 33:16; 31:38-40). Ezekiel names the city "Yahweh is there" (Ezek. 48:35). The great prophet of the exile predicts that it will be rebuilt of precious stones, its gates salvation, its walls praise. It will be the light and glory of the world, and bear the name "Married" and "My delight is in thee." It will be the center of a new earth and new heaven (Isa. 49:23; 54:12; 56:7; 60; 62; 65:17). One of the later prophets predicts that the New Jerusalem will be so holy that the bells of the horses and cooking utensils will bear the same inscription as the tiara of the high priest, "Holy to Yahweh" (Zech. 14:20, 21).

The Psalter uses the term for the existing community, although the ideal ever mingles with the real:

"A river there is whose streams make glad the city of God.  
The holy place of that tabernacle of Elyon.  
God is in her midst, she cannot be moved.  
God will help her at the turn of the morn" (Ps. 46).

"Great is Yahweh and greatly to be praised.  
In the city of our God, his holy mount.  
Beautiful in elevation, the joy of the whole earth is Mount Zion.  
On the northern side, the city of the great King" (Ps. 48).

This idea of the city is specially brought out in the eighty-seventh psalm, the one called by Delitzsch "the city of the regeneration of the nations." Thus Old Testament prophetic

usage justifies the use of the city, in the New Testament, in the eschatological sense. Paul in the epistle to the Galatians (4 : 21-31) contrasts the Jerusalem that now is, the city of the law, with the Jerusalem above, the mother of all believers. In the epistle to the Philippians he says : " For our commonwealth is in heaven ; from whence also we wait for a Savior " (Phil. 3 : 20), and the epistle to the Hebrews represents that Christians have come, not to Mount Sinai, but " unto Mount Zion, and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem " (Heb. 12 : 22).

The apocalypse of the Bowls represents the New Jerusalem as descending from God out of heaven at the second advent, glorious as an immense diamond, with twelve foundations inscribed with the names of the twelve apostles of the Lamb ; and the apocalypse of the Dragon describes it as coming down as a bride adorned for her husband, with foundations of twelve most precious stones, and gates of pearl and streets of gold, four square as the holy of holies of the ancient temple (Rev., chap. 21).<sup>6</sup>

But the usage of the Psalter makes it proper to conceive of the Christian community in the world as also a city of God. This is the term which Augustine used in his great classic *De civitate Dei*. It is also justified by Paul's words in the epistle to the Ephesians, where he represents that the Gentiles who were " alienated from the commonwealth of Israel " " are made nigh in the blood of Christ," so that they are " no more strangers," but are " fellow-citizens with the saints " (Eph. 2 : 12-22). And so Christian poetry has ever delighted to sing of the church as the city of God. In fact, the church is the city of God in the world, and also in a large sense the city of God in the heavenly world where Christ is enthroned with the departed saints and angels.

VII. Still more important, in many respects, is the conception of the Christian community as " the house or temple of God." This is involved often in the prophetic pictures of the city, because the entire city becomes, as it were, a temple. But the conception of temple has its specific ideals and relations. The corner-stone and the cope-stone are prophetic images in

<sup>6</sup> See BRIGGS, *Messiah of the Apostles*, pp. 363 f., 431 f.

Isaiah, Zechariah, and the Psalter to indicate the one sure foundation and the one certain completion of the structure. Both of these are applied to Christ in the New Testament, both by the Master himself and by Peter and Paul. But still more important is the evolution of the holy temple of the New Dispensation, especially in the prophecies of Ezekiel. Jesus, according to the gospel of John, represented that when he rose from the dead he would himself be the temple of the New Dispensation (John 2:21-22). Paul elaborated the conception of the Christian temple as he did that of the Christian *ἐκκλησία*. He now represents that the individual Christian is the temple of God, then that the local Christian community is the temple of God, and finally that the whole Christian organism is the temple of God. "Know ye not that ye are a temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you?" (1 Cor. 3:16), he says to the Corinthian community. "Know ye not that your body is a temple of the Holy Spirit which is in you?" (1 Cor. 6:19), he says to the individual Christian. Then, addressing the whole church in the epistle to the Ephesians, he writes: "Being built upon the foundation of the apostles and the prophets, Christ Jesus himself being the chief corner-stone, in whom each several building, fitly framed together, groweth into a holy temple in the Lord; in whom ye also are builded together for a habitation of God in the Spirit" (Eph. 2:20-22). The whole Christian community is thus the very temple of God. Christ is the ever-living corner-stone. About him are the living foundations, the apostles and prophets of the New Testament dispensation. This is an elaboration of the prediction of Jesus that Peter was to be the rock of the house. The corner-stone and the foundations are all laid, the structure itself rises, it grows as a living temple. Every stone is living, every building is living, the whole structure is living and growing. It is not yet completed, but is sure to be completed according to the ideals of the master. It is a dwelling of God in the Spirit. The Spirit of God animates it with life and growth. Here Paul conceives of the Christian community in its entirety as possessed by the Holy Spirit. The Holy Spirit inhabits each one, and inhabits, organizes, and gives growth and harmony to the whole.

Peter has the same conception where he says: "If ye have tasted that the Lord is gracious; unto whom coming, a living stone, rejected indeed of men, but with God elect, precious, ye also, as living stones, are built up a spiritual house, to be a holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to God through Jesus Christ" (1 Peter 2: 3-5). Here priesthood and sacrifice are attached to the entire Christian community as well as to the living Christ, and they are all attached naturally and necessarily to the conception of the Christian community as a real, living temple of God.

Nothing needs to be emphasized and unfolded in connection with the doctrine of the Christian church so much as just this idea, that it is a holy temple of priesthood and sacrifice inhabited by the divine Spirit. This is just the conception of "church" to which we are being guided in our day as the one most appropriate for our times.

VIII. Another conception which plays an important part in the New Testament, and which is prepared in the Old Testament, is that the religious organization is a "household or family" of God. This begins with the thought of the Judaic writer of the Pentateuch where he represents God as saying, "Israel is my son, my first-born" (Exod. 4: 22). Israel as an organization is the son of God. This conception is also found in the song of Moses (Deut. 32: 6). It is used in the generic sense in Hosea and the prophets that follow him.

In the teaching of Jesus for the first time the conception of fatherhood is distributed to individuals. This was first possible when Jesus as the incarnate Savior showed himself to be the son of the Father and taught his disciples that God was also the father of each and all of them.

Paul represents that the Spirit of God gives believers the spirit of adoption in which they recognize God as their father and themselves joint heirs with Christ (Rom. 8: 14-17). Christ united Jew and Gentile into one household, or family of God (Eph. 2: 19). God is the father of all fatherhoods (Eph. 3: 14-17). He is the universal father, under whose paternal authority all men and angels are grouped in fatherhoods, just



as Israel was in the Old Testament dispensation. This does not imply that all men and angels are in this sense children of God. There is, indeed, a sense in which God is the universal father of all his creation. But the fatherhood of which we are speaking is the fatherhood by adoption, fatherhood of grace; a fatherhood, a sonship, and a brotherhood which are peculiar to the redeemed, and which belong exclusively to the Christian community.

John conceives of this fatherhood and sonship and brotherhood in the Christian family as all summed up in love. This conception of the church as a family of God, a brotherhood, is a favorite one in modern times, especially among our Congregational brethren.

IX. The religious community of the Old Testament is frequently conceived of, from the time of the prophet Hosea onward, as the "wife of Yahweh." The prophets Zephaniah, Jeremiah, and the great prophet of the exile exult in the relation of love, and strain their imaginations to picture it in terms of beauty and grandeur and pathetic tenderness.<sup>7</sup> The same conception is taken up in the New Testament, where Paul represents the church as the bride of Christ (Eph. 5:23, 24), and the Apocalypse, where the Christian community is the bride of the Savior (Rev. 21:9).

X. The conception of the incarnation, as it unfolds to Paul, involves a closer union between Christ and his people than any thus far considered, a union of vital organization, a racial identification. For this purpose the "human body" is used as the image. Christ is the head of the church conceived as a body. But, more than that: Christians are Christ's bodily members (1 Cor. 6:15; Eph. 5:30). For this latter passage a gloss in many ancient manuscripts adds "of his flesh and his bones." The nearest approach to this conception in the Old Testament is in that great apocalypse, Isa., chaps. 24-27, where Israel is called by Yahweh "my corpse" (Isa. 26:19), which he will therefore raise to national life again. So Jesus identifies the entire Christian community with himself in all that he does. They died with him on the cross, were buried with him, rose

<sup>7</sup> See BRIGGS, *Messianic Prophecy*, pp. 482 f.

with him, ascended with him, are enthroned with him, and have their life ever hidden in him. Paul sets this forth most completely in one of those involved images of which he is so fond : "And he gave some to be apostles ; and some, prophets ; and some, evangelists ; and some, pastors and teachers ; for the perfecting of the saints, unto the work of ministering, unto the building up of the body of Christ : till we all attain unto the unity of faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a full-grown man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ : that we may be no longer children, tossed to and fro and carried about with every wind of doctrine, by the sleight of men, in craftiness, after the wiles of error ; but speaking truth in love, may grow up in all things into him, which is the head, even Christ ; from whom all the body fitly framed and knit together through that which every joint supplieth, according to the working in due measure of each several part, maketh the increase of the body unto the building up of itself in love" (Eph. 4 : 11-16).

"The one body is ever growing up unto the Messiah, the head. Its parts are fitly framed and knit together through that which every joint supplieth. This thought of a perfect head and a body in course of construction is complex and difficult to understand. It is probable that the apostle is thinking of the growth of the body from early childhood to full manhood. That is certainly his conception when he alludes to the diversity of workers. They are at first babes liable to be misled, they are to grow into men, and ultimately into full-grown men, into the measure of the stature of the fulness of the Messiah. Every member of the body is a miniature of the whole body, as the Messiah himself is the model of the whole body and of each member of it. It is probable, therefore, that, as the individual Christian is conceived as growing from infancy into manhood, so the whole body of Christians passes through the same experience, and does not reach its manhood until one and all have attained the perfection of the Messiah. Accordingly we have an involved figure of speech which corresponds with that of the living and growing stones of the temple. The Messiah is the temple of God, every Christian is a temple, and the whole church is the temple. So the Messiah is the perfect man, every Christian is to become a perfect man, and the whole church is to become the perfect man. The organic and vital union of the Messiah with his

people involves this threefold relation." (*The Messiah of the Apostles*, 1895, pp. 202, 204, 205.)

We have now gone over ten terms which may be regarded as synonymous terms for representing the New Testament doctrine of the church. Theologians have usually taken one or more of them and endeavored to construct a doctrine. Any such effort, whether you use *ἐκκλησία*, or *βασιλεία*, or *συναγωγή*, or "city of God," or "brotherhood," or "temple," or any other, will always be partial and one-sided, and will tend, if unduly unfolded in logical analysis and practical application, to result in errors of various kinds. He who would know the mind of the ever-living, glorified Redeemer, our Lord and our King, our Priest and our Head, should use all these terms, and endeavor to construct them into a harmonious and symmetrical whole. There is in such a method much fruit for the future use of Christ's church. Holy Scripture contains very much teaching on this, as on other subjects, which has either not been used at all, or else imperfectly and disproportionately used. A blessing is in store for all who will follow the teachings of the Holy Spirit with a mind broad enough to comprehend them and a spirit earnest enough to strive to do all that the Lord and his apostles teach.

## WAS THERE A SECOND IMPRISONMENT OF PAUL IN ROME ?

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THE question which forms the title of this article is one of great interest, inasmuch as it has an important and determining influence upon the whole chronology of the apostle's writings. It is very singular to find the all but universal acceptance which the theory of the second imprisonment has won, especially when we consider that we have no direct support for any such notion in the New Testament, and nothing beyond doubtful statements, from which precarious conclusions have been drawn, in any Christian writer earlier than Eusebius, who wrote about A. D. 320. Unless Eusebius had in his possession early documentary testimony no longer extant, we cannot regard him in the fourth century as by any means so well placed as we are in the nineteenth for reaching a conclusion with reference to a first-century subject ; and that he had in his hands any such authoritative documents is not only unproved, but extremely improbable. The theory of a release from the first Roman imprisonment, followed by a second arrest and imprisonment ending in execution, is one which must be treated very seriously and respectfully, seeing that it is held by such a careful and learned investigator as Lightfoot, and by such a thoroughly independent historian and archæologist as Professor W. M. Ramsay, of Aberdeen. With scarcely an exception, those critics who regard the canonical books of the New Testament as first-century writings agree in insisting upon the absolute necessity of assuming that the imprisonment of the closing chapters of Acts was followed by a period of freedom and missionary activity, and that during that period the apostle extended his travels to the lands of the far West, and wrote the later epistles which can claim to be of Pauline authorship. All that can possibly be said in favor of

the hypothesis of a second imprisonment, from a historical point of view, has recently been admirably and summarily stated by Spitta<sup>1</sup> and by Steinmetz.<sup>2</sup> In order to test the strength of the historical proof for this notion, no better method can be followed than that of interrogating in order the Pauline epistles and the Acts of the Apostles, and then the church fathers, in the strict order of their chronological succession, up to and including Eusebius, so as to discover what really their language allows us fairly to infer regarding the latest days of the apostle.

If for the moment we leave out of view the pastoral epistles, and also accept the authenticity and integrity of the other canonical epistles of Paul as they stand, a careful examination of these does not offer any hint with reference to the trial of Paul different from or supplementary to the account already given in the Acts of the Apostles. Even in Philippians we have nothing more than an expression of a hope and expectation, based evidently on the writer's consciousness of the goodness of his cause, and the evident need of his continued activity for the well-being of the churches. As to the inference to be drawn from the abrupt ending of the Acts of the Apostles, Overbeck, Weizsäcker, von Soden, Wendt, though variously accounting for the omission of all mention of Paul's death by the historian, agree in holding that the two-years' imprisonment of Luke's history ended in the apostle's death. According to these writers, it would be inconceivable that Luke should have left off where he did, if the conclusion of that period of confinement had been followed by a period of activity similar to that which had been described. Certainly it is much easier to account for the writer's silence as to the issue by the supposition that, for some political or apologetical reason, he thought it best not to tell over the story, well known to all, of the disastrous result of the trial, which would have been an unsuitable close to the double-volumed work, which had been planned with the purpose of telling of the rise and progress of the Christian faith, rather than by the supposition that Paul went forth again to continue

<sup>1</sup> *Zur Geschichte und Litteratur des Urchristenthums*, Vol. I, Göttingen, 1893.

<sup>2</sup> *Die zweite römische Gefangenschaft des Apostels Paulus*, Leipzig, 1897.

his work, the story of which it was the avowed intention of the author to tell, and which up to this point he had told in considerable detail. It may be quite fair to dispute, and it may even be comparatively easy to overthrow, Overbeck's theory that the chief purpose of the writer of Acts was to show that the men of the apostolic age, especially Paul, were treated with respect by the Roman authorities. Yet even this, though certainly not the chief end for which the work was undertaken, may not have been altogether absent from the purpose of the writer; and if it can be shown that the death of Paul occurred even before the outbreak of the Neronian persecution, the wish of a Christian writer to represent the relations of the Roman state to his religion as not unfavorable would not be in any way unnatural or absurd. But still the question remains: Why would the historian of the rise and spread of the Christian religion have stayed his hand where he did, if, without any interruption which such a catastrophe as the apostle's death would bring about, the religion continued to spread in those countries which alone remained to be occupied, in order that it might claim to be coextensive with the boundary of the empire? It is not enough to say that the purpose of the Acts of the Apostles is to describe the progress of the gospel from Jerusalem to Rome. That, of course, is what it does, but why should the reaching of Rome, and not rather the reaching of Spain, have been its limit, if, without any further interruption than that which is described in the last chapter (which is scarcely an interruption, seeing that the imprisonment is regarded as itself a period of activity and success), Paul continued his journey to Spain, doing the same sort of work on the way from Rome to Spain as he had done on the way from Jerusalem to Rome? To represent the purpose of the Acts of the Apostles to be the showing of the cause of Israel's exclusion and the Gentiles' acceptance—the solution of the problem of Romans, chaps. 9–11—as Weiss, Mangold, and some others do, is quite unwarrantably to narrow the scope of the work, and to ignore the evident historical simplicity and directness of the writing. Besides, this is to interpret the purpose of the whole book from the saying of 28:28, which indicates nothing

more than what Paul was in the habit of saying in the Jewish synagogues of every town that he visited, which also, if he went west of Rome, he would be sure to say in every synagogue in northern Italy, Gaul, and Spain. It is quite impossible to suppose that Luke did not know what happened to Paul immediately after that particular point in his career at which he leaves him in his book, and his knowledge of the two-years' duration of the imprisonment implies that he was well aware, had he chosen to tell it, what change for good or ill in the apostle's fortunes had, at that particular point of time, taken place. Also, the hypothesis, which finds favor with many, according to which Luke intended to continue the history of Acts in a further discourse, as he had continued the gospel in his second work, is unsatisfactory, when we compare the way in which the close of the gospel and the beginning of Acts are made to overlap. In the hypothetical case of a third treatise, we should expect something as nearly as possible parallel to the ascension of Christ, with which Luke's gospel closes and his Acts opens, to close his Acts so that it might be resumed in the opening of his third book. For such a purpose the death of the apostle, with a description of the enthusiasm aroused by his martyrdom, would have served tolerably well, but very much better the story of his release from his bonds, and his going forth as one risen from the dead with fresh energy and power to the preaching and spreading of the gospel of Christ. If only this fortunate turn in the fortunes of the apostle at the end of his two-years' imprisonment had been known to Luke, and had he intended to reserve the later missionary activity of Paul for a third volume, we cannot conceive that he would have failed to close the one book in such a way as could offer him so excellent a starting-point for the one following.

Too much stress must not be laid upon the apostle's declaration to the Ephesian elders in Acts 20:25, 38, that he was with them then for the last time. Some have pointed to the positiveness with which the apostle affirmed that they would see his face no more, as though the knowledge which he so confidently professed to have must necessarily have been infallibly



true. But, though it cannot be assumed that there was no possibility of Paul's having misread the detailed particulars of his own future, it is difficult to see why Luke, writing certainly at a later period—perhaps a considerably later period—than the close of the two years of Paul's imprisonment at Rome, would have selected for publication from among his accumulated collections, many of which, no doubt, he had to reject for want of room, a passage in which Paul had so very solemnly expressed himself about a presentiment that never was realized, and in which the deep impression made upon the people is set forth in detail, while all the time he knew that those very people had, at least once again, enjoyed his presence among them. Only on the incredible assumption that the Acts of the Apostles had been written before the two-years' imprisonment expired could we conceive of Luke writing down so circumstantial an account of that remarkable scene which future events, unexpected by the writer, falsified, so that what, if true, would have been finely pathetic, all at once sank to the level of the weakly melodramatic. Luke's narrative in chap. 20 implies that he was not aware of anything having occurred that belied the expectation of the apostle there so feelingly expressed, the announcement of which had so deeply impressed his spiritual children.

Somewhat similar to this passage in the Acts of the Apostles is the reference in Rom. 15:24 to a projected journey into Spain. The mere statement of an intention can never be regarded as of itself a proof that such a purpose was ever realized, any more than a presentiment of never returning can be held as of itself evidence that no such return visit was ever made. In the common text of Rom. 15:24, 28, Paul is represented as saying: "Whosoever I take my journey into Spain, I will come to you . . . I will come by you into Spain." The historian writing in the Acts of the Apostles, however, shows that Paul did not take Rome on his way to Spain, and that his journey in bonds had Rome as its destination, so that, even if he had been liberated and had afterward gone into Spain, his journey thither could not have been in accordance with the

purpose here expressed. Lipsius<sup>3</sup> proposes to strike out a number of verses in this chapter, including those that refer to the journey into Spain. It is perhaps scarcely fair to call this, as Dr. Sanday does, a most arbitrary and unnecessary proceeding. There are several indications of a very serious disturbance of the text throughout this passage. The revisers have adopted a text which leaves out the words, "I will come to you," in vs. 24, with the result that they not only throw the rest of the verse into a parenthesis, but leave the sentence beginning with, "Whensoever I go into Spain," incomplete and without any further addition. Although Lipsius, in opposition to Baur and many other more radical critics, maintains the genuineness of this chapter as a whole, it may be that he claims the excision of certain verses on insufficient grounds. It is quite possible to show the probability of Paul having visited some parts of Illyria, and thus to reduce the number of Lipsius' omissions; but still a good deal may be said in favor of the objections to the "Spain" passages, and the treating of vss. 20-24 as an interpolation, as also the reference to Spain in vs. 28, and in favor of putting the words, "I will come to you," of vs. 24 in place of the first clause of vs. 28. It is certainly very singular, if this expectation of visiting Spain and taking Rome by the way had been entertained by Paul, that he should not in those imprisonment epistles in which he expresses a hope of release have given any hint of his intention to make use of his liberty to accomplish his journey into the far West. Sanday and Headlam, indeed, quite rightly insist that even if Paul never did visit Spain, this could be no argument against the genuineness of the references in this chapter to a projected journey thither. It is quite true that a forger would never have interpolated a passage in order to suggest a visit to Spain that had never taken place, unless that interpolation was made at a time when the tradition of such a visit was in circulation and more or less generally accepted.

It is well to point out the somewhat doubtful character of those representations of the apostle's intentions. But, even

<sup>3</sup>See *Hand-Commentar zum Neuen Testament*, 2d ed. (Freiburg, 1892), Vol. II, 2, pp. 84-6, 196-8.

apart from all such questions, and allowing that a scheme for visiting the far West was one that we might well expect from the great missionary apostle, such a plan, even if it did exist, is far too slender a basis on which to build the complicated structure demanded by the hypothesis. The proposal demands for its description a considerable and somewhat involved historical statement. In order to make it good we must assume that the apostle paid three visits to Rome: first of all, the historical visit; then one made on his way to Spain; and, finally, one made either voluntarily, ending in his arrest and execution, or brought about, like his first one, by his being carried thither a prisoner in bonds. And yet it must be confessed that these purely hypothetical visits are necessary only in order to provide time for another purely hypothetical case, a certain alleged activity in preaching and writing on the part of the apostle, for which no place seems open in the historical period limited by the close of the Acts of the Apostles.

If, on the other hand, what we have had advanced as hypotheses were actual historical facts, though, for some reason or other, they were not recorded by the New Testament historian, we should certainly expect to find them reported very circumstantially in the writings of contemporaries, or, at least, that quite unequivocal references should be made to them by the earliest Christian Fathers. But when we examine the writings of the apostolic and post-apostolic age, we find that, beyond the fact that the apostle died a martyr death in Rome, they do not in the very least carry us farther than that point at which we had been left by Luke. Passing by in the meantime the important letter of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians, which we shall carefully examine by and by, we find the allusion to the latest days of Paul in the letters of Ignatius of Antioch, written about A. D. 115, remarkably brief and vague. In chap. 12 of the epistle of Ignatius to the Ephesians it can scarcely be said that we have a clear or express reference even to the martyrdom of St. Paul, for, as Lightfoot shows, *Παύλου συμμύσται τοῦ μεμαρτυρημένου* does not mean "associates in the mysteries with Paul the martyr," but "Paul the well-attested, the man who has obtained a

good report." There is no doubt, however, from the whole drift of the passage that Ignatius means to suggest a parallel between himself and Paul as he goes on his way to Rome to meet martyrdom there. And it should be noted in passing that such a parallel might very naturally have been suggested by the historical journey of Paul to Rome in bonds, when, just like Ignatius, he was allowed a certain freedom in conversing with and addressing his fellow-believers by the way. And if the reference intended by Ignatius is to Paul's journey to Rome, as recorded in the Acts of the Apostles, then the martyrdom is assumed to have been the closing episode of that visit.

It has been supposed by some that we get a little more in a passage quoted by Eusebius (*Hist. eccles.*, II, 28) from Dionysius of Corinth, about A. D. 170. The bishop of Corinth writing to Soter, the bishop of Rome, speaks of Peter and Paul as having gone together into Italy and as having suffered martyrdom there at one and the same time. Now, if this statement were historical and not legendary, it would really settle the whole question. If it were true that Paul and Peter entered Rome together, then clearly this refers to another visit to Rome by Paul than that reported in the Acts of the Apostles. But we have only to examine the other statements of the short epistle quoted in order to see that the whole is utterly untrustworthy. Dionysius wishes to show how closely Corinth and Rome have been associated with one another. His letter is one of thanksgiving to the bishop of Rome for some benefit which the church of Rome had conferred upon the church of Corinth. Such kindly and brotherly intercourse, he says, is what ought to be, for both churches were founded by the joint labors of the same two great apostles. It is evident that Dionysius is wrong in saying that Peter along with Paul planted the church of Corinth; and as for the founding of the church of Rome, it cannot be ascribed to them jointly, nor even to either the one or the other singly. The interpretation which we have given is in accordance with the plain reading of the Greek as given by Eusebius, and Rufinus also shows by his Latin translation that he understood the passage in the same way. It is surely impossible to accept one statement as trustworthy in a

passage where everything else is demonstrably unhistorical. The report, therefore, that Paul and Peter entered Rome together, which would represent a second journey of Paul to Rome—a statement which we meet here for the first time—can only be classed with the other statements referred to as an utterly unsupported and impossible tradition.

Irenæus (*Adv. hæc.*, III, 1), writing about A. D. 175, declares that Matthew wrote his gospel when Peter and Paul together were preaching the gospel and founding the church in Rome, and that Mark wrote his after the departure (*ἐξόδος*) of the apostles. Those who believe in a second imprisonment of Paul would naturally like to obtain support for their notion from this passage by understanding the "departure" to mean the quitting of the city by Paul in order to go into Spain. But they are met here by the difficulty of disposing of Peter, for whom no hypothesis of a journey into Spain or anywhere else had ever been thought of, and for whose disposal, therefore, no arrangement had been made. Steinmetz is consequently driven to abandon the attempt to get any considerable assistance from this passage, and so he gives its natural meaning to the *ἐξόδος* and interprets it as the *exitus*, the martyr death, of the two apostles at the same time in Rome. Thus, upon any fair interpretation of his words, Irenæus gives us no more than Dionysius did and with no greater authority. He is guilty of the same error as his brother of Corinth in supposing that Peter and Paul founded the church of Rome. This erroneous statement they had no doubt borrowed from the same misleading source. But even as to the presence of Peter in Rome, it is evident that it cannot be referred to the period of the two-years' imprisonment of Paul, for not only is there no mention of Peter going to Rome in the Acts of the Apostles, but even in the latest of the imprisonment epistles the writer does not mention Peter as being with him or as having been in any way associated with him. And, as we have seen, Peter's presence with Paul on the occasion of his going into Spain is inconvenient. It is quite arbitrary on the part of Steinmetz to reject the joint founding of the church and the joint entering into the city of the two apostles, and yet to accept the account

of their meeting death together in Rome. Still more objectionable is the attempt to harmonize the statement of Irenæus with the current tradition of the second century that Peter came to Rome after Paul's release and that Paul returned to Rome only after Peter's death. That tradition and Irenæus' statement cannot both be true, but both may be, and most probably are, false. It adds nothing to the argument nor to our information to quote from Caius of Rome (Eusebius, *Hist. eccles.*, II, 28), who saw the monuments erected to the apostles on the Vatican or on the Ostian Way, and who styles these apostles "founders" of that church. The tradition that the apostles died at the same time in Rome was no doubt widely current in the second century, and equally current was the tradition that these apostles were joint founders of the church of Rome. The one tradition is just as well supported as the other, and one of them is demonstrably untrue.

Instead of going on to consider how later writers continue to repeat a story that had somehow obtained currency, without the will or the means of subjecting it to any critical test, we shall find it more profitable to return to the consideration of the writings of the oldest of all the apostolic fathers, Clement of Rome, in order to find out, if possible, what exactly it is that he has to say on this question. A great deal has been made of Clement's reference to Paul, and his statement is regarded by many as conclusive evidence of the apostle's having actually visited Spain, and consequently of his having been released from the two-years' imprisonment. It is of the utmost importance that we should determine exactly the meaning of this passage, for there can be no doubt but that it forms the basis on which the Fathers of later ages built up what became the favorite theory, and the whole question reduces itself to that of the correctness or incorrectness of the interpretation which they put upon Clement's words. In view of the unique significance of this statement it may be well to quote it here in full. The translation of Lightfoot,<sup>4</sup> which is accepted on all hands as a most careful and exact rendering by one who stoutly maintains the

<sup>4</sup> *Apostolic Fathers*, Part I: "Clement of Rome," Vol. II (London, 1890), p. 274.

opinion that it witnesses to Paul's release from his Roman imprisonment and his subsequent journey into Spain, is as follows: "By reason of jealousy and strife, Paul by his example pointed out the prize of patient endurance. After that he had been seven times in bonds, had been driven into exile, had been stoned, had preached in the East and in the West, he won the noble renown which was the reward of his faith, having taught righteousness unto the whole world, and having reached the farthest bounds of the West; and when he had borne his testimony before the rulers, so he departed from the world and went unto the holy place, having been found a notable pattern of patient endurance." The interest mainly centers in the clause, "the farthest bounds of the West," *ἐπὶ τὸ τέλος τῆς δύσεως ἐλθὼν*. The only direct objection which we have to make to Lightfoot's version is in regard to the punctuation. In favor of his own interpretation of the passage, he insists upon putting a semicolon after "West" instead of a comma. It seems a much more natural reading of the whole paragraph to regard all the several statements in that sentence as regularly consecutive, so that "the bounds of the West" is understood as a phrase descriptive of the place in which the apostle bore his testimony before the rulers. In his notes on the Greek text of Clement, Lightfoot insists that there is nothing to show that "the bounds of the West" and "having borne witness before the rulers" are intended to be synchronous, but that the former phrase seems to be explanatory of the preceding "having taught righteousness unto the whole world." No doubt we are dealing here with a highly rhetorical piece of writing; but even as a piece of rhetoric we should read it as a rapid sketch of a life which finds its climax in the departing out of the world and going unto the holy place. In a sketch of this description each clause hurries on to the one following. The rhetorical form of the passage is very apparent. We have, first of all, four participial clauses leading up to the report of how he secured the firm basis of his noble renown, and then other three participial clauses leading to the statement of his leaving the world and entering into the holy place. Indeed, the literal rendering of the three participial clauses last referred

to expresses our view with perfect distinctness: "Having taught righteousness to the whole world and coming to the boundary of the West, and having borne witness before the rulers."<sup>5</sup> Clearly "the boundary of the West" indicates the extreme point to which he carried his activity as a teacher of righteousness; and it would seem only a fair interpretation of language to understand the witness-bearing as given in that place. It is apparently the intention of the writer to represent Paul as coming to the boundary of the West and there giving his testimony. It is quite easy to multiply illustrations of the use of similar phrases to indicate Spain and the extreme west of the Roman empire. But it is quite needless. Unquestionably the phrase taken by itself might quite well mean Spain. But, to use the words of Weiss,<sup>6</sup> who is by no means a keen partisan, "the way in which the arrival at this goal is connected with the *μαρτυρία* before the rulers of the world, both being made descriptive of his departure from the world, is decidedly in favor of Rome being meant by this *τέρμα*." The attempt made by Wieseler, Schaff, and others to understand the phrase as referring to the supreme power of the West, depending, as it does, on the reading of *ὑπὸ* for *ἐπὶ*, is no longer tenable, as the more perfect manuscript in use since 1875 puts the reading of *ἐπὶ* beyond dispute. Nor is there any need to propose strained and artificial renderings of the phrase, so as to make it refer to *his* extreme limit westward, or to the boundary line dividing East and West, or as a figurative and poetic description of the apostolic goal as *the sunset* of his labors. But when we take the word *τέρμα*, as we certainly must insist upon doing, in its ordinary meaning of bounds or limit, we are at once met by the assertion that the application of such a phrase as "the limit of the West" to Rome by a Roman residing in and writing from the city is extremely unnatural. If, however, we read the passage sympathetically, in accordance with its highly rhetorical character, we shall see that Clement really assumes the standpoint of Paul,<sup>7</sup> who, from amid the

<sup>5</sup>The verbs are διδάσας, ἐλθὼν, μαρτυρήσας.

<sup>6</sup>*Introduction to the New Testament*, Vol. I, pp. 371 f.

<sup>7</sup>See MEYER, *Commentary on Romans*, Introduction.



scenes of his earlier activity in Syria and Asia Minor, regarded all Europe, even including Greece, as the West. His movement westward begins with Macedonia, and even if it reached no farther than Rome, that might surely be described, by way of comparison, as the extreme West. Steinmetz is evidently troubled by the omission by Eusebius from his Church History of any reference to this highly important evidence in behalf of the release and subsequent journey into Spain. Too much stress ought not certainly to be laid upon the fact that the historian fails to quote Clement in favor of the hypothesis which he supports. But undoubtedly it is felt by all to be inexplicable that Eusebius, if he had this statement of Clement before him, and understood it as affirming that Paul actually traveled into Spain, should not have used it as by far the most conclusive proof that he could possibly have in behalf of the view which he advocated. Steinmetz feels this to be an insurmountable difficulty, and so he endeavors to get out of it in the only way possible to him by denying that Eusebius was acquainted with, or could have made use of, the epistle of Clement. The references to Clement in Eusebius are mostly introduced in connection with the question of the succession of the Roman bishops. But if his language in Book III, chap. 39, be carefully considered, it will be seen that he was thoroughly acquainted with the contents of the epistle. He describes it as addressed to the church of the Corinthians in the name of the Roman church, and as containing many sentences from the epistle to the Hebrews and from the apostolic writings. And this is what we might expect. It was only in the age that was dawning with the closing years of Eusebius that doctrinal controversies led to the neglect of the apostolic fathers among the writers and theologians of the church whose knowledge of Greek allowed them access to their works. That Clement's epistle was unknown among those who only read Latin is indeed most probable, since, so far as we know, the first Latin version was made in the seventeenth century. But as to Eusebius' acquaintance with the epistle there should be no dispute. If, then, Eusebius was familiar with Clement's epistle, it is certainly not easy to understand how he failed to quote this expression

about "the limit of the West" in support of his own theory of Paul's release and western journeys, except on the supposition that he interpreted the words in some other way, and did not regard them as referring to Spain. It is also pointed out by Harnack<sup>8</sup> that among others besides Eusebius, who must have had a knowledge of this passage, Peter of Alexandria, the author of the pseudo-Clementine epistle to James, Origen, and Cyril of Jerusalem make no allusion to the Spanish journey. Neither did Jerome discover in Eusebius any reference to it. It is highly probable—nay, it is almost certain—that these writers were well acquainted with the epistle of Clement, and quite familiar with the phrase *τέρμα τῆς δύσεως*, but that, as themselves orientals, they understood easily how Clement would feel and express himself regarding the western progress of Paul. "Is it quite certain," asks Sanday,<sup>9</sup> "that a Jew, as Clement probably was (according to Lightfoot himself), speaking of St. Paul, another Jew, would not look upon Rome relatively to Jerusalem as the *τέρμα τῆς δύσεως*, the western limit? We in England might, for example, speak of Athens as being in the eastern Mediterranean." It is highly probable that Eusebius, reading this passage, understood it in this way, and the failure of all the church fathers and ecclesiastical writers, throughout at least a century after the appearance of Clement's epistle, to make use of this passage in that epistle, which later scholars have so confidently sought to make use of in favor of the Spanish journey, surely goes far to make it probable that the interpretation acknowledged by Dr. Sanday as at least possible was the one generally taken during that period.

It is generally admitted that the only two authorities that can be quoted in favor of the theory that the apostle actually visited Spain are Clement and the author of the Muratorian Fragment. We have seen that the reference by Clement is more than doubtful, and that it may be read in quite a natural sense without at all assuming that Paul ever passed to the west of Rome. The question now arises in regard to the case of the canon of Muratori:

<sup>8</sup> *Patrum Apostolicorum Opera*, edited by GEBHARDT, HARNACK, and ZAHN, ed. maj., p. 17.

<sup>9</sup> *Commentary on Romans* (Edinburgh, 1896), p. 414.

Is its statement of any particular or independent value, or is it not rather founded on a misunderstanding of the language of the common text of the passage in the epistle to the Romans? As to the date of the fragment, it may most probably be assigned to the beginning of the third century. That it was originally written in Greek has been the opinion of many of the most distinguished and influential of modern scholars; but while this theory seems to have been suggested in order to account for the barbarisms of its present Latin form, it is now admitted that no theory of translation can account for the monstrosities of grammar and orthography that meet us in every line. We may quite fairly assume that the author rather than the translator was an ignorant and illiterate man. To say the least of it, a good deal can be said in favor of the idea that the Latin, such as it is, is the original. The transcriber unboubtedly was careless in an extraordinary degree, as comparison of the two copies of the fragment from the Homily of Ambrose following our fragment shows. Yet evidently the original must have been very rugged and faulty in every sense. So far as the giving of a correct list of books whose canonical authority was admitted by the church of his time is concerned, the author may be regarded as a good witness, but his own remarks and conclusions can have but little value. What the writer actually does say in regard to the question before us now is as follows: "*Sicuti et semote passionem Petri evidenter declarat, sed et profectionem Pauli ab urbe ad Spaniam proficiscentis.*" The text is plainly corrupt, but the meaning apparently is that Luke's rule of recording only what fell under his own personal observation is shown by the omission of the martyrdom of Peter and of the journey of Paul from the city to Spain. Now, it is quite clear that a writer who knew nothing about the matter except what is contained in the common text of Rom. 15: 24, 28, might have expressed himself in the way in which our author does. In order that we may form a better idea of the character of the author of this work and his value as a witness, it may be well to examine some of his statements in the passage from which the words quoted are taken. He begins by saying that the acts of all the apostles

were written in one book. The name thus given to the Acts of the Apostles, though unsuitable, is one actually found in some manuscripts of the work. But his next statement is careless and inaccurate. He represents Luke as writing *optime Theophile*, whereas it is only in the gospel that he so addresses his patron (κράτιστε Θεόφιλε), but in the Acts of the Apostles only by his name without the epithet. Then, in the next clause, he makes a statement which, in the unreserved form in which it is made, is certainly incorrect. Zahn seeks to save the critical character of our author by restricting his reference to what are called the "we-passages" in the Acts. But there is not the slightest ground for this. No doubt our author is in the company of Irenæus, Eusebius, and Jerome, in describing Luke as a historian who records only what he had seen with his own eyes. But evidently those who are capable of speaking in this way must either have read the Acts of the Apostles very carelessly, or have been accustomed to express themselves in a very loose and inexact manner. And let it be observed that this statement, as made by one author here, is not a casual saying which may be discounted without seriously disturbing the sense or argument of the passage. On the contrary, the position that the writer of the Acts of the Apostles records only that of which he had himself been an eyewitness is made the foundation of the further statement that no mention is made of Peter's martyrdom and of Paul's journey into Spain, not because these incidents did not occur, but only because, in accordance with his usual habit, the historian recorded only his own personal observations. It is, therefore, quite evident that he has at least failed to give a correct reason for the omission by Luke of these particulars.

The clause in which the fragmentist states his opinion that Luke did not tell of Paul's journey into Spain because he had not been himself an eyewitness of it, is, as it stands, quite a curiosity: "*Quia sub praesentia ejus singula gerebantur sicuti et semote passionem Petri evidenter declarat, sed et profectionem Pauli ab urbe ad Spaniam proficiscentis.*" There are, of course, quite a number of peculiarities in this sentence, some of them evidently errors of transcription, others probably eccentricities of diction

or dialect. Special difficulty has been felt with regard to the word *semote*. Hilgenfeld, who believes in a Greek original of our fragment, accepts *semote* as the correct reading and regards it as a rendering of the Greek *πρόπρωθεν*. In this case, the meaning of our author would be that Luke pointed out the martyrdom of Peter and the journey of Paul "from afar." ' This is surely reading a good deal into the abrupt ending of the Acts of the Apostles; and, besides, *semote* means, not "from afar," but "separately," "apart," and is no fit rendering of *πρόπρωθεν*. Even apart from these objections, we could scarcely use the phrase "*evidenter declarat*" in such a connection. Wieseler renders *semote* "in a separate place," and refers to Luke 22:33. Credner reads *semota*, and gives the same rendering, referring to John 21:18 and Rom. 15:18. These passages at most yield a reference only to Peter's martyrdom. Wieseler accepts this restriction and disposes of the rest by adding *omittit* after *proficiscentis*. This probably will appear to candid critics a rather drastic method of getting rid of Paul's special journey. Tregelles<sup>10</sup> gives an interesting interpretation of our passage. He understood *semote* as referring to the purpose which Luke had in view in writing the Acts of the Apostles. Luke, writing as an eyewitness, evidently declares as apart from his object the martyrdom of Peter and also the journey of Paul from Rome into Spain (by not mentioning them at all). Here we have upon the whole a fair understanding of what the writer means. What we have in the Acts of the Apostles is a report by an eyewitness, and the reason why Paul's journey to Spain is not recorded there is that Luke was no longer Paul's companion in his western travels. He is aware of the awkwardness of having no mention of the Spanish journey in the Acts of the Apostles, but assures his readers that this is not because it never really took place. If we keep in view the fact that this writing was composed in Rome, by a member of the Roman church, we shall not be surprised to meet with this reference to the two great apostles, whose names tradition had already, by the close of the second century, begun to associate so closely with the

<sup>10</sup> *Canon Muratorianus* (Oxford, 1867), p. 40.

great western capital. And those who maintain the historicity of the Spanish journey and the second imprisonment seek to make a point by insisting upon the fact that, before such references could be made by our author, Peter's martyrdom and Paul's journey must have been generally recognized as undisputed facts. They argue that in the circles in which the writer of this fragment moved, in the Roman church, or perhaps even throughout the church at large, at the end of the second century, the tradition was current of a journey made by Paul into Spain and of a second imprisonment. But this need not surprise us. Our knowledge of the circumstances of the early Christian communities is so scanty that it is quite impossible for us to say what gave rise to this tradition or to that other. In some cases it may have been a misunderstanding which the circumstances of place and time could easily have explained. No doubt there was a natural anxiety on the part of the Romans to get the names of Peter and Paul intimately associated with the history of their church. That Paul had actually been in Rome and conducted a considerable work there was a well-known fact, and it is just possible that Peter also may have been in the city. We have seen that the story of the residence, not necessarily at one and the same time, of the two great apostles in Rome was, at a very early date, expanded into what seemed a very circumstantial story, but was really an utterly baseless fiction, of the association of the two apostles in the founding of the Roman church. In a similar way, by the misunderstanding of some casual expression, such as we have in Rom., chap. 15, if the Spain passages be genuine, or in some other such like report of the apostle's intention handed down by tradition, a wish is interpreted as a fact, and then the rapid development of the story would go on by the usual traditionary accretions coming from what source no one knows. In the preëminence generally accorded to Peter, in the report of our Lord's words foretelling, as was supposed, the manner of Peter's death, in the personal interest that Paul had taken in the church of Rome, and the early rumor, whether originating in his own or in some of his companions' statements, of his intention to go farther west, we have

quite a sufficient foundation for what is said by the fragmentist on this subject.

Steinmetz is anxious to show that our author had other sources than canonical Scripture affords, and wishes to show that the tradition which is given in our fragment was widely current in the time of the writer. It is surely rather damaging to the reputation of our author that he should be classed along with the writers of second-century apocryphal Acts of Apostles, which are admittedly full of legendary absurdities. By far the most respectable of these apocryphal productions is the work entitled *Acta Petri et Pauli*, the writer of which might be a younger contemporary of our author. Its genealogy seems to go back through a writing of Linus of Rome to another by Marcellus, said to have been a disciple of Peter. Upon this work is reared *Actus Petri Vercellenses*, of which the first three chapters give a detailed account of Paul's departure from Rome to Spain.<sup>11</sup> Various incidents connected with this are recorded. It is told how Paul fasted for three days and saw a vision in which the Lord came to him, saying, "*Paule, surge et qui in Spania sunt corpori tuo medicus esto*," meaning, evidently: "Go to Spain and be a physician to those who are there." Further, the author of the romance of Xanthippe and Polyxena, dating from the middle of the third century, quotes a passage from these Acts to the effect that Peter came to Rome in consequence of a vision that showed him that, on Paul's leaving for Spain, Simon Magus had begun to destroy the church which Paul had built up. This novel tells of Paul's work in Spain; how he baptized Xanthippe, the wife of Probus, ruler of Spain under Claudius Cæsar, and was afterward the means of converting her husband and her sister Polyxena. Mr. James is of opinion that our author borrowed from this apocryphal literature. "Whatever," he says, "be the true meaning of the corrupt clause in the Muratorian Fragment which relates to the Acts, it seems clear enough that the author knew

<sup>11</sup>See *Texts and Studies*, Vol. II (Cambridge, 1893), Part III: "Apocrypha Anecdota" (edited by M. R. JAMES), pp. 49-51. The Acts are given in LIPSIUS, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, I (Leipzig, 1890). For larger quotations from the Apocrypha about the end of Paul's life, see SPITTA, *Zur Geschichte und Litteratur des Urchristenthums*, I (Göttingen, 1893), pp. 64-80.

of books in which the '*passio Petri*' and the '*profectio Pauli ab urbe ad Spaniam proficiscentis*' were set forth in detail; and these books must surely have been Acts of Peter and Acts of Paul." The author, then, of the Muratorian Fragment is to be quoted in favor of Paul's journey to Spain, just as any of the second- and third-century writers of apocryphal Acts and historical romances might be, but by no means as a reliable historical source. If the journey to Spain really were historical, we might expect to find some traces of Paul's presence recorded in early history, or in local traditions, of a primitive and fairly reliable character. That Pope Innocent in the beginning and Pope Gelasius in the end of the fifth century were able to ignore the claims of Paul as founder of any of the western churches, and to proclaim it as a recognized and undisputed fact that all the churches from Rome westward, through Italy, Gaul, Spain, Africa, and the surrounding islands, owed their origin to Peter and his successors, is surely pretty strong evidence that there never had been any well-established tradition of our apostle's missionary activity in the West. No doubt the object of the Roman bishops in maintaining the Petrine origin of the churches of Rome and all the West was to secure the submission of the western churches to the claim of Rome. But before this claim could be made without occasioning protest, we must assume that no generally recognized traces of Paul's labors in those regions were to be found. Gams, the historian of the church of Spain, after the most careful research, has utterly failed to trace the footsteps of Paul in those regions; and Sepp, in his *History of the Apostles*, has only succeeded in finding some four places which have the name of Paul somewhat precariously associated with their churches. It is well known in Scottish ecclesiastical history how often a saint's name has come to be associated with a church in a district where historical investigation has proved that he who bore the name had never been. The search for traces of Paul's activity in Spain upon inscriptions has been as little successful. Sepp<sup>12</sup> produces one old Spanish inscription in which the inhabitants render thanks to Nero for having

<sup>12</sup> *Geschichte der Apostel vom Tod Jesu bis zur Zerstörung Jerusalems*, 1866, p. 312.



delivered the province from robbers, and *from the adherents of the new superstition*. He is probably correct in supposing that the new superstition means the Christian faith, and that certain Christian disciples had been hunted down in Spain under Nero. But it does not seem reasonable to conclude that these may have been the fruits of Paul's labors. That the inhabitants of a district which had been infested with robbers, in thanking the emperor who had delivered them from that oppression, should have referred to an exterminating persecution of religious sectaries as a riddance for which they ought to be equally thankful, shows that the new superstition had made such progress and obtained such a footing that the representatives of the old religion had anticipated serious danger to their cause. It surely implies a certain consolidation to which the converts of Paul, Nero's released prisoner, could not have attained within the limits of Nero's reign. The testimony of the inscription would rather favor the tradition which associates the name of James, the son of Zebedee, with the church of Spain.

The result, then, of our examination of the proofs that have been advanced from early Christian literature and history in favor of a release and second imprisonment of Paul is that there is nothing forthcoming which may not have been suggested by the incidental expressions of the apostle himself or by the legendary romances in which early Christian novelists gave vent to their imagination. It only remains to consider how far the determining of this question may affect our interpretation of the pastoral epistles, and what influence it may have on the problem of their genuineness. There is no doubt that a certain prejudice exists against the theory of a single imprisonment, in consequence of the use that has been made of it by those critics who repudiate the Pauline authorship of the pastoral epistles and regard them as belonging to the "tendency" literature of the second century. On the other hand, such critics have been too apt to fasten upon all who hold the theory of a second imprisonment the reproach of seeking to create supposititious evidence in favor of writings whose genuineness is not demonstrable on historical grounds, and even to invent historical situations to suit allusions found in

these writings. Professor W. M. Ramsay, of Aberdeen, who, on historical grounds, very firmly maintains the genuineness of the pastoral epistles, insists that the acceptance of the authenticity of these epistles involves the idea of Paul's release and second imprisonment. "From the pastoral epistles," he says,<sup>13</sup> "we learn that the result of Paul's trial before the supreme court was an acquittal." "That Paul was acquitted follows from the pastoral epistles with certainty for all who admit their genuineness."

It would be altogether out of place in the closing pages of an article like the present to attempt to indicate the grounds on which it seems to the writer that the genuineness of the pastoral epistles must be admitted. All that need be done here is to show that the passages usually quoted from these three epistles, as involving historical situations inconsistent with the theory of their being at once Pauline writings and having their origin within the period covered by the record of the Acts of the Apostles, can be explained without sacrificing their authenticity or postulating a longer life or second period of activity for the apostle. It is commonly assumed that these three epistles form a group so closely associated that we must find a period during which all of them may have been composed. This is assumed by those who reject them all as unauthentic, and also by those who, by the theory of Paul's release, provide a place for them after the close of the first imprisonment. It should be remembered, however, that this is only an assumption. It is quite open to those who see no cause for postulating a second imprisonment to consider whether 1 Timothy and Titus may not belong to an earlier period of the apostle's life, and only 2 Timothy to that of his latest years. This we do not discuss here. We propose simply to look at a few passages from these epistles, in which statements are made which have been regarded by many as presupposing that acquittal did follow the trial waited for in the end of the Acts of the Apostles, or visits to churches that could not fall within the historical period of that book.

<sup>13</sup> *St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen* (London, 1896), p. 308.

1. The historical conditions of 1 Timothy, as set forth in 1:3, are commonly supposed to occasion serious difficulty. "I exhorted thee to tarry at Ephesus, when I was going into Macedonia." Was this going into Macedonia on the part of Paul any journey of his of which we have any record in the Acts of the Apostles? Here we should notice, first of all, that the exhortation or beseeching may have been by letter, and does not make a meeting of Paul and Timothy absolutely necessary. Hence the fact of the absence of Timothy from Ephesus at the time of Paul's leaving the city at the close of his three-years' residence would not prevent his receiving such a commission from the apostle. And, again, we should observe that the verb rendered in the A. V. "to abide still" and in the R. V. "to tarry" does not imply that Paul and Timothy had been together in Ephesus, and that the apostle had left his young friend behind on his departure. Dr. Patrick Fairbairn<sup>14</sup> says: "Timothy was besought to abide still at Ephesus (*προσμεῖναι*) after the apostle had left it." The word is *προσμεῖναι*, not *ὑπομεῖναι*. Paul simply asked Timothy to remain on in the place where he was when he received his commission and which he himself had been required to leave. Meantime he had himself already gone and was now on a journey to Macedonia. It would appear that Paul during the disturbances at Corinth had once and again withdrawn into Macedonia. During his final visit to Corinth, when he wrote the epistle to the Romans, he had Timothy with him. There is nothing improbable in the supposition that Timothy left for Ephesus before Paul left for Macedonia, and that during the Macedonian journey of Paul, who was now on his way to Jerusalem, the apostle addressed him an exhortation to abide still in the capital of Asia and not to follow him to Macedonia, as otherwise he might be disposed to do. It is objected that in 3:14 Paul expresses a hope of coming to Timothy shortly. The adverb is a comparative, *τάχιον*, and Ellicott suggests a suppressed comparative reference, "sooner than these instructions presuppose," "sooner than I anticipate." Is not this quite in keeping with Paul's feelings as he journeyed to Jerusalem—feelings which he

<sup>14</sup> *Pastoral Epistles* (Edinburgh, 1874), p. 22.

gave expression to at Miletus? He now seems to say: "Things look black enough, but I may see you again sooner than at present seems likely; but, in any case, these instructions may not be unnecessary." Steinmetz finds a difficulty in this that in his address to the Ephesian elders Paul views the rise of heresy among them as future, but in 1 Timothy as already arisen. Our view is that when Paul was at Miletus he had just given Timothy his commission, and that the epistle was not written till at least three years later. Without, therefore, separating 1 Timothy from the other two epistles, as some are inclined to do, we can quite appreciate the historical situation implied by what is said in the epistle and by the record of Timothy's movements in the Acts of the Apostles, and still find a place for its composition in the historical two-years' imprisonment in Rome.

2. The second epistle seems to have been written some time after the first. Someone had brought Paul word of Timothy's discouragement and despondency, and the immediate occasion of this writing is to encourage and brace him up for his work. Something had happened in the meantime to Paul that might cause Timothy to shrink from his old master and spiritual father, either from fear or from shame (1:7, 8). This, undoubtedly, was the first charge against Paul, under which all his friends had withdrawn from him (4:16 f.). He does not encourage Timothy by presenting the picture of a brighter future. The darkness is deepening, and the night shall soon have come. It is not by putting death to a distance, but by reminding him of the presence of Him who has overcome death, that Paul would encourage Timothy to come to him and stand by him. This, so far, seems quite easily to harmonize with the historical situation of the last days of the two-years' imprisonment. The references to individuals, however, in 4:9-13, 19, 20, have been supposed to present insuperable difficulties. The only serious difficulty is the statement made in vs. 20. As to the first part of it, Erastus of Corinth had evidently at some time returned home, and Paul only says that he continued to stay there. It is not suggested that he had gone with Paul to Corinth and remained behind there after Paul had

left. In regard to Trophimus the Ephesian, left at Miletus sick, there is a difficulty that is perhaps insoluble. This Trophimus was with Paul at Miletus and afterward at Jerusalem (Acts 21:29). I do not quite see that the rendering of ἀπέλειπον as third person plural rather than first person singular, as proposed by Hug, Wieseler, Reuss, and others, should be summarily dismissed, as is done by Ellicott and most modern commentators. But even if that is not to be thought of, may not the imperfect ἀπέλειπον of Westcott and Hort be understood in the sense, "I am leaving him at Miletus, instead of sending him on to Ephesus, because of his sickness"? Paul is taking Timothy and Mark away from Ephesus, and is only sending Tychicus. He would have sent Trophimus also, but finds it necessary meanwhile to let him halt at Miletus to rest and recruit. But even if no quite satisfactory explanation of the allusion be forthcoming, it is a much less exacting hypothesis to assume that there must be some explanation of the occurrence than to postulate, on account of this reference and other such like references, a release and a subsequent second imprisonment to provide a sufficient space of time for the composition of the epistle containing them.

3. Steinmetz insists that, upon the hypothesis of the composition of 2 Timothy during Paul's imprisonment, it is necessary to place that of Titus earlier, during a period of freedom. He grounds this conclusion on the statement of Paul's resolution to spend the winter at Nicopolis (Titus 3:12). This was most probably the winter before which Paul desired Timothy to come to him (2 Tim. 4:9, 21), and all that we need suppose is that, for some reason or other, in the interval between the writing of these epistles, the apostle came to entertain some hope that his trial might issue in his release. As to the question about the time when Titus was left in Crete, we have no information, either in the Acts of the Apostles or in the Pauline epistles. We know only of one occasion on which Paul visited Crete, and that during his journey to Rome as a prisoner. Plummer says that it could not be then that Paul founded the church in Crete, and he seems to think that, having said so, he disposes of the possibility of associating with that visit the allusion at the beginning of our

epistle to Paul's leaving Titus in Crete. But is there any reason why we should suppose that the founding of the church in Crete and the leaving of Titus in Crete refer to the same time? The probability rather is that a considerable period had intervened. Most likely Crete was evangelized, either by Paul or by some of his companions from Corinth or Macedonia, during Paul's third missionary journey. In the harbor of the Fair Havens those in charge of the ship intended to winter, and before they determined to seek a more convenient anchorage they may have spent there some days. In any case, abundance of time was given for Paul to discover the circumstances and needs of the little Christian community in the island, and to arrange for the leaving of Titus to carry out the necessary work after his departure. That Titus had been with the apostle after this in Rome is witnessed to by 2 Timothy, and either while in Dalmatia, executing some commission for his master, or after finishing that work and reaching Crete again, he received the epistle which now bears his name.

The conclusion, then, which we claim to have reached is this, that, apart from the pastoral epistles, there is nothing to suggest the idea of a release following the two-years' imprisonment of Paul in Rome, and that, approaching the study of the pastoral epistles from the standpoint of a single imprisonment, it is quite possible to maintain their genuineness, and to explain their historical relations and their local allusions and references, without any doubtful and unreal combinations, and without having recourse to any artificial hypotheses. It is not within our province to attempt a vindication of the pastoral epistles, but merely to show that, if, on other grounds, they may be regarded as genuine, the theory of a single imprisonment is in no way hostile to such a conclusion.

## A HALF CENTURY AFTER THOMAS CHALMERS.

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THE lofty and noble figure of Dr. Chalmers characterizes the transition from clerical and aristocratic dominance to modern democracy in church and state. The personal character of Chalmers has been treated fully and interestingly by the competent hands of Hanna, Blaikie, and others in biographies which will ever belong to the classic inspirational literature of the church. The story is that of a man of power who inherited from honest and pure stock a sound body, large vitality, and a fund of energy which lasted through an exacting career down to old age. Parents, teachers, church, and university helped him to become a citizen at home in the republic of letters and the world of human interests. Eminent lecturers in science brought him very early into sympathetic relations with the noble intellectual movements of great minds. Mathematics, chemistry, astronomy, economics, and politics engaged his attention and widened his outlook. He had successful experience as a teacher of youth, a pastor of plain people, a preacher of great power to convince and persuade, and as professor in the school of theology.

From the simple social organization of a rural parish he was called to administer the affairs of a complex city parish where he faced the problems of the age. By sorrow and sickness he came into a deeper apprehension of evangelical truth. By conflict with political patrons he was taught deeper respect for dissenters and was prepared in mind for that Free Church movement which he was afterward called to lead. In the eagerness of a Christian philanthropist he organized parish work on a plan which has won admiration and imitation in the church of many lands. By his writings he has shown the connection between science and sentiment, economics and piety, education and virtue, morality and spirituality. In his own person he proved that breadth and majesty of thought are consistent with intense zeal,

sincere and simple piety, and profound spirituality. The works of such a man deserve our study.

The chief purpose of this article is to bring into notice certain essential principles of missionary enterprise which were clearly set forth, powerfully enforced, and experimentally demonstrated by Chalmers, but which are even yet too much neglected. The name of one of the noblest and strongest leaders of religion and philanthropy should give weight to these arguments. The struggle of organized Christianity to win a hearing with the vast and increasing "working class" population is one of surpassing interest. Believers in this faith, who cannot divorce religion from morality and general welfare, are earnestly seeking the best means of promoting this cause. To this anxious concern may be traced a revival of interest in those successful experiments made by the eminent Scotch divine in the first quarter of the nineteenth century.

There is a point of view from which it may be claimed that Chalmers contributed to theological thinking. Perhaps in his eloquent sermons and in his formal lectures on systematic theology he may have added something to the discussion. Those works are not here under consideration. Attention is rather called to a much-neglected phase of the subject. One of the influential maxims of education is: "Learn by doing." The greatest Teacher said: "If any man is willing to do his will, he shall know of the teaching." Too commonly it has been assumed, contrary to sound philosophy, that the construction of a theological system and additions to knowledge may be made a purely intellectual process, that the personal life is not a factor, that isolation from the actual world is sure to yield the best results. But in this point pedagogy has a right to speak, since the theologian is not released from the laws of self-development out of which systems grow. Froebel based much of his method on the idea that we enter into the very life of God by doing his works :

God creates and works productively in uninterrupted continuity. Each thought of God is a work, a deed. As Jesus has said: "My Father worketh hitherto and I work." From this it follows that, since



God created man in his own image, man should create and bring forth like God. He who will early learn to recognize the Creator must early exercise his own power of action with the consciousness that he is bringing about what is good; for the doing good is the link between the creature and the Creator, and the conscious doing of it the conscious connection, the true union, of the man with God, of the individual man as of the human race, and is, therefore, the starting-point and the eternal aim of education.

This law of growth in spiritual acquisition and insight is not confined to the kindergarten. The most profound problems of life, duty, and theology must be studied in contact with reality, with human experience. Christ is life, and we come to deeper knowledge of him only by living in his way. Much of theological thinking has been unreal and untrue, because it had no roots in the actual conduct of the thinker. It smells of the lamp. This would not be a reproach if sunlight were not neglected and Christ's care for humanity were not counted out of consideration. In discussing the way to educate and evangelize the multitudes of neglected city populations Chalmers was making his way to God; he was writing a neglected chapter in theological science.

The most revolutionary idea, perhaps, in recent theology has been that of the ethical element in revelation, the character of Jesus as the central point in thought about deity. This tendency probably arose in the humanitarian practice of the church, rather than in purely speculative excursions. Instinct and practice universally anticipate systematic logic.

Not only in the development of theology, but also in the conservation of church resources, the work of Chalmers has deep significance. Youth is naturally and necessarily active. In order to save the young people to the church we must set them to the task of saving the world, and that by all possible ways needed by mankind and suited to the various gifts of the Christian disciples. We need hints and suggestions of useful and productive fields of social activity. Enthusiastic conventions are useful only as they stimulate and direct into practical labor the loving service of the host of young believers. They cannot

long dwell on the Mount of Transfiguration. In the *Christian and Civic Economy of Large Towns* the societies of consecrated youth will find a classic.

Two partisan doctrines divide Christian men in our day. Those who are sympathetically ranged with the socialistic school usually emphasize the importance of economic conditions, and their bias is to regard morals, religion, and art as blossoms of industrial prosperity. They are characterized by the creed that a better distribution of goods, more equal opportunity, higher income for the workingmen, greater leisure for all, better houses, are the essential things. At the other extreme are those ethical and theological writers who urge that the essential means of popular betterment must be found in changed spiritual character. It is the merit of Chalmers, economist and theologian, one who loved science and was deeply religious, that he saw the reconciliation of these extreme positions in a view broad enough to include both. No spiritual prophet has ever urged more clearly and convincingly than he the absolute necessity of education, morality, and religion to the material well-being of the wage-earners.

At the same time he saw that members of an industrial class whose wages are too low must be feeble in body from defective clothing, food, and housing; that if hours of labor are excessively long, no vitality is left over for study and worship; that a densely crowded population will surely be sensual, immoral, and drunken; that an unwise system of public poor relief must take away the incentives to independence, love of struggle, manly self-reliance, and a sense of responsibility for one's own family. Both points of view need to be urged at the same moment by the same men, as essential parts of an adequate system of social thought and action. The half-truth has the baneful effect of a lie. The fish escape from the net at the point where the meshes are broken, even though all other parts are sound. A tree cannot live and bear fruit unless its roots are in the dark soil, its foliage in the bright air, and all in organic connection. The laboring man is a creature of two worlds. He requires economic improvement to release his spirit from the oppressive weight of exhausting toil,

and adequate wages that he may command the means of an existence worthy of a human being. He must also have offered to him schools and churches, parks and libraries, for his higher nature. He must, to be a complete man, enjoy both at the same time.

Shall religion or social reform be placed "first" in the labors of Christian men? Over this hotly contested problem a good deal of energy has been wasted from defective definition and analysis. Discussion might give more promise of coming to an intelligent and fruitful issue, and to practical agreement, if we should take pains to define what we mean by the little word "first." Logically, and in the scale of ethical worth, religion is first. The kingdom of God and his righteousness deserve the highest rank in our regards. Causally, at the primal roots of being, according to our theological beliefs, God himself is the fount and origin of being, power, goodness, beauty. The grace of the Father, the brooding energy of the life-giving Spirit, are deeper than all else.

But if we are to consider the life of men from the biological and psychological point of view, as we ought sometimes to do, rather than from that of the theologian, we may discover the actual temporal order in which the higher powers of men have come up into consciousness. Leaving out of account the dim and perilous region of the state of religion in the mind of "primitive men," we may profitably observe the order in which the spiritual relations of existence rise into the consciousness of each contemporary human being. Chronologically, in the individual person, that which is ethically "first" comes last. "That is not first which is spiritual, but that which is natural; then that which is spiritual."

Pedagogically we must observe the order of individual development revealed by psychology. The most pious parents do not attempt to instruct infants in the catechism before they can talk. There must be a basis, in certain experiences and acquisitions of symbols, before the most elementary notions of religion are conveyable to a child. Phrases may, indeed, be learned by rote, but they suggest falsehoods, unless the ground has been prepared.

This true pedagogical method must be followed with adults, with "grown-up children." Where faith has been left undeveloped ; where deceit and infidelity have been the atmosphere of life ; where confidence has been hourly and rudely shocked ; where the ordinary relations of industry have been embittered ; there the mere words of religion often provoke hateful antagonism. It is a daily experience of pastors and missionaries that they must create social bonds of confidence and affection as a condition of even securing a hearing for the mysteries of religion. It is from this pedagogical point of view that the social reformer and the missionary must proceed, even at the risk of being charged with the desire to "substitute sociology for the gospel," whatever that may mean.

Certainly all will agree that all kinds of welfare are the natural fruits of Christianity. It is orthodox to say that we may show our faith by our works. Therefore, though we may not put any social reform before religion, we ought to put it after religion, and in close connection. We may well question the Christianity of a church which can exist in one of our modern cities and utterly ignore its means of relieving misery and of promoting the highest life. The bitterest enemy of the church could not say worse things about the church than have been made the boast of some churches and pastors.

It is a merit of Chalmers that he brings into closer relations the spiritual guides of the moral life, on the one side, and the economists and politicians, on the other :

There are two classes of writers, whose prevailing topics stand intimately connected with the philosophy of human affairs, but who, in almost all their habitudes of thinking, have hitherto maintained an unfortunate distance from each other. There are political economists who do not admit Christianity, as an element, into their speculations, and there are Christian philanthropists who do not admit political science, as an element, into theirs. The former very generally regard the professional subject of the latter, if not with contempt, at least with unconcern ; and the latter as generally regard the professional subject of the former with a somewhat sensitive kind of prejudice, bordering upon disapprobation and dislike. It is thus that two classes of public

laborers, who, with a mutual respect and understanding, might have, out of their united contributions, rendered a most important offering to society, have, in fact, each in the prosecution of their separate walk, so shut out the light, and so rejected the aid, which the other could have afforded, as either, in many instances, to have merely amused the intellectual public with inert and unproductive theory, on the one hand, or to have misled the practically benevolent public into measures of well-meaning, but mischievous and ill-directed activity, on the other.

Here we discover a plea for a coördinating science which did not then exist even in outline. Here is one of those prophetic yearnings which, in the later work of Comte, J. S. Mill, Spencer, and Schaeffle, came to systematic and articulate expression. It is also an argument, a moral demand, that the division of intellectual labor shall not be made the occasion for the dissipation of the resources of society for human betterment.

It is a mistake to suppose that by refusing to study political science, economics, and sociology the minister will thereby be led to silence. The spiritual adviser of men, women, and children must unconsciously shape his counsels by his implicit beliefs about everyday relations. In the exposition of the prophets, the decalogue, the gospels, and the epistles he is compelled to deliver opinions on social relations, domestic, industrial, recreative. It is just the most ignorant expositor who is likely to be most confident of his judgments and ludicrously oracular in the expression of them. Chalmers shrewdly probes this dogmatism of ignorance:

It is certainly to be regretted that many of our pious, and even our most profound, theologians should be so unfurnished as they are with the conceptions of political economy. But it is their active resistance to some of its clearest and most unquestionable principles, it is their blindly sentimental dislike of a doctrine which stands on the firm basis of arithmetic, it is their misrepresentation of it as hostile to the exercise of our best feelings . . . it is the dogmatism of their strenuous asseverations against that which experience and demonstration are ever obtruding upon their judgment as irrefragable truth, it is this which is mainly to be regretted, for it has enlisted the whole of their high and deserved influence on the side of institutions pernicious to society; and what, perhaps, is still worse, it has led a very enlightened

class in our land to imagine a certain poverty of understanding as inseparable from religious zeal; thus bringing down our Christian laborers from that estimation which, on their own topic, so rightfully belongs to them.

It is the duty of philanthropists to seek, not only the best motive, but the best method. If we may judge by conduct, the leaders of the church have only too generally undervalued the study of right ways to good ends. The ministry of the gospel has been the most important inspiration of benevolence in the history of mankind. The impulse to goodness is generated by worship and the sermon. The technical training for the ecclesiastical profession has not been overlooked, but for various reasons the social institution almost exclusively recognized in pastoral theology has been simply the church itself. Why has *method* been thus slighted or undervalued?

Rightly has the church insisted on the supreme importance of a *right* disposition, a regenerate heart, a converted will, a holy nature. This is central, essential, vital. It is the object of evangelistic effort to secure the generic act of self-consecration. In this process the agency of the Holy Spirit is absolutely necessary. The "truth as it is in Jesus," the fundamental facts of the gospel, must be the initial instrument of human effort. This cannot be too much insisted on.

The separation of church and state, especially in America, has removed many occasions for the ministry to think about political, legal, and administrative affairs. On the whole this is an improvement. The division of labor is favorable to efficiency. The pastor is freed from secular responsibilities which fall on a minister of a state church. He is not compelled to depend on the taxing process for his income, nor upon favors of statesmen and legislators. But this very freedom from the state may lead to a neglect of one of the moral relations of human society, and a great system of duties which should be held sacred. For example, the fact that since the Reformation in Protestant countries poor relief is under communal direction does not diminish the obligation of followers of Jesus to "remember the poor;" yet the temptation to forget is intensified by the knowledge that public

officials are appointed to supply material necessities of the destitute.

The theology of our age, as all will acknowledge, is saturated with the philosophical tendencies of the age. The philosophy, the economic theory, the political creeds of the beginning of this century were individualistic. In a revolt from the bondage of the ruling classes and privileged corporations the leading reformers of thought urged the independence of the individual. In theology this universal movement of thought fell in with all that was best in the revival movement of the Wesleys. Men were shown that birthright membership in an ecclesiastical establishment would not help them if their hearts were corrupt. Each man must repent on his own account. Jonathan Edwards burned this truth into the mind of the Christian world in a way never to be forgotten.

The doctrine of individualism may be so pressed as to become a falsehood. There is another aspect of truth and of duty. We are influenced by the language, the schools, the customs, the liberties, the laws of our country. If we help our fellows, we must do it through these institutions. Religious teaching must not ignore the laws of social influence and the duties which inhere in the providential relations of the community.

The first words of Chalmers in the *Christian and Civic Economy of Large Towns* call attention to this neglect:

There is a great deal of philanthropy afloat in this our day. At no period, perhaps, in the history of human mind did a desire for doing good so earnest meet with a spirit of inquiry so eager after the best and likeliest methods of carrying the desire into accomplishment. . . . It must be confessed, at the same time, that much of this benevolence, more particularly when it arrives at some fulfilment by a combination of many individuals, is rendered abortive for want of a right direction. Were the misleading causes to which philanthropy is exposed when it operates among a crowded assemblage of human beings fully understood, then would it cease to be a paradox why there should either be a steady progress of wretchedness in our land, in the midst of its charitable institutions, or a steady progress of profligacy, in the midst of the churches, and sabbath schools, and manifold reclaiming societies.

This fundamental idea is not yet heartily accepted and acted upon by the church, as is shown by the curriculum of the average seminary and by the usual program of church work and young people's societies. We have hardly made a beginning in providing training and instruction in the wisest method of philanthropy. The clouds of tradition still darken our sky ; the chains of custom still lay their heavy weight upon our minds.

There is not much wonder that many of the first struggles of the awakened social conscience, being uninstructed and without experience, should be somewhat wild and hysterical. The cure for the utopian radicalism which justly disturbs the conservative is not suppression of discussion, but more thorough courses in the social sciences for social leaders.

The danger of trusting uninspired prophecy is well illustrated in the case before us. The man of wide learning and great sagacity may be able to understand the past and explain the present, by tracing phenomena to those causes which work in an orderly way—that is, by law. But when one begins to describe and foretell the future, his learning and his sagacity at the best can pierce the clouds only a little way. It is curious to recall the blunders of great minds when they have set about to foretell the course of events for a half century in advance, and that with great detail. The story of the past does not reveal what will be in the future. No age is exactly like those gone before it. The causal factors of human development are ever combining in new relations. A new discovery, as of steam power, telegraph, cotton-gin, compels a new adjustment in every range of the institutions of society.

Chalmers made certain prophecies which have not come true ; for example, that official outdoor relief might soon and easily be abolished ; that trade unions would discover the folly of their way of "collective bargaining," and return to the natural way of "individual bargaining;" that the government would not seek to regulate industry ; that government support of the church would soon be found necessary to its highest efficiency.



While it cannot be said that Chalmers actually foretold all of these events, he evidently expected them. Not one has turned out as he foretold. Official out-of-door relief is the increasing practice of all Christian nations. The obligation to support every living human being is recognized as a community obligation. Trade unions have grown to be one of the chief industrial, political, and educational agencies and powers of all civilized countries. Government regulation of industry in the interest of the weak and of the entire community against the class interest of capitalistic power is increasing, and has become the settled policy of all Christian peoples. At the same time, separation of church from the state goes forward steadily, and in America, where religion is perhaps most generously supported, the separation is complete.<sup>1</sup>

And yet there are permanent principles in Chalmers' writings which are valid in our age, and are independent of the machinery through which they find expression. Examples will be given of these abiding elements in the changing forms. Making the largest allowance for the errors and limitations of Chalmers which can be demanded by justice, we still find fruitful suggestions, worthy of the consideration of the dawning century.

After a painful and costly experience of ruined health, desperate struggle of one man to care for a multitude, and final loss of large territories in cities, our urban churches are coming to discover the truth which Chalmers taught :

One most essential step toward so desirable an assimilation in a large city parish is a numerous and well-appointed agency. The assimilation here does not lie in the external framework ; for, in a small country parish the minister alone, or with a few coadjutors of a small session, may bring the personal influence of his kind and Christian

<sup>1</sup> The work of chief value and interest by CHALMERS is the *Christian and Civic Economy of Large Towns*, which has become a rare book, and whose political economy has become in great part obsolete. The unpracticed reader is very likely to be misled by it in many points. The social evolution of the century has changed the nature of the problems. A critical discussion of these points requires more space than can be given in one article. Reference may be made here to a new edition, abridged, of the *Christian and Civic Economy of Large Towns*, published by Charles Scribner & Sons, New York, 1900, with introduction by C. R. HENDERSON.

attentions to bear upon all the families. Among the ten thousand of the city parish this is impossible. . . . By dividing his parish into small manageable districts, and assigning one or more of his friends to each of them, and vesting them with such a right either of superintendence or of inquiry as will always be found to be gratefully met by the population, and so raising a ready intermedium of communication between himself and the inhabitants of his parish, he may at length attain an assimilation in point of result to a country parish.

The chapter on the "Influence of Locality" would still be a strong, convincing tract for thorough pastoral work, social settlements, and friendly visitors. Perhaps nowhere else is the wastefulness of the ambition to generalize more powerfully exposed. The humble worker, happy in the genuine gratitude of his neighbors, is encouraged, and the conceited leader of grand schemes for the immediate spiritual regeneration of the metropolis is put to shame. The most promising agencies for the salvation of our cities are acting in accordance with these principles.

The discussion of "Church Offices" deserves careful study by city missionaries who are expected to deal out material relief to the poor. Chalmers had learned by actual contact with the poor how easy it is to bribe them into hypocrisy with alms, to make charity a source of moral corruption and hateful pretense, and to destroy the spiritual influence of the pastoral office. Admitting the occasional necessity of relief, he would separate the functions of distribution of material goods and the exercise of the evangelical office, and lay them upon different persons.

Addressing those spiritual officers who have feeble confidence in the power of a Christian visitor to gain influence without becoming an almoner of "charity," he claims for friendliness a power of the highest and most lasting character. The principle of the charity organization society and of the pastoral office is defended with ability and with the authority of experience. His language might, in many churches, still be used with fidelity to truth:

It is little known how open even the rudest and wildest of a city population are to the magic of this sweetening influence. . . . This

is a phenomenon which the hardy administrators of a poor's house have little conception of; and they may be heard to predict that if you disjoin an elder from all the patronage which he shares with them, you take away from him the only instrument by which he can ever hope to conciliate his families. . . . We are quite aware of the incredulity of practical men upon this subject; but it is just because they are not practical enough that they are blind to the truth. This is a world where . . . the charm of simple kindness is not unfelt, even when it has nothing to bestow; . . . where good will, though unaccompanied with wealth, can spread a higher and more permanent felicity, even among the poorest vicinities, than ever wealth can, in all its profusion, unaccompanied with good will.

The person who genuinely enters into the life of the people, shares their fortunes, and holds true fellowship with them in genial and neighborly communion gains an influence with all classes and grades among them; while he who advertises his purpose to purchase his way to favor with silver and gold will attract about him a swarm of cringing and lying beggars, but will repulse and drive to a distance the great multitude of the independent, hard-working, really worthy people who suffer toil, pain, hunger, and cold for a lifetime rather than be beholden to a patron for the favor of existence. It is a merit of Chalmers that he shows faith in the people, as the great Lincoln did, and indignantly denies that most of them are broken in will and ready to live upon the crumbs of charity. This higher and more refined philanthropy has no more eloquent advocate in history than the Scotch economist and preacher.

The eminent preacher was also a most successful and laborious pastor. His testimony to the value of humble labor in house-to-house visitation is direct and impressive:

It is not with rare and extraordinary talent conferred upon the few, but with habits and principles which may be cultivated by all, that are linked our best securities for the reformation of the world. This is work which will be mainly done with everyday instruments, operating upon everyday materials, and more by the multiplication of laborers than by the gigantic labor of a small number of individuals.

It required foresight and courage in the first decades of the century to defend and advocate Sunday schools, with their lay

workers, without professional training or ecclesiastical standing. One of the arguments against these schools was that they diverted attention from home religion. The answer to this was twofold: first, neglect by the clergy had led to a very general abandonment by the laboring classes both of public and domestic worship; therefore the Sunday school did not injure either, but would probably promote both; and, in the second place, if the "moderate" clergyman could trust unskilled and ignorant parents to give their children instruction in the high mysteries of religion in the home, he must admit that the Sunday-school teachers, of a better educated class, might also be trusted with the spiritual guidance of the children, the undisciplined heathen who swarmed in the crowded streets and alleys of the town.

In urging the employment of laymen, the great theological teacher did not underestimate the value of professional, literary, and scientific training for the ministry:

That is a good course of education in a church which will not only secure the possibility that every minister may be learned in theology, but also a chance, bordering upon a certainty, that some of them shall attain eminence in authority and respect in the other sciences.

If this idea were adopted, the curricula of our theological seminaries, and of the college courses leading up to them, would be far more flexible and varied than they have been. The present movement to break down cast-iron uniformity of preparation finds justification in his argument that the church needs and demands pastors and leaders of many types. It is dangerous and fallacious to stereotype a course of study for young ministers on the theory that the seminary should furnish preparation for the "typical" pastor. There is no one type of the successful pastor, but many.\*

The inspiration of the social settlement springs from the belief that there are hopeful elements in the most discouraging neighborhoods. This same inspiring conviction is expressed in Chalmers' discussion of pauperism:

There is utter inadvertence to the laws of our universal nature on the part of those who think that in the humblest circles of plebeianism

\*See chap. viii of *Christian and Civic Economy of Large Towns*.

there is not the operation of the very same principles which may be witnessed in the higher circles of fashionable life.

Chalmers was ready to recognize, in theory and in practice, the necessity of auxiliary agencies and human ministrations in city mission work. The penny savings bank and the school for poor children are illustrations of a most fruitful idea and method. In the employment of such means he anticipated many of the thoughts, motives, and methods of what is now called the "institutional church."

He was a man whose intellectual insight laid under tribute the treasures of the physical and social sciences, whose human sympathies sustained his missionary zeal to the last hour of a toilsome career, whose evangelical faith organized his varied thinking, and whose intense religious devotion transfigured all his activities with the glory of the presence of Christ.

## THE HISTORY OF THE NEW TESTAMENT CANON IN THE SYRIAN CHURCH.

By JULIUS A. BEWER,  
New York.

SINCE the publication of Theodor Zahn's monumental work, *Die Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons*, a flood of light has been thrown on the history of the New Testament canon in the Syrian church by the discovery of the Codex Syrus Sinaiticus, which modifies the course of the history a good deal. But though this famous codex has been carefully studied and compared with the other documents, though its place in the genealogy of the texts has been the subject of controversy, nobody has as yet undertaken a reconstruction of the history of the New Testament canon in the Syrian church. It is this that I should like to attempt in this study. But before we can reconstruct the history, many points have to be considered, for there is lack of unanimity among scholars in regard to almost all the questions at issue.

Right at the outset it is best to define clearly what belongs to the subject and what not. I give, therefore, here a *statement of the questions* which will be treated. The cardinal point is: *only that which bears directly on the history of the canon will be considered*. Everything else, however valuable in itself, will be omitted. Thus it is not necessary for our purpose, *e. g.*, to compare the Syrus Sinaiticus, the Curetonianus, and Peshitta with the Palestinian Syriac, nor to compare the later revisions, the Philoxenian and the Heraclian, with the Peshitta. The history of the text as such is different from the history of the canon. The problems to be considered are :

- i. As regards the gospels :
  1. What is the relation of Syrus Sinaiticus (= Ss) to Syrus Curetonianus (= Sc)?
  2. What is the relation of Ss and Sc to the Peshitta (= P)?
  3. What is the relation of Ss, Sc, and P to the Greek?
  4. What is the relation of Ss, Sc, and P to Tatian's Diatessaron (= T)?
  5. Which gospels did Aphraates (= A) use, the gospel harmony or the separate gospels, or both?
  6. Which did Ephraim (= E) use?

- ii. As regards the Acts and epistles :
  1. What does the Doctrina Addai say about them ?
  2. Does Aphraates use all of them ?
  3. Are all the epistles in the Peshitta ?
  4. What is the relation of the text of the epistles in Aphraates to that of P ?
  5. What that of Ephraim ?
  6. Does Ephraim use all the books of the New Testament ?
- iii. As regards canonicity :
  1. What light does the Doctrina Addai shed on this question ?
  2. Did Aphraates have a canon ?
  3. If so, on what principle was it based ?

When these questions are answered, we are ready to attempt the reconstruction of the entire history.

The sources are not many. The lack of historical references makes the history all the more complicated. The sources are: (1) the Codex Syrus Sinaiticus (= Ss);<sup>1</sup> (2) the Codex Syrus Curetonianus (= Sc);<sup>2</sup> (3) the Peshitta (= P);<sup>3</sup> (4) the Diatessaron of Tatian (= T);<sup>4</sup> (5) the homilies of Aphraates (= A);<sup>5</sup> (6) the works of Ephraim (= E);<sup>6</sup> (7) references to Tatian and the Diatessaron in the church fathers;<sup>7</sup> (8) the Doctrina Addai.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. E. NESTLE, "Die syrischen Bibelübersetzungen," in *Real-Encyclopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche* (= RE), 3. Aufl., Vol. III, 1897.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. A. CIASCA, *Tatiani Evangeliorum harmoniae arabice . . . edidit*, Roma, 1888.—G. MOESINGER, *Evangelii concordantis expositio facta a sancto Ephraemo*, Venezia, 1896.—THEO. ZAHN, *Forschungen zur Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons und der altkirchlichen Literatur*. I. Theil: *Tatian's Diatessaron*, Erlangen, 1881—a famous reconstruction of the lost gospel harmony. See also ZAHN's article, "Zur Geschichte von Tatian's Diatessaron im Abendland," *Neue kirchl. Zeitschr.*, 1894, No. 2.—J. HAMLYN HILL, *The Earliest Life of Christ ever Compiled from the Four Gospels, being the Diatessaron of Tatian*, Edinburgh, 1894.—J. RENDEL HARRIS, *The Diatessaron of Tatian. A Preliminary Study*, London, 1890, and "The Diatessaron," *Contemporary Review*, August, 1895, in answer to R. W. CASSELS, "The Diatessaron of Tatian," *Nineteenth Century*, April, 1895.—S. HEMPHILL, *The Diatessaron of Tatian*, London and Dublin, 1888.—Also the articles of J. M. FULLER in the *Dictionary of Christian Biography* and of ADOLF HARNACK in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. NESTLE in RE, s. v.

<sup>4</sup> See J. RENDEL HARRIS and HILL as quoted in footnote 2.

<sup>5</sup> See CURETON, *Ancient Syriac Documents*, 1864.—GEO. PHILLIPS in his standard edition, 1876.—LIPSIUS, "Zur edessenischen Abgar-Sage," *Jahrb. f. protest. Theologie*, 1880, pp. 187 f., and on "Thaddæus," in the *Dictionary of Christian Biography*.

## PRELIMINARY INVESTIGATIONS.

## I. THE GOSPELS.

As we should expect in any newly founded Christian church, the gospels were the first to be translated into Syriac. Having heard of Jesus Christ in the sermons preached by the missionaries, the Syrian Christians had surrendered themselves to him. An ardent longing to learn more of him than the sermons of these evangelists could give them must soon have taken hold of them. A translation of his works and words, as they had already been written down, must soon have been made. Whether Tatian was one of the early missionaries, or even the founder of Christianity, in Syria, we do not know. It is extremely doubtful. If he had been, it would be very strange that not even the slightest tradition concerning it has come down to us. We know that he has combined and interwoven the gospels in Syriac in his Diatessaron; we know that this gospel harmony was widely used in Syria; but we do not know that he was the first to give the Syrians Christianity and the translation of the Christian documents. Granted that a translation of the gospels was made early after the establishment of Christianity, we are at once confronted by the question: Which was the earlier work, the translation of the four separate gospels or the Diatessaron? We have, namely, on the one hand, a gospel harmony, and, on the other, the four gospels given us in the Syrus Sinaiticus, Curetonianus, and the Peshitta. That the contrast between the two was felt in Syria is seen from the title of the separate gospels, *ܐܘܢܝܢ*, *i. e.*, "the gospel of the separated." But this title cannot be used as an argument for the later origin of Ss and Sc than T, because we do not know whether the original translator has used it, or whether it was not added by the later scribe who wrote when the distinction between the separate gospels and the Diatessaron was marked, viz., in the fourth century. There is no external evidence which can be brought to bear on this question of priority. It is true, we know from the Doctrina Addai, Aphraates, and Ephraim that the Diatessaron was widely used, but that does not mean that it was on that account the earliest text. The decision rests then, unfortunately enough, exclusively on internal evidence. We must examine the texts themselves, and there it is necessary to see the relation (1) of Ss to Sc, (2) of Ss and Sc to P, (3) of all three to the Greek, and (4) to T.

1. *The Relation of Ss to Sc.*

The order of the gospels is different in the two codices. Ss has the order (= P): Matt., Mark, Luke, John; Sc has: Matt., Mark, John,



Luke. I cannot help feeling that Sc's order seems to be older than that of Ss. The order varied in the Syrian church at first, which is seen also from D (Codex Bezae), which is so closely related to the Syriac New Testament. D has : Matt., John, Luke, Mark.<sup>6</sup> The Old Syriac may, therefore, have had the order of Sc. But, on the whole, the order has very little voice in the decision. It will be seen in the course of this investigation that Ss has a different Greek original from Sc. It is unreasonable to suppose that the translators changed the order of the gospels. They translated in the order which they found in the Greek MS. used by them. All that can be inferred is that the Greek original of Ss had the order : Matt., Mark, Luke, John, while the Greek original of Sc had : Matt., Mark, John, Luke. It would be hazardous to affirm that a Greek MS. with the order Matt., Mark, John, Luke is older than one with the order Matt., Mark, Luke, John, if no other evidence were forthcoming.

Now, an examination of the two codices shows at once that they are related to each other. They are not altogether independent of each other, as was at once seen by Professor Bensly and F. C. Burkitt, when Mrs. Lewis showed them some photographed specimens of the Sinaitic codex.<sup>7</sup> This has not been questioned since. Nestle, Wellhausen, Holzhey, etc., all agree in saying that the two codices stand in a certain relation to each other. What that relation is we shall see later on. It is usually thought, *e. g.*, by Wellhausen and Holzhey, that Sc is simply a recension of Ss; the revisor adding those parts which were omitted by Ss and correcting translations which did not correspond exactly to the Greek, his purpose being to bring this translation into a more intimate harmony with the Greek. Whether this position is tenable or not will appear as we go on. At all events, so much is certain, that the two codices stand in a close relation to each other.

Again, it is generally accepted that both Ss and Sc are translations from the Greek. Cureton showed this long ago for the gospels which are named after him, in the preface to his edition (1858). If there could have been any doubt whether this was so, it was removed by the reconstruction of the Greek text which underlay the Syriac translation by J. R. Crowfoot, 1871, and Friedrich Baethgen, 1885.

For the Sinaiticus no such reconstruction of the original Greek has been made as yet, though Adalbert Merx tells us that he began to

<sup>6</sup> Cf. CARL HOLZHEY, *Der neuentdeckte Codex Syrus Sinaiticus untersucht* (München, 1896), p. 45.

<sup>7</sup> *The Four Gospels in Syriac*, p. v.

translate Matthew into Greek, abandoning, however, this plan to bring out his German translation. The question whether Ss is a translation from the Greek is more important than might appear at first glance. If it can be proved that it is from a Greek original, then its relation to the Western Text is clearer; it cannot be that it is a translation from the old Latin, as I inclined to think for a time,<sup>8</sup> nor can any other theory hold good.

Fortunately there are some indications which place it beyond doubt that the underlying text of Ss is Greek:

1. The version retains Greek words and writes them simply in Syriac form: John 11:18, *στάδιον*; 11:44, etc., *σουδάριον*; 11:54, *παρρησία*; 12:3, *λίτρα*, *νάρδος*, *πιστικός*; 6:13, *κόφινος*; 12:6, etc., *γλωσσόκομον*; 14:16, etc., *παράκλητος*; 18:3, etc., *σπείρα*, *λαμπάς*; 18:28, etc., *ἡγεμών*. Matt. 8:5, etc., *χιλιάρχος*; 8:9, *στρατιώτης*; 12:41, *κήρυγμα*. Mark 15:44, etc., *κεντυρίων*. Luke 13:34, etc., *πραιτώριον*; 23:53, *ἄρωμα*.<sup>9</sup>

2. There are incorrect translations in Ss which can be explained only on the assumption that a Greek MS. was used<sup>10</sup>: Matt. 10:40, *ἄλλοις* instead of the correct *ἀλλ' οἷς*; 13:48, *εἰς ἀγαθά* for *εἰς ἀγῆν* (or *ἀγγεία*). Luke 4:30, *κρεμάσαι* for *κρημνίσαι*; 19:4, *σῦκος μωρίας* for *συκομορέα*; 21:46, *ἐν στοαῖς* for *ἐν στολαῖς*. John 7:35, *σπέρμα (σπορά)* for *διασπορά*.

3. There is at least one interpretatory phrase which shows as clearly as possible that Ss used a Greek original: John 1:42, "Cephas, which is being interpreted *into Greek*, Peter."

These arguments are conclusive. It would not be difficult, however, to point out Greek constructions in the Syriac, if it were necessary. It is already plain that both codices are based on a Greek original.

But now, though Ss and Sc are closely related to each other, and though they are translations from the Greek, yet Sc is not merely a recension of Ss, or *vice versa*, nor is the Greek text underlying Ss the same as that which Sc used.

To keep the two points distinct, we will prove each one separately.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. the interesting colophon in the MS. of the fifth century described by Gwiliam in *Studia Biblica*, 1: "Finished is the holy gospel, the preaching of Mark the evangelist, *which he spake in Roman*, in the city of Rome."

<sup>9</sup> For other examples see HOLZHEY, pp. 10, 11.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. WELLHAUSEN, "Der syrische Evangelienpalimpsest vom Sinai," *Nachr. v. d. Kgl. Ges. d. Wis. z. Gött.*, Phil.-hist. Cl., 1895, Heft I; and especially C. HOLZHEY, pp. 10, 11.

First, then, Sc is not a mere recension of Ss. The texts have, in spite of their close alliance, so many differences that it is altogether improbable that the one is simply a recension of the other, occasioned by the desire of Sc's author to bring the Syriac text more closely into harmony with the Greek, correcting and adding the omissions of Ss and omitting the occasional small additions which Ss has allowed itself to make.

Though this theory is very attractive, and as set forth, for instance, by Holzhey, seemingly irresistible, because of its forceful logic and its historical probability, it is not warranted by the facts. If it were a mere recension, we should not find the many differences in passages where the Greek is evidently the same in both versions. There are grammatical, lexical, and material differences in such numbers—as will be shown—that it is impossible to account for them by the above theory.

- i. *Grammatical differences:* 1. Different tenses.—(a) Perfect for imperfect: Matt. 11:27; 12:25; 17:20; 18:15; 22:24. Luke 8:2, 35; 11:7, 18; 14:1, 29. John 6:26.—(b) Perfect for participle: Matt. 13:3; 15:5; 19:17, 21; 21:38; 22:23. Luke 7:44, 47; 8:4, 13, 49; 9:41, 45; 10:26; 11:28; 17:6, 12; 18:15; 22:60; 23:14, 40, 42; 24:18. John 6:36, 63; 7:26, 39, 46, 47, 48.—(c) Perfect for infinitive: Matt. 4:17; 5:17; 16:12. Luke 10:40. John 7:44.—(d) Imperfect for participle: Matt. 5:46; 10:39; 12:33; 20:13, 18, 23; 21:23. Luke 11:4, 10; 13:25; 17:21; 18:5, 7, 16, 17; 21:26. John 7:36.—(e) Imperfect for infinitive: Matt. 2:22; 3:15; 5:42; 13:9, 17, 43; 14:19; 18:4; 21:46. Luke 8:32; 9:2; 11:5; 17:31. John 7:44.—(f) Jussive for imperative: Matt. 5:43<sup>a</sup>. Luke 9:5.—(g) Different formation of imperative: Ss forms the imperative of ܢܐܠ and ܠܐ mostly (not always, cf. Matt. 4:10; 6:31) with the first ܐ, Sc never. Ss = ܢܐܠ, ܠܐ; Sc = ܢܐ, ܠ. Matt. 2:19; 5:41; 11:28; 22:4. Luke 9:59; 10:3; 16:2.
2. Different conjugations.—(a) Ettafal for Ethpeel and Ethpaal: Matt. 1:23; 2:3; 11:7; 12:20; 13:53; 23:12. Luke 11:50, 51; 18:14; 20:18. John 5:7.—(b) Ethp. for Peal: Matt. 1:21, 23; 5:13, 22; 17:20. Luke 10:34; 11:42<sup>a</sup>, 46; 12:32; 21:26; 24:4. John 3:8; 6:33;

<sup>a</sup> Cf. NÖLDEKE, § 159.

- 14:21.—(c) Ethp. for Peal participle passive: Matt. 4:14; 18:17. Luke 10:20. John 3:27.
- ii. *Lexical differences:* 1. Verbs.—I counted more than 110 differences in verbs in the two codices, and I am sure that there are still more. These are evenly distributed over the gospels—about 86 in Matt., 32 in Luke, 22 in John.
2. Nouns.—I catalogued about 123 differences in nouns, and there are rather more than less—55 in Matt., 57 in Luke, 11 in John. There are also nouns of the same stem, but of different formation, used—4 in Matt. and 3 in Luke.
3. Adjectives.—There are naturally not so many, but enough; e.g.: Matt. 3:11; 13:48; 14:30, 31; 15:32; 22:38; 23:6; Luke 7:43; 11:46; 12:7; 14:20; 15:7; 17:15; 19:18; 20:30. John 3:26.
4. Adverbial expressions.—Matt. 3:16; 13:5; 14:27, 31. Luke 12:36; 17:7; 15:8; 24:25. John 5:9, etc.
5. Prepositions.—John 3:21, 24, 29, 31, 34; 4:2, 9, 18; 5:13; 6:33; 7:1. Matt. 1:22; 2:3, 12; 4:14; 8:17; 11:18; 12:17; 15:1; 17:24; 20:20. Luke 2:7; 12:16; 15:1. 22:45; etc., etc.
6. Particles.—Matt. 1:24; 2:2; 4:4; 6:1, 2, 6, 7; 13:54. Luke 12:37; 17:18, 37; 20:17; 22:70; 22:29; 23:3. John 1:28, 38, 39; 11:37; etc., etc.
- iii. *Different phrases and constructions:* Matt. 1:16, 25; 4:6, 21, 22, 24, 25; 5:2; 13:4; 14:4; 17:15; 18:3, 8; 19:22; 22:25, 28, 30. Luke 8:4, 31; 9:10; 18:15; 19:34, 39; 20:16. John 4:24; 5:19; 6:9; etc., etc. Many other passages could be cited.

In considering these grammatical, lexical, and material differences, one must not leave out of account that many chapters cannot be compared because they are wanting in the one or the other, or in both; so the entire gospel of Luke and whole chapters of the other gospels. A pretty accurate idea of how greatly the two texts differ may be got by looking through Bonus' careful collation, which fills a considerable volume, and it will be noticed that they are not only numerous, but important differences.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Orthographical differences have very little to do with the argument; one could place alongside of Holzhey's orthographical lists others which would prove the contrary.

If the one is simply a recension of the other, one asks in vain why there should be so many variations, which dispose one at times to think that the two texts are not at all related to each other.<sup>13</sup> They cannot be explained on the ground of a different dialect, so that the author had to adjust the translation to the language which the people of that section of Syria spoke in which he lived; because the expression which the author of Sc substituted for an expression in Ss will occur also in another passage in Ss. There is no system in the variations which would lead one to suspect simple dialectical differences. It is true, some differences might be explained in that way, *e. g.*, ܠܡܕܝܝܐ, ܠܡܕܝܐ, but even that would be difficult, because the one verb is not confined to either text—the substitution is not consistently carried out. However that may be in single cases, a theory of dialectical differences does not do justice to the differences as a whole, though it may explain a few. Nor is it plausible that the author of Sc should have exchanged just as he pleased verbs and nouns and phrases and constructions. That would be a rather too capricious and unscrupulous procedure.

Another point, though not of so great importance, is the fact that Sc introduces again Greek words into the text which Ss has already rendered by good Syriac terms; *e. g.*:<sup>14</sup> Matt. 5:18, *μῦθος*; 14:1, *τέτραρχος*; 14:36, *στολή*; 18:7, *ἀνάγκη*; 18:10, *πρόσωπον*; Luke 23:25, *αἰρέσεις*. If one looks at this fact without prejudice, it is at least strange that Sc, if it be a mere recension of Ss, should have given up good translations which it found already in Ss, and should have translated them by simple transcription of the respective Greek words. The explanation suggested,<sup>14</sup> that this is due to Sc's endeavor to conform his text more closely to the Greek, even at cost of good Syriac, is, to say the least, artificial.

Again, the many omissions, as they are called, of Ss and his slight additions might be used as an argument for the proposition that Sc is not merely a recension of Ss. They might be explained in this way: Ss, not intending to give a literal and precise translation, endeavored only to make a good, popular one; in doing so he omitted phrases, clauses, and sometimes whole verses; in one case an entire section. They were not important for him, gave no new light, and could therefore well be omitted. The result would be only a more forcible and popular translation. In the same way he thought it of

<sup>13</sup> Cf. NESTLE, *Theol. Lit.-Zeitung*, l. c.

<sup>14</sup> HOLZHEY, p. 11.

little importance to add a word or phrase now and then, if only the text thereby became more readable and plainer.

Now, when Sc came to revise this text of Ss, he faithfully added those parts which had been omitted by Ss, and struck out those additions which Ss had permitted himself to make. The result of this revision would be a text which was more like the Greek, though perhaps not yet an altogether literal translation, since even Sc's desire was to present a good popular piece of work rather than a slavish imitation of the Greek.

Were the additions of Sc, filling out those places which Ss omitted, and the omissions of the arbitrary additions of Ss the only things which are different in the two texts, then, of course, this explanation would be correct. But as the case lies, the other differences, grammatical, lexical, and material, are too many; they alone are sufficient to show that Sc is not merely a recension of Ss. If this is taken into account, the argument from the additions and omissions gains its full weight, and confirms the thesis that Sc is not a mere recension of Ss.

Many of the material differences find their explanation in the fact that Ss presupposes a different Greek original from Sc's Greek text.

The proof for this lies not so much in the use of different phrases, as, *e. g.*, in such passages as Matt. 5 : 2, where Ss = ἤρχετο λέγειν αὐτοῖς ; Sc = καὶ ἀνοίξας τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ ἐδίδασκεν αὐτοὺς λέγων ; but rather in the omissions and additions of Ss.

First of all it should be noted, in regard to the omissions of Ss, that they are not the work of the arbitrary translator, who has been accused of omitting and adding as he saw fit, if it only made his translation better, more forceful and popular. Now, this is unwarranted by the facts. Ss is more faithful to his text than he has been supposed to be. There are many cases, and those are the most important, where we can put our finger on the same omissions and additions in other MSS. This makes it highly probable, if not certain, that the Greek MS. of Ss did not have the passages omitted in the translation, and had those which we call additions.

Of course, he would omit passages which are merely explanatory phrases in Greek for words which needed no interpretation for a Syrian. But even in regard to these one may doubt whether they were in the original Greek or not ; *e. g.* :

Matt. 4 : 18, τὸν λεγόμενον Πέτρον ; 27 : 33, ὃ ἐστὶν Κρανίου Τόπος λεγόμενος ; 27 : 46, τοῦτ' ἐστὶν Θεέ μου, θεέ μου, ἵνα τί με ἐγκατέλιπες. Mark 3 : 17,

ὁ ἐστὶν Υἱὸς βροντῆς; 7:34, ὁ ἐστὶν Διανοίχθητι; 15:34, ὁ ἐστὶν μεθερμηνεύμενον Ὁ θεός μου [ὁ θεός μου] εἰς τί ἐγκατέλιπές με. John 1:38, ὁ λέγεται μεθερμηνεύμενον Διδάσκαλε; 1:41, ὁ ἐστὶν μεθερμηνεύμενον Χριστός; 4:25, ὁ λεγόμενος Χριστός; 9:7, ὁ ἐρμηνεύεται Ἀπεσταλμένος; 11:16; 20:24; 21:2, ὁ λεγόμενος Δίδυμος; 20:16, ὁ λέγεται Διδάσκαλε.

In any case, omissions like these are natural; we expect them. Two such interpretations of Hebrew and Aramæan terms, which were necessary in Greek, but superfluous in Syriac, have remained in the text; viz.: Matt. 1:23 "Immanuel, which is interpreted, God with us;" and John 1:42, "Cephas, which is being interpreted into Greek, Peter." Whether these two passages have been left merely by accident, or whether they go to prove that Ss was so faithful to his original that he would add even such matters as were unimportant or superfluous in a Syriac translation, if they were in the original Greek text, is impossible to decide dogmatically. But it is certain that, even if he omitted those passages because he saw that they were superfluous, the omissions are entirely natural, and do by no means reflect on the faithfulness of his translation. He is, indeed, a very faithful translator; he does not omit passages which seem to him unimportant, nor does he add when he likes. We shall see that the most important omissions as well as additions are paralleled in other MSS., especially in those of the western group. In the list which is given below I have taken only the most important omissions and additions, and noted down when the omission was paralleled by one or more MSS., when Westcott and Hort (= W-H) or Tischendorf (= Tisch.) bracketed it or put it on the margin. I have simply noted this, because that implies that there is a good deal of doubt whether the verse or phrase belongs in the text or not. As the basis for the comparison I have used Westcott and Hort's text. Thus, when W-H omit passages which Ss omits also, no notice has been taken of them. This reduces the number of the otherwise very numerous omissions.

Ss omits Matt. 1:25 (partly), K also; 4:24 partly;<sup>15</sup> 5:30, D also; 5:47, K also; 6:5; 9:34, D a K also, W-H bracket; 10:13, ἡ δέξια, D also; 10:19, πως η, a K, etc., also; 12:47, W-H margin, Tisch. bracket; 16:2, 3,

<sup>15</sup> Cf. BLASS, *Evgl. Lnc.*, præfatio, p. lxxvi: Apud Matt. 4:24 absunt ab Syro Lew. verba καὶ ἀπῆλθεν ἡ ἀκοὴ αὐτοῦ εἰς ὅλην τὴν Συρίαν, tum ibidem καὶ δαίμονιζόμενοι καὶ σελήνιαζόμενοι (καὶ σελ. et. K om.) καὶ παραλυτικούς; paulloque post (25) pro καὶ ἐκολούθησαν αὐτῷ ὄχλοι πολλοὶ κτέ habet idem "et facta magna multitudo": in quibus omnibus nisi Tatiani licentiam sive alius Syri interpretis mecum agnoscere velis, non invenies explicationem differentiae. Nullane ergo huic testi fides habenda?

W-H bracket; 21:44, W-H bracket, Tisch. om.; 22:4, το αριστον μου ητοιμασα, οι ταυροι μου και τα σιτιστα τεθυμενα; Sc om. only: και τα σιτιστα τεθυμενα.— Mark 7:8, αφεντες γαρ την εντολην του Θεου, κρατειτε την παραδοσιν των ανθρωπων; 9:3, οια γναφεις επι της γης ου δυναται ουτως λευκαναι, X a n om. also; 9:49, πασα γαρ θυσια αλι αλισθησεται, W-H put it on the margin, Tisch. om.; 10:2, προσελθοντες Φαρισαιοι, D a b K om., bracketed by W-H; 10:42, ο δε Ιησους—δοκουντες—και οι μεγαλοι αυτων κατεξουσιαζουσιν αυτων; 11:8, αλλοι δε στιβαδας κοψαντες εκ των αγρων; 12:4, entire verse; 13:9, Βλεπετε δε υμεις εαυτους—om. also by  $\aleph^*$ —και εις συναγωγας δαρησεσθε; 14:65, και περικαλυπτειν το προσωπον αυτου, D a f om.; 14:42, και ηδη οφιας γενομενης επει'ην παρασκευη, ο εστι προ . . .; 16:8, απο του μηνμειου. ειχε δε αυτας τρομος και εκστασις; 16:9-20, om.  $\aleph$ , B.— Luke 6:40, κατηρητισμενος δε πας εσται ως ο διδασκαλος αυτου, ΓΛ\* 48<sup>ev</sup> om.; 7:7, διο ουδε εμαντον ηξίωσα προς σε ελθειν, D 63, 240, 244, a b c e ff\* om.; 8:43, ητις εις ιατρος προσαναλωσασα ολον τον βιον; D: ην ουδε εις ισχυεν θεραπευσαι—om. the rest; Ss: ουκ ισχυσεν απ' ουδενος θεραπευθηναι 9:54, ως και Ηλειας εποιησεν, W-H margin, Tisch. om.; 9:55, 56, και ειπεν, ουκ οιδατε ποιου πνευματος εστε το σωσαι, W-H on margin, Tisch. om.; 10:41, 42, μεριμνας και θορυβαζη περι πολλα, ολιγων δε εστιν χρεια η ενος, W-H  $\Gamma^1$ , a b e ff\* om., D also except θοσυβαζη; 11:11, αρτον, μη λιθον επι δωσει αυτω, W-H margin; 11:36, ολον—μη εχον τι μερος—εσται φωτεινον ολον, D a b e ff\*, Sc om. also;<sup>16</sup> 11:53, και αποστοματιζειν αυτον περιπλειονων, W-H margin; 11:54, ενεδρευοντες αυτον θηρευσαι τι εκ στοματος αυτου, W-H  $\Gamma^1$ ; D: αφορμην τινα λαβειν αυτου, om. ενεδρευοντες; Sc. also; 12:9, om. e; 12:39, εγρηγορησεν αν, W-H  $\Gamma^1$  margin simply: ουκ αν, so Tisch. in text; 14:27, om. M\*RF al. mu.; 16:7, και λεγει αυτω Δεξαι σου το γραμμα; 16:18, απο ανδρος, D om.; 19:25, D 69, etc., Sc om.; 19:33, ειπον οι κυριοι αυτου προς αυτους τι λυετε τον πωλον, Sc also; 20:36, και νιοι εισιν του θεου, W-H  $\Gamma^1$ , some MSS. om. και νιοι εισιν; 21:10, τοτε ελεγεν αυτοις, D e l a ff\* Sc om.; 22:43, 44, bracketed twice by W-H; 23:10-12; 23:34a, W-H bracket twice; 23:51, ουτος ουκ ην συγκατατειμενος τη βουλη και τη πραξει αυτων; 24:42, και απο μελισσιου κηριον, W-H margin, Tisch. om.; 24:52, εις τον ουρανον—προσκυνησαντες αυτον, W-H bracket, Tisch. om.—John 1:38, θεασαμενος αυτους ακολουθουντας; 4:9, ουσης γυναικος Σαμαρειτιδος; 12:8, D om.; 13:32, ευ ο θεος εδοξασθη εν αυτω, omission well-attested; 13:34, ινα και υμεις αγαπατε αλληλους, XΓ al<sup>10</sup>,

<sup>16</sup>q: Si ergo corpus tuum lucernam non habens lucidam obscurum est, quanto magis cum lucerna luceat, inluminat te.

f: Si enim corpus quod in te est lucernam non habuerit lucentem tibi tenebrosa est, quanto magis autem lucerna tua fulgens lucebit tibi.



c e ff<sup>a</sup> om.; 14:10, τα ρηματα το αυτος ποιει τα εργα; 14:11; 14:14, ΧΛ 1. 22. 2<sup>pe</sup> 6<sup>pe</sup> al<sup>s</sup> b fu Syr<sup>hr</sup> Arm<sup>zoh</sup> et<sup>add</sup> om.; 16:3; 17:11, ψ δεδωκας το ημεις, Hil<sup>4171</sup> x<sup>4de</sup> om.; 20:7; 21:15, a b c e ff<sup>a</sup> om. πλεον τουτων, a e om. συ οιδας οτι φιλω σε; 21:16, a om. συ οιδας οτι φιλω σε; 21:25, οσα— ουδε αυτον οικουι— τα γραφομενα βιβλια, Tisch. om. entire verse, a b e ff<sup>a</sup> et alia autem [b quidem a om.] multa fecit Jesus = Ss, L n ti ατινα εαν γραφηται καθ' εν.

The result of this comparison cannot be doubtful. It places the translator of Ss in the right light; he is very faithful to his original. Though there are some omissions which cannot be duplicated in other MSS., yet most of them can. This leads us to think that these other omissions also were not his own; he found them already in his Greek text.

The same will be seen in his additions, which are said to be due to Ss' idiosyncrasies. They also can be duplicated—most of them at least. It will be remembered that the additions are small, and not of so great importance as the omissions. The limited number given in the footnote below<sup>17</sup> will therefore suffice to show that they also are not made by him in order to make his text clearer, but they are there because they were in his original Greek.

Having shown that Ss is faithful to his original, and that he reproduces his Greek text accurately, we are ready to see that the original of Ss must have been different from that of Sc. Sc uses a much fuller Greek text than Ss. Here are some verses which are not in Ss, but are in Sc: Matt. 1:8b; 4:24b; 5:25, 30, 47; 6:5; 8:5 (partly); 23:14; Mark 16:9-20; Luke 8:43; 9:55, 56; 12:38b; 22:43, 44; 23:12-14, 34; John 5:12; 14:10, 11. There are few additions which Ss has and which are not in Sc: Luke 11:36; 14:13; 19:32; 23:20;

<sup>17</sup> Matt. 10:23, "and if they persecute you in the other city, flee ye to another." W-H place it in the margin, which shows that there are at least some texts which have it. 27:16, "Jesus" is added to Barabbas. This we find also in the Palestinian Syriac, which shows that it was not an addition of Ss, but that there were Greek texts which had this addition.—John 3:8, Ss adds πνευμα δε ο θεος; cf. Tischendorf's note, which shows that Ss does not stand alone in doing this.—Luke 23:37, Ss (+ Sc) adds χαιρε . . . και επεθηκεν επι την κεφαλην αυτου στεφανον ακαθινον.—D c χαιρε . . . παρεθεσθεις (d imponentes c imposuerunt autem) αυτω και ακαθινον στεφανον.—John 20:16, Ss adds: και προσεδραμεν αψασθαι αυτου. B<sup>ca</sup> 13. 346. g. gat. mm Syr<sup>P</sup> et<sup>hr</sup> Cyr<sup>4</sup> also. 12:3, Ss has with D d, etc. . . . effudit super caput ihesu recumbentis.—Luke 23:48, Ss, "Saying 'woe unto us, what hath befallen us! Woe unto us for our sins.'" Sc has this also. So has the gospel of Peter. Very similar is g 1: "Vae nobis, quae facta sunt hodie propter peccata nostra, appropinquavit enim desolatio Hierosolem."—Matt. 27:28, Ss adds, πορφυρου; so also D 157 a b c f ff<sup>a</sup>, etc.

John 6:13; none of them are, moreover, entire verses, but only parts of verses.

Another argument for the difference of texts lies in translations in which Ss is paralleled by other texts, and Sc also, but different from those representing Ss:

*E. g.*, Matt. 3:16, where Ss =  $\text{ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ}$  = *ἐν αἶδι περιστερᾶς*; Sc =  $\text{ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ}$  = *ὡσεὶ περιστερὰν* = W-H, Tisch. The text of Ss is represented by Ev. Ebion.: *καὶ ὡς ἀνῆλθεν ἀπο τοῦ ὕδατος, ἠνοιγθησαν οἱ οὐρανοὶ καὶ εἶδε τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν ἅγιον ἐν εἰδει περιστέρας καθελθούσης καὶ ἀσελθούσης εἰς αὐτόν*; cf. Ephraim, Diatessaron, too. 5:2, Ss: *ἤρχετο λέγειν αὐτοῖς*; Sc: *καὶ ἀνοίξας τὸ στόμα οὗτοῦ ἐδίδασκεν αὐτοὺς λέγων*, the regular text. 27:16, 17, Ss: *Ἰησοῦν Βαραββᾶν*—witnesses see in Tischendorf; Sc: *Βαραββᾶν*, regular text.—Luke 2:48, Ss: *ὁ πατήρ σου καγώ*, on the difference in the tradition cf. Tisch.; Sc: *ἡμεῖς*. 11:36, Ss has the verse, Sc omits it with D a b c ff\* i. 11:13, Ss: *δόματα ἀγαθὰ*, for witnesses for this reading cf. Tisch.; Sc: *πνεῦμα ἅγιον*, the accepted reading. 11:38, Ss: *ἐθαύμασεν*, so Tisch., W-H; Sc: *ἤρξατο διακρινόμενος ἐν ἑαυτῷ λέγειν*; there are a number of witnesses for this reading.—Matt. 21:31, Ss: *ὁ ὑστερος*, D and others; Sc: *ὁ πρῶτος*, Tischendorf's text. 3:4, Ss: *ἄγρος ܡܕܢܐ*, so also the Palest. Syriac and the Diat.; Sc: *ἄγριος ܡܕܢܐ*, all others.—Luke 19:32, Ss has *οἱ ἀπεσταλμένοι καθὼς ἔπεν αὐτοῖς*, with W-H, Textus Receptus, Tischendorf; Sc omits it; so e (DG).—Matt. 5:45, the different position of the verses: Ss has the regular order, Sc vss. 5, 4, paralleled by other texts.

Such examples show very clearly that the two Greek texts underlying Ss and Sc respectively were different from each other. Sc's text is much fuller than Ss'. Both texts are very old, dating certainly from the second century; but Ss' is older than that of Sc; compare for this the first chapter of Matthew relating the birth of Jesus, and the omissions as well as the sometimes curious additions. Add to this priority of Ss' Greek original the affinity which exists between the Sinaiticus and the Palestinian Syriac, and the fact that Sc's divisions in the text are finer than those of Ss,<sup>18</sup> and it follows that Ss is older than Sc.

We have now reached the conclusion that, though Ss is closely related to Sc, though both are translations from the Greek, Sc is no mere recension of Ss; that the Greek text underlying them is not the same, Ss' being older; that Ss is older than Sc. Now we must answer the question: What is, then, the relation of Ss to Sc, if one is not a recension of the other?

<sup>18</sup> Cf. MERX in his German translation.

Two answers are possible, which do not exclude each other : either the translators of Ss and Sc belonged to the same school, or they used the same Syriac text (Syr. vetus) as the basis of their own translation.

When two men who have had the same education are called upon to translate a given piece from one language into another, the ground stock of the work will be the same, but in details the two translations will differ. Each will naturally use the terms which lie most readily at his hand. Sometimes they will have exactly the same translation ; sometimes the words which we mostly find in the one will be in the other, and *vice versa*. Lexical differences are inevitable. Grammatical differences are also to be expected ; it would be strange if they were not found. Differences in the constructions are bound to arise, because no two men use the same constructions, though they may have always been in the same school. All this is what we find in these two texts, Ss and Sc. The ground stock of the two, leaving out of account the so-called omissions and additions, is essentially the same, but the vocabulary and the grammar of the two are different. They belong to the same school ; their task was the same, viz., to translate a given text from Greek into Syriac ; their ability was about the same ; but their works are in a way independent of each other. The relation which exists between the two proves that they belonged to the same school, not that one is dependent on the other.

This is the most satisfactory way of explaining the relationship of the two, which agree in so many parts and differ so decidedly in so many others.

The other answer, that both Ss and Sc used the same Syriac text as a basis of their work, might also explain the matter, though one would still be at a loss how to explain the many differences. The groundwork of Ss and Sc would be that of the Old Syriac, which has not yet been discovered. Both Ss and Sc would have changed that text as to vocabulary and grammar pretty much as they pleased. They would still be independent of each other in the way that neither of them made use of the other, both simply taking the same text as a foundation. The whole process, however, does not commend itself as so simple in its solution of the difficulties.<sup>19</sup>

This brings up the question about the Old Syriac, that text which is supposed to lie back of all the texts we have. To speak dogmatically

<sup>19</sup> The examples given by Wellhausen and Nestle, which point in the direction that some expressions in Sc are older than the corresponding expressions in Ss, give some foundation to this theory.

on this subject is hazardous; the data are too few. The opinion to which I have come is as follows: It cannot be proved as yet, and must be taken for what it is worth. The very first gospel translator in Syria did not translate all four gospels, but one. Which one of the four we cannot tell; perhaps Mark, perhaps John. This would meet at first all the requirements. But soon somebody else, or perhaps the same man who translated the first gospel, would take another gospel and translate that also. The two would come together. The same process would be repeated till all four gospels were translated. The different order in Ss and Sc — Ss = Matthew, Mark, Luke, John; Sc = Matthew, Mark, John, Luke — points in this direction. At first the gospels existed side by side; then they would be bound together; the order would vary in the different copies. Gradually, through outside influence, the position of Matthew and Mark would become fixed (or does the position perhaps indicate that they were first translated?). As to Luke and John there was still some fluctuation, till the now accepted order: Matthew, Mark, Luke, John, became established.

This suggestion will appear still more plausible when we come to look at it in the light of the history of the foundation of the Syrian church.

## 2. *The Relation of Ss and Sc to P.*

It has long been recognized that the Peshitta was not the original Old Syriac text. Already in the last century men pointed out that this text must be the result of a development, the last of a series of which the other parts were at that time still wanting. But since the discovery of Sc in 1842 (1858) and of Ss in 1892 the proofs of this assertion have become manifest.

I do not think, however, that it can be asserted justly that P is a recension of Ss and Sc. There is no doubt that all of them are related to each other, but that does not mean that P is a recension of the others. A comparison of the three texts shows that in many passages P = Ss = Sc; that they have a good deal in common. But there are also many passages where P agrees with the one and differs from the other; in others it differs from both, whether they be alike or different from each other.<sup>30</sup> That means that P is, indeed, related to Ss and Sc, but is at the same time relatively independent of them; the process which was described in connection with Ss and Sc is evidently repeated here. As there, so here, the translator worked independently, but was influenced now by Ss, now by Sc. The fact

<sup>30</sup> Cf. ALB. BONUS, *Collatio*, etc.

that P combines the readings of Ss and Sc helps us to determine P's age, not absolutely, but relatively. Can it be said that P is the oldest text, on which Ss and Sc base their translations? That would explain why P agrees now with Ss, now with Sc. But it would not explain the great differences of the three texts. These differences can be accounted for only on the assumption of different Greek originals. And as regards these Greek originals, it is at once clear that P does not present nearly as old a text as either Ss or Sc, a fact which is so apparent to the reader of the three that it needs no further proof. Texts like Ss and Sc presuppose a very old Greek original, which cannot be claimed for P. We have, then, a text combining the readings of two other texts, but using a later original than the two others. The conclusion is inevitable: P is later than Ss and Sc, by which it is influenced. The motive which lay at the basis of these three different texts is to be sought in the desire of the Syrians to conform their text to that which was accepted by the Græco-Roman church.\* That desire necessitated the translation of P especially, but P is only one of the texts which originated under these circumstances. We shall find others suggested by Aphraates and Ephraim.

At this point it is well to sum up the results which we have reached thus far :

1. There is a certain kind of relationship between Ss and Sc ; they are not absolutely independent of each other.
2. Both Ss and Sc are translations from the Greek.
3. Sc is not a mere recension of Ss, nor *vice versa*.
4. Ss presupposes a Greek original different from that of Sc.
5. Ss' original Greek was shorter and older than Sc's.
6. Ss is older than Sc.
7. The close resemblance of Ss and Sc in many parts and the difference in others is explained by the fact that the translators either belonged to the same school or used the same Syriac text (the Old Syriac) as the basis of their own translations. The first is the more probable explanation.
8. The relation of P to Ss and Sc is similar to that of Ss to Sc. P is no recension of either, but is influenced by both, which is seen in the fact that it combines the readings of both.
9. The original Greek of P is younger than that of either Ss or Sc.
10. P is younger than Ss and Sc, the genealogy being : Ss, Sc, P.

\* See also ZAHN and HOLZHEY.

### 3. *The Relation of Ss, Sc, and P to the Diatessaron.*<sup>22</sup>

It is a great misfortune that we do not possess the original of Tatian's Diatessaron. As was already noticed, the determination of the priority of the gospel harmony or of the separate gospels has to rest wholly on internal evidence. And this is very precarious and very difficult, because the text of Tatian's work has by no means been fixed yet. Though there are for the reconstruction of it the commentary of Ephraim on the Diatessaron, the citations of Aphraates, the Arabic Diatessaron, the Latin harmony of Victor of Capua, and the references in the Syrian church fathers, yet these witnesses are not all too reliable, and their testimony may be challenged.<sup>23</sup>

In addition to this uncertainty about the text comes the fact that we do not know how faithfully Tatian handled his sources. His purpose was practical—he wanted to make a gospel harmony; but we know from several sources that he omitted certain portions which did not please him, and others he altered as he wanted.

We must keep these facts in mind in making our examination. And it may be said that, in view of all this, an *absolutely* certain result is not to be expected. It must necessarily be largely a balancing of arguments, which to some minds will preponderate in this, to others in that direction.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. F. C. BURKITT, in *The Guardian*, October 31, 1894.

<sup>23</sup> Ephraim's fragments are of the greatest value, but one has to remember that they are not accessible in the original, and also that he uses the Peshitto, too, which is, indeed, his ordinary Bible. He must often have mixed the two together, and in some passages have given the Peshitta reading, which was not at all in the Diatessaron.

Aphraates is the only one who preserves the citations in Syriac, excepting the later church fathers, who quote from Ephraim, and yet even he must be looked upon with suspicion, because he also, as we shall see, knew and used another version of the gospels, different from the Diatessaron, side by side with the harmony.

The Arabic Diatessaron must have undergone considerable changes, not only owing to the translations from one language into the other. Peculiar readings will have been erased by orthodox men, so as to make the work more conformed to the orthodox New Testament. It is, perhaps, mainly useful for the arrangement of the original work, for, as is evident from Aphraates, many portions which were harmonized by the original work are given here only in the translation of one of the parallel passages; the finely interwoven network of Tatian has disappeared from them.

The Latin harmony of Victor of Capua is based on the Vulgate, and so cannot be of very much use, though, of course, for the arrangement, and perhaps also now and then for a text which the scribe might not always have found in the Vulgate, and therefore translated directly from the Syriac, it might be of some use.

One thing, however, is clear and absolutely certain, namely, that the two sets of texts, the separate and the interwoven gospels, are related to each other, are dependent one on the other, the only question being which is the earlier.<sup>24</sup>

Such agreements as these are the best evidence for the fact that the gospel harmony of Tatian and the separate gospels stand in an intimate relationship. The problem before us now is: What is their relative age, which is prior, T or the separate gospels?

We are at once confronted with the question: How could the Diatessaron have had such a prominence in the early Syrian church; how could it have been used so widely, if it was not the first gospel which the Syrians had? This argument in favor of Tatian's gospel harmony is of very little weight. It seems, of course, at first sight, to stand absolutely in the way of the priority of the separate gospels. For how could it be, it is asked, that the Syrians should have possessed and used first the separate gospels and then, when the Diatessaron came, laid those original gospels aside and used only the Diatessaron? First of all, it is a pure assumption, which cannot be verified, that they suspended the use of the separate gospels entirely. Secondly, it must not be overlooked that a harmony has many practical advantages over the separate gospels, especially for liturgical purposes. Thirdly, it must not be forgotten that the harmony was made just about the time when Christianity became the national religion of Syria. The

<sup>24</sup> Evidences of this relationship are seen in such passages as Matt. 3:4, where Ss and T read, instead of *μελι αγριον*, *μελι αγρου* *ܡܠܝ ܐܓܪܘܢ*, while Sc, P, and most of the Greek texts read *μελι αγριον*. A reading like this points to some kind of an affinity between the two texts.—3:10 (= Luke 3:9), "*Ἦδη δὲ ἡ ἀξίωσις πρὸς τὴν ρίζαν τῶν ἄνδρων κείται*" is translated by T and all the separate gospels, Ss, Sc, P, as if there stood *be*, *contrary to all other witnesses to the text*.—3:16, Ss and T read *ἐν αὐτοῖς περιστερὰς*, which only few minor witnesses have, while the great bulk of the Greek MSS., together with Sc and P, read *ὡσεὶ (ὡς) περιστέρων*.—13:48, Ss, Sc, T translate the words *συνέλεξαν τὰ καλὰ εἰς ἀγγῆ* (or *ἀγγελία*) as if they had read *συνέλεξαν τὰ καλὰ εἰς ἀγαθά*.—Mark 6:8, Ss translates in *ἵνα μὴδὲν ἀλῶσι εἰς ὁδὸν εἰ μὴ ῥάβδον μόνον*, the *ῥάβδον* with *shavtā*, evidently to bring this statement into harmony with Matt. 10:10 and Luke 9:3, where the *ῥάβδον* is not allowed. P. has *shavtā* in all three passages, Sc has it in Luke 9:3, Matt. 10:10 being missing. Now, Tatian's Diatessaron has: "Possess . . . a staff . . . [but] no stick," which is precisely what we find in Ss. Ss has, namely, in Matt. 10:10, Luke 9:3, a different word from that used in Mark 6:8, viz., *khutrd* ("bludgeon").—John 4:25, Ss and T translate the regular text *οἶδα ὅτι Μεσσίας ἔρχεται, ὅταν ἴδω ἐκεῖνος, ἀναγγελεῖ ἡμῖν πάντα* with *ἴδε Μεσσίας ἔρχεται, ὅταν ἴδω ἐκεῖνος δώσει* (*ἡμῖν* omitted by Ss) *πάντα*, a reading which is unparalleled by any other text. See ZAHN, *Theol. Literatur-Blatt*, 1895, No. 25; BURKITT, *l. c.*, for these examples.

question may be asked, with just as much weight, whether it would be possible, or probable, that the Syrian Christians should have done so long without the gospels that they received the first translation not before about 172 A. D. Again, would it be likely that the translator of the four separate gospels should have used the Diatessaron as the basis of his translation, should have untwisted the finely coupled, sometimes masterly mixed, substance, and then should have gone on with his translation? Does it not seem much more natural that the compiler of the harmony used a Syriac translation of the separate gospels, which would save him the work of translating before he began to harmonize? This supposition does not rest on common-sense only; positive proof can be adduced for it.

Incidentally it should be said here that there is now practically unanimity in regard to the fact that the Diatessaron of Tatian was "von Haus aus" (*i. e.*, originally) Syriac. This has been proved especially by Zahn, and also by J. Rendel Harris. Harnack stands practically alone in his contention that it was composed in Greek, and not in Syriac.

But to return to the proof for the statement that the author of the harmony based his work on a Syriac translation of the separate gospels which existed already at his time. I quote from J. Rendel Harris:

One of the most characteristic readings of Tatian has been held to be the expression of Mark (viii. 26), preserved in the Arabic Harmony, where we are told that the Syro-Phenician woman, upon whose daughter the Lord showed compassion, was a native of Emesa (or Homs) of Syria. The reading has, at first sight, every appearance of being an addition to the information in the canonical gospels. If it is really a part of Tatian's text, I can prove, however, that he was working on Syriac gospels. The proof is as follows: The Persian version, which was made from a Syriac text, says the woman was "from Phenice of Syria—*i. e.*, from Homs," from which we suspect that Homs of Syria in Tatian's text is merely an explanation of "Phenice of Syria." And this is confirmed by the dictionary of Bar Ali and a number of other authorities, who tell us that "Phenice of Syria is the city Homs." If, then, Tatian's text had "Homs of Syria," it is explanatory of an earlier text "Phenice of Syria," and this text must have been a translation of the troublesome Greek word "Syro-Phenician." The collateral evidence for the existence of such a translation is abundant. Tatian was, therefore, working on translated gospels. It appears, therefore, that his evidence also, as might have been expected, runs back into a Syriac source.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>25</sup> J. RENDEL HARRIS in the *Contemporary Review*, November, 1894, p. 671. For the other proofs see ZAHN'S *Gesch. d. Kanons*.



We have up to this point seen (1) that there exists an intimate relationship between Ss and T, and (2) that T has based his work on already existing Syriac gospels. Is there now any proof in the text of Ss which shows that the text it represents was earlier than T?

The strongest proof will certainly be in a comparison of passages in which we clearly see the dogmatic character of Tatian. Though, of course, the work of Tatian was made, not for dogmatic and theological, but for practical reasons, we know from some writers that he held certain heretical views, which found expression in the omission of passages which contradicted his views, and which he therefore believed to be wrong.<sup>66</sup> There are two points especially: (1) his rejection of marriage, and (2) his opposition to everything which showed the Davidic descent of Jesus.

Now let us compare Matt. 1: 19-25:

Sc	Ss	Arab. Diat.	Ephraim
19. Now Joseph, because he was a just man	Now Joseph <i>her husband</i> = omits: man	= Ss = Sc = Sc	= Sc = Sc = Sc
20. Joseph, <i>son of David</i> , do not fear to marry Mary <i>thy betrothed</i>	= Mary <i>thy wife</i>	= Sc = Ss	omits son of David simply: Mary
21. For she shall bear a son, and his name shall be called Jesus, for he shall save <i>the world</i> from their sins	= <i>thee</i> a son and <i>thou</i> shalt call = <i>his people</i> from =	= Sc = Ss = Ss = Ss	missing
25. And he married Mary <i>and lived purely with her</i>	= Mary <i>his wife</i> ———	and took <i>his wife</i> and knew her not	took <i>her</i> = Sc
until she bare the son and <i>she</i> called his name Jesus	and she bare <i>him</i> a son and <i>he</i> called =	until she bare her firstborn son =	until she bare her firstborn =

Now, suppose T were the oldest and Ss were based on it, what reason should Ss have to alter the text of T so much that he has quite a unique text? There is no dogmatic presupposition found in his translation, and everyone who reads this narrative about the birth of Christ is struck by the simplicity and naturalness of Ss, which comes out perhaps most strongly in vs. 16, omitted by T:

<sup>66</sup> Cf. especially EUSEBIUS, IV, 29, and THEODORET, I, 20.

Jacob begat Joseph; *Joseph*, to whom was betrothed Mary the virgin, *begat Jesus*, who is called Christ.

The idea that this is the work of a heretic must at once be dismissed, since it has no foundation in the whole translation, which is entirely without theological bias. The text of Ss draws really the correct conclusion from that genealogy. On the other hand, we know that Tatian had dogmatic presuppositions. He never mentions Mary and Joseph as husband and wife. He emphasizes the fact that they lived purely with each other. He omits the genealogies altogether, because they showed the Davidic descent of Christ. Now, in the text of Ss we have —

1. The emphasis on the married relationship of Mary and Joseph

Ss	Sc	T
Joseph <i>her</i> husband	<i>omits</i> : her husband	=Sc
Mary <i>thy</i> wife	<i>thy</i> bethrothed	omits
married <i>his</i> wife	<i>omits</i> : his wife	=Sc
she shall bear <i>thee</i> a son	<i>omits</i> : <i>thee</i>	
<i>thou</i> shalt call his name	his name shall be called	
<i>he</i> called his name	<i>she</i> called his name	
_____	adds: lived purely with her	he dwelt with her in purity

2. The Davidic descent of Jesus.

In the genealogies, in the sentence, "Joseph begat Jesus," "Joseph was called the father of Jesus," and especially in vs. 20, "Joseph, *son of David*, do not fear."

While we can find no ground why Ss should have altered Tatian's text into his really unique and unparalleled text, there are strong reasons for supposing that Tatian found this text of Ss and modified it to suit his views.

An objection which might be made to the second argument, as to the Davidic descent of Jesus, must be considered here. Ephraim says in his commentary on the Diatessaron: "Eadem scriptura dixit, utrumque Josephum et Mariam esse ex domo David." (Moesinger, *Evgl. Concord. Expos.*, p. 26.) This seems to contradict the statement that Tatian omitted everything which related to the Davidic descent of Jesus. But one must not be rash in such a conclusion. Ephraim uses the separate gospel text, too; all the citations in his commentary cannot be regarded as belonging to the Diatessaron, and it is conceded that many are from the separate gospels. I would therefore rather trust the eyewitness Theodoret, who had seen copies of the Syriac

work, as we have not. Thus I believe that these words were not in the original Diatessaron, but were taken from the separate gospels. That this is correct is shown by the text of Ss in Luke 2:4, "because both were from the house of David;" while P and W-H have: διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸν ἐξ οἴκου καὶ πατρὶᾶς Δαυείδ.

The second argument is, therefore, valid, and it must be recognized, though the first argument alone would be sufficient for our purpose.

Again, there are peculiarities in Ss which cannot be later than T.<sup>77</sup>

Another argument for the priority of the separate gospels over against the harmony lies in the omissions of Ss, especially of Mark 16:9-20, the so-called "longer conclusion." Ss omits it, breaking suddenly off with: "for they were afraid." Then we have the colophon, "Here endeth the gospel of Mark," and then begins at once in the same column, showing that nothing has been omitted, the gospel of Luke. Ss did not have vss. 9-16 just as N, B. But everybody recognizes that these verses were in the original Diatessaron. Sc has them, too. If Ss had T before him, why, then, did he leave out these verses? No reason whatever can be found for the omission but the one that Ss did not find these verses in the original from which he made his translation. And it is evident, therefore, that this original was not T, for in T these verses are found.

But that is not claimed at all, one might say. Evidently Ss had not only T, but also a Greek MS. before him. He followed the Greek MS.; thus this omission is no reason why Ss should be earlier than T.

This is a natural objection. However, it will be noticed that the omission of those verses occurs in the earliest Greek MS., while only the later Greek texts have the passage. The same applies to the

<sup>77</sup> "There is at least one passage where we know the Diatessaron to have contained a peculiar interpretation of the ordinary Greek text, but where Sinaiticus has a striking mistranslation (or a corruption of the underlying Greek text), which could hardly have passed into circulation after the Diatessaron reading was current; i. e., Luke 4:29, *ὥστε κατὰ κρημνίσαι αὐτόν*, which was taken by Tatian to imply that the men of Nazareth actually threw our Lord over the cliff. But in Sin. we read: 'And they led him out as far as the top (?) of the mountain upon which their city was built, so as to hang him.' The last clause is evidently meant for *ὥστε κρεμάσαι αὐτόν*. Such a gross mistranslation must date from very early times." (BURKITT.) Besides, readings like Matt. 27:16, 17, where Ss has "*Jesus Bar-Abbas*," which is also in Shier; Luke 2:36, which affirms that Hanna had lived only seven *days* with her husband before she became a widow; Luke 4:29, "He who eats the *ἄριστον* in the kingdom of God," must be very old, and are of such a character that "niemand (*sic*) später in ein Neues Testament hineincorrigiert haben würde." (Cf. NESTLE, *Theolog. Literatur-Zeitung*, l. c.)

omission of other passages in Ss which are in T, *e. g.*, Luke 22: 43, 44; 23: 34<sup>b</sup>. It is only the earliest MSS. which omit them.

The case lies, then, thus: Ss used an older Greek MS. than T. Is this natural in the case that Ss is later than T? Evidently not.

Besides, it is a great question whether a later author would omit such passages as, *e. g.*, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do," a passage which must have immediately taken hold of the hearts of the people when once given. Now, would an author who began his work when this word of Jesus on the cross was already familiar to the people from the harmony which they used, omit it, even though it were not in the Greek MS. from which he translated? Would not the people charge him at once with having omitted some of the most precious parts of the gospel? Would for those simple minded, earnest, practical Christians an answer be sufficient which told them: these are really not original parts of the gospel, they are later additions? That might do for a modern critic. But one may safely challenge anyone to try today whether the great mass of earnest, devoted Christians would be willing to give up those texts simply because they are not found in the earliest MSS. And then, the whole character of the work of Ss shows that the author's purpose was practical: he wanted to give the people a gospel which they could read and understand; there were none of the elements of the modern text critic in him. His work was for the people. But will the people be willing to accept his work when they could say: "Our old gospel, our Diatessaron, is much better than this new version. It has those words which we love, but this version has omitted them"? Impossible that he should not have thought of this. No; the omission of those passages in Ss shows very clearly that he did not have T before him; that T must be later; else they would have been taken account of, no matter whether the Greek MS. of Ss had them or not.

These arguments from the comparison of dogmatic passages in T and Ss, from the peculiarities of Ss, which would scarcely have found their place after T's work, and from the omissions of Ss, are perhaps as strong arguments as we can expect in the absence of external witness. It is their inherent force which convinces us that the text represented by Ss, the Syr. vet., is older than the Diatessaron, and that the relation that exists between them is the dependence of T on Ss.

There is, however, also a clear influence of T on Ss. And this fact—I refer to the presence of harmonistic readings in Ss—is the main, if not the only real, argument for the opposite view, which affirms the priority of T over against Ss.

That there are such harmonistic readings in Ss is plain from such passages as Mark 8 : 32 ; 7 : 28, and others.\*

It is not necessary for our argument to point out the harmonistic readings in Sc. They were already recognized by Cureton, who in his preface, p. lxvi, says :

If we turn to St. Luke, we find several examples of additions made to the text from the other evangelists, who had related some fact or discourse in greater detail, or with some additional circumstances ; of the change of words or phrases to accommodate them and bring them nearer, or even to make them identical with the terms employed in other gospels. The gospel of St. John, from its peculiarity in having less in common than the other three, will necessarily admit of fewer changes of this sort ; but still, even in that small portion of it which remains, indications of this kind are observable. Of Mark only four verses of the last chapter remain. The gospel of St. Matthew also seems to exhibit some signs of a similar nature, especially with regard to additions made to the text.

According to his theory that this Syriac gospel of Matthew represents "more nearly the exact words which the evangelist himself made use of than any other that has hitherto been discovered," Cureton attributes "its approximation in numerous places to the reading found in St. Mark and St. Luke" to this cause, and not to the same to which he ascribes the harmonistic readings in Mark, Luke, and John.

After Cureton, Baethgen especially has called attention to these harmonistic readings, and has made much use of them for his argument

\* Mark 8 : 32, where Ss has : "And Simon Peter, *as though pitying him*, said, 'Be this far from thee.'" This is evidently a conflation of Mark and Matt. The Greek has in Matt. : *καὶ προσλαβόμενος αὐτὸν ὁ Πέτρος ἤρξατο ἐπιτιμᾶν αὐτῷ λέγων* *Δεῦρ σοὶ κύριε οὐ μὴ ἐστὶν τοῦτο*. In Mark : *καὶ προσλαβόμενος ὁ Πέτρος αὐτὸν ἤρξατο ἐπιτιμᾶν αὐτῷ*. The phrase in Ss, "as though pitying him," is plainly a translation of the Greek words *Δεῦρ σοὶ* of Matt. Now, exactly the same phrase occurs in the Arabic Diatessaron, which translates : "And Simon Peter, *as if sympathizing with him*, said, 'Be this far from thee, Lord.'" Now, it is true that a b n combine also Matt. and Mark, but the agreement is not so close as in the case of Ss and T.—Matt. 7 : 28, Ss reads : *καὶ τὰ κυνάρια ἐσθίει ἀπὸ τῶν ψιχίων τῶν πιπτοῦντων ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης* (or *ἀπὸ τῶν τραπέζων*) *τῶν παιδίων*. The Greek has in Matt. *τὰ κυνάρια ἐσθίει ἀπὸ τῶν ψιχίων τῶν πιπτοῦντων ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης τῶν κυρίων* ; in Mark : *τὰ κυνάρια ὑποκατὰ τῆς τραπέζης ἐσθίουσιν ἀπὸ τῶν ψιχίων τῶν παιδίων*. Ss omits in Matt. *ἀπὸ τῶν ψιχίων τῶν πιπτοῦντων*, but reads it in Mark, where it is not in the Greek. Ephraim's Diatessaron has : "Even dogs eat of the crumbs of their master's table" = Greek of Mark. Ss takes the *ἀπὸ τῶν ψιχίων τῶν πιπτοῦντων* from Matt., but it retains the reading *τῶν παιδίων*.—For other instances see ZAHN's article in the *Theologische Literatur-Blatt*, 1895, and the transpositions in the passion story, Luke 22 : 16, 19, 20a, 17, 20b, 18, 21 ; John 18 : 13, 24, 14, 15, 19–23, 16–18, 25, which seem to point to a harmony.

of the priority of the Diatessaron. But as to this, it will be sufficient to quote the words of Burkitt in the *Guardian*, October 31, 1894 :

Baethgen brings forward a number of instances of harmonistic readings of Cur., but out of his forty-three examples where Cur. stands alone (or with Diat. only), sixteen, or more than one-third, are not shared by Sin. . . . Matt. 21 : 33-44 is selected by Baethgen to exhibit the harmonistic tendencies of Syr. vet., and of five such readings in these verses peculiar to Cur. alone, three are also found in Sin. Yet even here Sin. shows its independence by passing over vs. 44 altogether, while Cur. and Pesh. follow the ordinary text. The verse is in Diat., where it may, of course, correspond to Luke 20 : 18. Its absence from Sin. in the midst of so many minor harmonistic readings shows that no deliberate attempt at assimilating the gospels one to the other has been made, however much the scribes of Sin. and its ancestors may have been influenced by the wording of parallel verses.

How do we have to account for the harmonistic readings in Ss ? It is easily said : They are due to the influence of the Diatessaron. There is probably nobody who denies it. But suppose the Old Syriac text of the separate gospels were later than the Diatessaron, how have we to think of the work of its author ? He must have had a Greek MS. in his hand—how else could he disentangle the harmony and restore the text of the separate gospels ? He had, then, before him the Syriac harmony and the Greek MS. Which would be the text that he preferred ? Would he simply look for the corresponding translation of the Greek in the Syriac Diatessaron ? Would he omit the passages which the Diatessaron had, indeed, but which were not in the Greek MS. ? Would he add some additions which the Greek text had, but which were wanting in the Diatessaron ? Would he, in the main, take the text from the already existing Syriac translation, disentangling most passages, but not all, so that some harmonistic touches would remain ? Whatever may be said about this theory, it is absolutely improbable. For this procedure he must have known a good deal of Greek. Why should he then undergo this mechanical, slavish task, which, moreover, was more difficult than the direct translation ? No, the whole translation bears the stamp of originality on its face ; such kind of a work would have left other traces which this noble and forcible piece does not show.

But then, one objects and asks, wondering how anyone can set up a theory like this, whether it was not simply so that the author did not have a copy of Tatian's work, but merely a Greek MS., before him ; that he was, however, so familiar with the text of the harmony that there slipped into his translation some harmonistic reminiscences of the Diatessaron.

But, after all, the question arises: If he had the Greek text before him, why should he make these strange excursions? We have no reason to doubt—on the contrary, we have every reason to believe—that he was a very faithful translator. Here is a man who wants to give the Syrian Christians, who have the Diatessaron already, the separate gospels as they were used in the Græco-Roman church. Will he not be careful to shun harmonistic passages, lest he defeat his own end? Besides, the danger of falling into these lapses is not so great as one might at first think. The work which the translator had to do was not altogether mechanical; it was not the wearisome toil of simple copying; there was a good deal of creative work to be done. The mind was profoundly attentive; this his whole work shows. It was something new that he wanted to give to the people. Since the main stock was already there in the harmony, his diligence must be only the greater, lest he represent the Greek original incorrectly.

The copyist who had the mechanical work to do was more likely to write down from memory. One who knows what it is to copy hour after hour, perhaps day after day, knows how the attention becomes distracted and the mind grows weary. Familiar as the scribe of the third or fourth century was with the substance of what he was copying, and knowing the text of the Diatessaron well, he must at times have put down the text of the harmony which was so familiar to him, especially in passages where there was agreement in general. It is much easier to think that the harmonistic elements came into Ss through scribes than that they were due to the original translator, unless it could be proved that the Greek text from which he translated contained these harmonistic touches already. Considerations like these weaken or destroy the argument for the priority of the harmony over against Ss.

And then, even those harmonistic touches which we find in Ss must not all be attributed to the influence of T. This will be seen, for instance, in the passage Mark 7 : 28,<sup>9</sup> where there is, indeed, a conflation in Ss, but it is found neither in the Ephraim fragments nor in the Arabic Diatessaron. The influence of a parallel passage explains much, and probably some conflations he found already in the Greek MS.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>9</sup> See preceding footnote.

<sup>9</sup> Compare for this the words of Jerome in his preface to the gospels, also cited by Cureton: "Magnus si quidem hic in nostris codicibus error inolevit, dum quod in eadem re alius Evangelista plus dixit, in alio quia minus putaverint, addiderunt. Vel dum eundem sensum alius aliter expressit, ille qui unum a quattuor primum legerat, ad ejus exemplum ceteros quoque existimaverit emendandos. Unde accidit ut apud nos mixta sunt omnia, et in Marco plura Lucae atque Matthaei, rursus in Matthaeo plura Johannis et Marci, et in ceteris reliquorum, quae aliis propria sunt, inveniantur."

The result, then, of our investigation as to the relative age of Ss and T is that Ss is earlier than T, that T was not the earliest gospel which the Syrians knew.

Now, what is the relation in which T stands to Sc? We have seen that the text which is represented by Ss is earlier than T. But how about Sc? Is it also earlier, or is it later? I think it is clearly later. The arguments which have been brought forward for the priority of Ss cannot be applied to Sc. Sc is so much like T in the dogmatic portions that no other conclusion seems possible than that it is based on T. It contains, moreover, the conclusion of Mark, as well as the most important other omissions, like Luke 22:43, 44, just as T. Sc apparently presupposes T in its translation. Ss would, then, be the oldest, T would come next, and Sc would come after T. This carries naturally with it the position of P, which is the latest of them all.

Suppose, however, for a moment that the Diatessaron (=T) were the earliest form after all. Then one thing would inevitably follow: Sc must be nearer in time to T than Ss, because Sc has undoubted marks of T's influence, much more so than Ss (*cf.* especially Matt., chap. 1). But this would contradict the result of our investigation, for we saw that Ss was older than Sc, and had strong proofs for it. With this the last foundation of Tatian's priority vanishes. The Diatessaron cannot claim the distinction of having been the first written message of the gospel of Christ in Syria.

The Syrians had, then, the separate gospels in a text which underlies Ss before they had the Diatessaron. Now it will be asked: If they had already Ss, what was the need of having another translation, that of Sc? Was Ss not enough? Here it must not be forgotten that probably for the great mass of the people the Diatessaron was the only form in which they knew the gospels. For the Diatessaron was made at the time when Christianity, from being the religion of individuals, became the religion of the state. To those Christians the Diatessaron was their one and all. They heard it in the church services, and became soon acquainted with it. Naturally they were familiar with Tatian's idea of the birth of Christ. Hearing now from others that the gospels were originally written in four separate accounts, they would be eager to possess them also in that form in which, as they learned, the rest of the Christian churches read them. The desideratum of the hour was, then, for these people, not a work which contradicted the Diatessaron, but one which was in harmony with it, told the narration of the birth in the same words almost as T. A work like Ss would hardly have met their



wishes. To this desire the translation of Sc was due. When it was made we do not know. Perhaps quite early, about 200 A. D., perhaps some fifty years later. How widely it was used it is impossible to say. The same must also be said about the use of Ss; whether it was used extensively or only in small circles is uncertain. That both were made to fulfil a desire on the part of the people cannot be doubted. For practical, not for critical, purposes did the authors write; that people should read and be edified, not that scholars should examine and compare and inquire which was the correct text and which not.

Unless other finds show the contrary, Ss in its original form was the first translation to which we can point with historic certainty. The extraordinary value of Ss for text-critical purposes has at once been recognized.<sup>31</sup> It seems to stand on the same level of authority as N and B. Merx places it even higher.<sup>32</sup> Whether that, however, can be maintained, time will show. But the fact that Ss was written before T, puts it into the middle of the second century, to which the entire text bears witness; and that places it in the front rank of the witnesses for the original Greek text of the gospels.

#### 4. *The Gospel in Aphraates.*

(1) The first thing which confirms the historical presumption that Aphraates used the Diatessaron is the fact that he calls the book from which he quotes at least five times simply "the gospel," "his gospel," "the gospel of our vivifier;"<sup>33</sup> never speaking of it as "the gospels,"

<sup>31</sup> Ss is used already by BLASS in his edition of Luke (Leipzig, 1897) and by BALJON in his *Novum Testamentum Graece* (Groningen, 1898), who says: "Maioris momenti est codex Syr<sup>us</sup>; eius igitur lectiones *diligentissime* conquisitas in annotatione *ubique* (?) adscripti" (p. iv).

<sup>32</sup> Cf. his extremely interesting appendix. He would sometimes take the reading of Ss, even if the entire other tradition be different. Blass also ranks it very high. So would he, just like Merx (and Bechtel) "dem Syrer der Mrs. Lewis glauben, dass es Luc. 17:10 *δοῦλοι ἐσμεν* heissen muss, ohne *ἀχρεῖοι*." (*Gram. d. neutestamentl. Griech.*, p. v.) "At est profecto ubi magna habenda sit vel *solī* vel *paucis* testanti: velut quod omittit L. 17:10 *ἀχρεῖοι* e Matthaeo in sententiae detrimentum invecum, et Johannis narrationem (18:13 sqq.) cum graeco 225 in veriozem ordinem redigit, ut desinat non modo cum ceterorum sed etiam secum ipse pugnare videri." (*Luke*, Pref., p. lxxvi). See also footnote 28.

<sup>33</sup> P. 8, "As it is written in the beginning of the gospel of our vivifier;" p. 13, "The word which is written in the gospel;" p. 321, "as was said in the gospel;" p. 235, "as he says in his gospel;" "what the Lord teaches in his gospel" (BERT's edition).

nor ever mentioning the name of a single evangelist. (2) There are harmonistic passages in his homilies which point in the same direction. It is true we cannot control them all, since in many cases Ephraim is wanting and the Arabic has no mixture.<sup>34</sup> He might, then, have harmonized himself. But there are enough cases where he has the same mixture as the Arabic or Ephraim, and also where he strings his quotations together so as to follow closely the order of the Diatessaron. They have been discussed by Zahn and Harris. (3) There is at least one passage, Luke 16:28, where Aphraates and the Arabic T have an unparalleled reading, caused by a primitive error in the Greek text, *ὅπως διαμαρτύρηται* fused with *διαμαρτάνω* (Harris, p. 21). (4) Aphraates says that his gospel began, just as the Diatessaron, with John 1:1: "In the beginning was the word." "As it is written in the beginning of the gospel of our vivifier: 'In the beginning was the word.'" Not in the beginning of John's gospel—he never says that; but "in the beginning of the gospel of our vivifier." (5) Add to these the fact that there was no other harmony that he could have used; that of Ammonius being different and not used, so far as we know, in Syria, while Tatian's Diatessaron was used; and (6) the fact that there are some quotations which can best be explained on the assumption that they were taken from Tatian's Diatessaron;<sup>35</sup> and there can be no reasonable doubt about Aphraates' use of the Diatessaron.

<sup>34</sup> *E. g.*, Matt. 5:15; Mark 4:21; Luke 8:16; John 20:2, 13; Matt. 28:6; Luke 17:3, 4; Matt. 18:15 ff.; etc.

<sup>35</sup> Matt. 5:4, "Blessed are they who mourn, for they shall be *suppliated*;" *παπακαλεῖν* is translated "supplicate." Luke 6:24, "Woe unto you rich, who have received your *petition*," *παράκλησις*; 16:25, "But now thou askest and he does not help thee;" Ss, P—"And now he receives rest and thou art tortured;" Sc wanting. Matt. 5:5, "Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the *land of life*." John 1:17, "*The truth of the law* has come through Jesus." Matt. 15:19, "*In the heart* are the wicked thoughts." Luke 4:29, *ὥστε κατακρημνίσαι αὐτόν*, evidently taken to imply that the Nazareth people actually threw Jesus over the cliff.

Here belong also some logia of Jesus which we find neither in the separate gospels nor in the Diatessaron as we have it in Ephraim and in the Arabic text. Did Aphraates have also apocryphal gospels in addition to the canonical? The passages are:

1. "What I say to you in darkness, say ye in light, for among the heathen let your light shine" (p. 9). The first sentence is a quotation from Matt. 10:27, and "for among the heathen let your light shine" is similar to Matt. 5:16, "let your light so shine before men." It is, then, a free quotation, not a new logion.

2. "Doubt not that ye may not sink down in the world as Simon, when he doubted and began to sink down in the sea" (p. 15, BERT's edition). Of this Resch says in his *Agrapha (Texte und Untersuchungen, Vol. V, 4, p. 380)*: "Der durchaus

But there are indications that he used also the separate gospels.

1. He has genealogies of Jesus which were not in the Diatessaron. A comparison of the genealogies in Aphraates (=A) with those of Ss, secundäre Zusatz: *wie Simon, da er anfing zu sinken im Meere, lässt es auch wahrscheinlich werden, dass die vorhergegangenen Worte: auf dass ihr nicht versinket in der Welt, ebenfalls der Perikope Mt. 14:28-31 nachgebildet, mithin nicht original sind, zumal da diese Perikope von dem versinkenden Petrus weder durch das petrinische Markusevangelium, Mc. 6:45-51, noch durch die johanneische Parallele, Joh. 6:17-21, gedeckt wird. Als zweifellos echt bleibt im obigen Logion mithin nur der Anfang: Zweifelst nicht!* Diese Worte sind aber auch schon in den canonischen Evangelien vorhanden: *μη διακριθῆτε*, Mt. 21:21 [which he has cited a little later]. Am meisten klingt noch an den Aphraatestext Jac. 1:16."

3. "As it is written: The supplicant who offers his prayer must first examine his gift well, if a stain be found on it, and then shall he offer it, that his sacrifice may not remain on the earth" (BERT, p. 66). "Es ist doch wohl nur eine Nachbildung von Mt. 5:23, 24, die wir hier vor uns haben. Man vergleiche namentlich das dreimalige *δωρον* = 'Gabe' in der canonischen Parallele und die Übereinstimmung in den Worten *καὶ τότε ελθὼν προσφέρει τὸ δῶρον σου*." (RESCH, *l. c.*, p. 442.)

4. "As it is written: Our Lord said: Pray and do not become weary" (BERT, p. 66); Resch says: "Dieses Logion findet sich als Herrenwort nirgends im Canon. Wohl aber bietet Lucas einen verwandten Text: *ἐλεγεν δὲ παραβολὴν αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὸ δεῖν πάντοτε προσευχεσθαι καὶ μὴ ἐγκακεῖν*, Lc. 18:1. Von mancher Seite ist diese lucanische Bemerkung als ein von dem Evangelisten ex suis hinzugethaner überflüssiger Zusatz bezeichnet und der Ursprung dieses lucanischen Zusatzes in den paulinischen Ausdrücken gesucht worden: *μη ἐγκακησάτε*, 2. Thess. 3:13; *μη ἐγκακῶμεν*, Gal. 6:9; *διο αὐτοῦμαι μὴ ἐγκακεῖν*, Eph. 3:13; *οὐκ ἐγκακοῦμεν*, 2. Cor. 4:1, 16. Durch das oben angeführte Herrenwort wird der Sachverhalt gerade ins Gegentheil verkehrt. Die paulinischen Parallelen sind Nachklänge von diesem Herrenwort, und Lucas hat ebendasselbe Herrenwort *προσευχασθε καὶ μὴ ἐγκακησάτε* lediglich aus der direkten in die indirekte Rede umgewandelt, indem er zugleich den ursprünglichen Standort jenes Logion in der vorcanonischen Quelle deutlich erkennen lässt. Zu vergleichen ist auch Herm. Mand., IX, 8, p. 104: 11, *συ οὖν μὴ διαλίπῃς αἰτούμενος τὸ αἷμα τῆς ψυχῆς σου, καὶ λήψῃ αὐτό. εἰν δὲ ἐκκακῆσῃ καὶ διψυχῆσῃ αἰτούμενος, σεαυτὸν αἰτῶ καὶ μὴ τὸν δίδοντα σοι*. Übrigens schwanken in allen canonischen wie auch in dieser Hermas-Parallele die Lesarten zwischen *ἐκκακεῖν* und *ἐγκακεῖν*." (Pp. 297, 298.)

It is, however, just as well possible that Aphraates made the change from the indirect into the direct form; or, what is still more probable, he found it so in Tatian's Diatessaron. Aphraates' testimony is not sufficient to prove the assertion that this is a word of Jesus. But in any case, even if Resch be correct, the use of this text does not necessitate the opinion that Aphraates used an extra-canonical gospel beside the Diatessaron.

5. "For it stands written thus: The good is destined to come, and well for him through whom it comes; and the evil is destined to come, but woe to him through whom it comes." Resch compares with this: DRESSEL, *Clementina Epitome prima*, chap. 96: *ὁ κυριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ εἶπεν· τὰ ἀγαθὰ ελθεῖν δεῖ, μακάριος δὲ, φησὶν, δι' οὗ ἐρχεται. ὁμοίως ἀπάγκη καὶ τὰ κακὰ ελθεῖν, οὐαὶ δὲ δι' οὗ ἐρχεται*, and DRESSEL, *Clementina Epitome secunda*, chap. 96: *ὁ κυριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς*

Sc, P shows only one real difference<sup>36</sup> in that long list of sixty-five names: A has Jojakim and Jojakin, while Ss, Sc, P have Jechonja. It would be extremely hazardous to deny on the basis of this one difference that A took his genealogical lists from the separate gospels. His lists are not exactly like either Ss, Sc, or P; now they approach this form, now that form of the separate gospels;<sup>37</sup> they are most closely related to Sc, where Sc is extant. He had probably a copy which combined the different readings or all three texts (perhaps also another?). There is no evidence for the existence of separate genealogical tables, and it is therefore the most probable thing that A took his genealogies from the separate gospels, especially in view of the fact that he ends them with the remark that "Joseph was called the father of Jesus," which is evidently a citation from Ss, where it occurs just so. If he used only the Diatessaron, how could he know this, since Tatian omitted both the genealogies and the references to the Davidic descent? Strange that he should use the same expression as Ss, when he made, as some think, the tables himself on the basis of the Old Testament!

2. There are, moreover, some quotations which Aphraates could by no means have taken from Tatian, since they ran counter to Tatian's belief and emphasized that which Tatian wanted to combat, viz., the Davidic descent of Jesus.

του θεου εφη· τα αγαθα ελθειν δει, μακαριος δε, φησιν, δι' ου ερχεται. ομοιως και τα κακα αναγκη ελθειν, ουαι δε τω ανθρωπω δι ου ερχεται. Resch says: "Durch den von Aphraates überlieferten, ihm aus einer schriftlichen Autorität zugeflossenen Text, welcher mit dem Homilien-Citate (*Hom. Cl.*, XII, 29, p. 130, 35): ο της αληθειας προφητης εφη· τα αγαθα ελθειν δει, μακαριος δε, φησιν, δι' ου ερχεται· ομοιως και τα κακα αναγκη ελθειν, ουαι δε δι' ου ερχεται — wörtlich übereinstimmt, erfährt die Güte der in den Clementinen fließenden vorzüglichen Evangelienquelle eine neue Bestätigung. Andererseits wird durch diese Vergleichung mit dem Clementinen-Citate offenbar, was man aus Aphraates allein nicht zu erkennen vermag, dass die von ihm citierte schriftliche Autorität ein Herrenwort in sich schloss, für dessen Echtheit somit nunmehr drei Zeugen: Paulus [Rm. 3:8], Pseudo-Clemens und Aphraates sich nachweisen lassen, abgesehen von dem ersten und dritten kanonischen Evangelisten, welche die zweite Hälfte des Logion ebenfalls verwendet haben."

The only safe conclusion which we can draw from this is that Aphraates took this logion from the Diatessaron.

There is absolutely no necessity to believe that Aphraates used an apocryphal gospel. All the differences may be accounted for otherwise quite satisfactorily. Indeed, some of these passages form a negative argument for the fact that Aphraates used the Diatessaron.

<sup>36</sup> Arpakohar and Abiur of Ss are evidently copyists' errors: ϣ for ϣ. No. 13 A om., Ss Ailan, P Cainan — very probably also om. by Sc, which is wanting here; cf. 41-43, where the opposite case occurs.

<sup>37</sup> 30, A = Ss > P; 32, A = P > Ss; 41-43, A = Sc > Ss, P.

The first citation is already mentioned: "Joseph was called the father of Jesus."

The second is: Luke 2:4, "Jesus was born by the virgin Mary from the seed of the house of David, as it is written: Joseph and Mary his betrothed *were both from the house of David.*" Which statement was not in the Diatessaron, but in the Sinaiticus. (P has the regular Greek reading: "because he was of the house and lineage of David;" Sc is missing.)

We have, then, in Aphraates (1) the genealogies and (2) the Davidic descent of Jesus; both matters were not in Tatian; their text agrees with that of the separate gospels; consequently, Aphraates used in addition to the Diatessaron the separate gospels.

But now the question arises: In which form does he use the separate gospels, in the Sinaitic, Curetonian, or Peshitta text? An examination of the different quotations which Aphraates makes<sup>3</sup> shows that the text of Aphraates is in 53 cases like that of P, in 91 = Ss, in 76 = Sc, and in a great many others different from all three.

Now, subtract from the number of cases where A = P all those cases where either Ss or Sc is missing, or both, and where one might reasonably suppose that the texts agreed with P and A. Subtract also those cases from P's number where either Ss or Sc is together with P = A. Take into consideration all possible amount of free quotation, and the result is that in spite of it all there are enough passages left which show that Aphraates knew and used the Peshitto text of the four gospels.

Apply the same process of subtraction, with the appropriate modifications, to Ss and Sc, and the result is that Aphraates knew and used the text of both Ss and Sc in his quotations from the gospels.

This is a rather remarkable and unexpected result of the comparison, yet the proof is *lucè clarius*.

But how are we to explain this fact that Aphraates used the Diatessaron, the Peshitto, Ss, and Sc? It may be that he had a text of the separate gospels which had combined the readings of Ss and Sc and P; and for this the peculiarities in the text of Aphraates might lend at least a slender foundation. I mean such little matters as the frequent use of ܐܡܝܢ in A, which is not so often in P, Ss, Sc; or the

<sup>3</sup> A collation of the gospel text of Aphraates with that of the Sinaitic, Curetonian, and Peshitta text is published in the *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, Vol. XVI, No. 2, January, 1900, pp. 110-24

very frequent use of *ܐ* for other prepositions, *e. g.*, *ܐܠܝܗܐ*, *ܐܝܡܢܐ*, and *ܐܝܢܐ*; or the use of the plural where the other texts have the singular. But all these differences may be due to Aphraates' loose method of quoting passages. Moreover, the suggestion is only a conjecture, and cannot be substantiated. Perhaps some discovery may throw fresh light on this problem.

The easiest solution seems to me something like the following: Aphraates, the bishop of the monastery of Mar Mattai, was an educated man. One may deny that he was a fine scholar; that he was an earnest and diligent Bible student none will question who has read his homilies. If anyone, he must have known and used the text of the separate gospels. One has only to remember that the ground text of Ss was made already in the second century, and Sc certainly not later than 250 A. D., if not about 200 A. D. These two he evidently used privately for his Bible study. Now about the Peshitto. Suppose it had come into existence about his time (340 A. D.). As bishop he must have become at once familiar with the new work, be it that he met it on his visits in his diocese, where perhaps the priests might use it here or there, or be it that the translation was at once shown to him, the bishop, when it was completed. However that may be, his extensive use of it favors rather an earlier date for the origin of the Peshitto. We have, then, in Aphraates nothing else than this: a man who faithfully studies the Bible in the Diatessaron as well as in the three versions existing in his time, writes some homilies, and here, in quoting from memory (there is no doubt that he did that), quotes now from this, now from that text, apparently without being conscious that he is doing something extraordinary.




This shows us very clearly that the text was not yet settled in the Syrian church. The church had not yet said: "This is our text, not that." We are still in the period of formation, and considerable fluctuation is seen. The strife for the supremacy of the text has not yet broken out openly, but it is about to do so; the Diatessaron is no more exclusively used; on the contrary, the separate gospels seem to have been made more use of. Which of the two parties is going to win? If the separate gospels, which of the three will carry off the victory? The answer we find in the next few decades, during which Ephraim wrote.

##### 5. *The Gospels in Ephraim.*

Rev. F. H. Woods has collated the quotations of Ephraim, and published the results of his investigation in the *Studia Biblica et*

*Ecclesiastica* (Oxford, 1891), Vol. III, pp. 105 ff., under the title, "An Examination of the New Testament Quotations of Ephraem Syrus." Since he has given the variations from the Peshitto, etc., in full on pp. 120 ff., "Quotations from the New Testament in Ephraem Syrus compared with the Peshitto," etc., I refer to that comparison as the basis of the following assertions, though the conclusions of his article differ from my own.

First of all, it is at once plain that Ephraim knew and used the Diatessaron. He wrote a commentary on it, as we know. Besides, the many passages given in Mr. Woods' list where combinations of the different gospels are found show the same. There can be no doubt that he used the Diatessaron. But it is also clear that he did not use it frequently in his other works outside of the commentary on it. Most of his quotations are taken from the Peshitto. That was his main text. One sees at once that he uses it much more than Aphraates did. But P was not the only, though the principal, version from which he quoted. There are citations whose text is like Sc and Ss, and different from P.

So is in Matt. 3:17 and 17:5 the curious reading of Ephraim  instead of  (P) found in Sc as well as in Ss. Similarly 21:38 was cited from Sc or Ss, not from P.—Matt. 5:39 and Luke 6:29a are taken from Sc, not from P, Ss; so also Matt. 16:26, Mark 8:36, and Luke 9:25  = Sc against P and Ss.—Luke 10:24 is quoted from Sc, not from P or Ss.—John 1:3 is as clear a case as one might wish to show that Ephraim used also Sc; here Ephraim agrees in three points with Sc, while he differs in those points from P.

Evidences for the fact that Ephraim used also Ss are such passages as Matt. 10:6 (Sc is wanting), where Ephraim omits with Ss against P **مَنْزِلَهُ**, and Ss writes for **وَأَصْرَهُ** of P **وَبَيْتَهُ**.—Matt. 20:22 = Mark 10:38, where P has **لَا مَجْدَهُ، مَلَأَ مَجْدَهُ** (in both passages), Sc agrees with P in Matt. 20:22, is missing in Mark 10:38, but Ss writes in both passages exactly like Ephraim **لَا مَجْدَهُ اِذْهَبْ، مَلَأَ مَجْدَهُ اِذْهَبْ**.—Luke 11:2, P=Sc, but Ephraim omits with Ss **وَجَمْعُهُ**. Also the best Greek MSS. omit *ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς*.—In John 17:11 (Sc wanting) Ss writes with Ephraim **اِلَهَ**, P **اِلٰهَ**, though adding with P **مَعْمَا**, which Ephraim omits; but Ss inserts, just as Ephraim, before **يَهْ** the word **هَبْ**.

These passages make it clear that Ephraim used, besides his Peshitto text, also the Curetonian and Sinaitic texts. It may be that he had a text which combined the readings of all three texts, such as

we see it, for instance, in Luke 14 : 31, where he combines the reading of P, Ss, Sc, and reads both (P) ܡܨܪܝܐ (Ss, Sc). Or it may be that he read all three texts side by side, and in quoting from memory used now this, now that text.

It is not at all necessary that Ephraim knew the differences between the Syriac and Greek texts, or that he had a Greek text before him. All the quotations are easily accounted for by attributing them to these three, or better four, sources, T, P, Ss, Sc.

We see that even in Ephraim the text of the gospels is not yet settled. He still uses the Diatessaron, but it is no longer the main text. The victory in the battle between the two sets of texts, the harmony and the separate gospels, has turned toward the latter. Still, the final step is not yet taken. The one is not absolutely defeated, the other not yet alone in the field. No final decision is reached as yet.

And between the three texts of the separate gospels the relative positions are different now. Aphraates uses more Ss and Sc than P, but Ephraim quotes far more from P than from Ss and Sc combined. Ss and Sc are still used by him, are still influencing his citations, but his main text is P. But also here, though there is a strong tide in favor of P, a decision is not yet reached. But what it will ultimately be is already clear. Ephraim points too clearly the way to be misleading.

[To be concluded in the next number.]



## THE HASTINGS BIBLE DICTIONARY, VOL. II.<sup>1</sup>

*Archæology and Natural History.*—The articles on archæology and natural history have been prepared by several writers of various degrees of qualification. C. Warren writes on Gate and House. These two articles are quite exhaustive in their treatment of the matter contained in the Bible, and of the customs current among oriental peoples of today. But in the discussions of the Hebrew terms used in the Old Testament, and their translations, the author makes no reference to several interesting cognate Assyrian terms, which would have been valuable helps. A. R. S. Kennedy has presented Fringes and Goel. While the Hebrew term for “fringes” is but one word, he has produced from other sources, and from other terms descriptive of apparel, enough material to give us a clear idea of what they were and their relations to the rest of the garment. The exposition of Goel involves a discussion of the civil and criminal law affecting him. The treatment is conservative, yet cognizant of the results of criticism. J. A. Selbie discusses Foreigner, with ample regard to the demands of criticism. While freely considering the Septuagint translation of the several terms used, we should expect some reference to the much-used Assyrian verb *nakâru*. His treatment is broken into three periods—(1) pre-deuteronomic, (2) deuteronomic, and (3) exilic and post-exilic—and presented in an orderly manner. The same author writes on Incense. After presenting with some fulness the views of different critics on the beginnings of the use of incense, he expresses no opinion of his own, but allows the reader to infer that he abides by Wellhausen’s interpretation of the incense passages, that makes its earliest use that mentioned in Jer. 6: 20. It is a good presentation of the whole question from that point of view. A. S. Peake’s treatment of First-Fruits is based

<sup>1</sup> *A Dictionary of the Bible. Dealing with its Language, Literature, and Contents, including the Biblical Theology.* Edited by JAMES HASTINGS, M.A., D.D., with the assistance of JOHN A. SELBIE, M.A., and, chiefly in the revision of the proofs, of A. B. DAVIDSON, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Hebrew, New College, Edinburgh; S. R. DRIVER, D.D., Litt.D., Regius Professor of Hebrew, Oxford; H. B. SWETE, D.D., Litt.D., Regius Professor of Divinity, Cambridge. Vol. II, *Feign-Kinsman*. New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1899. Pp. xv + 870. Maps and Illustrations. Cloth, \$6; half morocco, \$8, per volume. To be completed in four volumes.

on the supposition of the correctness of the later historico-literary criticism of the Old Testament. It is also illumined by illustrations from extra-Israelitish sources. G. W. Thatcher discusses under Government the history of authority in Israel under five periods: (1) nomadic, (2) agricultural, (3) monarchical, (4) dispersion, (5) post-exilic dependent; with ample references to critical results. W. H. Bennett gives a clear discussion of the Heir in Israel, with references to the best and latest literature on the subject. Inheritance is examined from a theological point of view by Alexander Martin. In the Old Testament, land, as the scene of God's fellowship with his people, constitutes "inheritance," which may be regarded as pertaining either, ultimately or absolutely, to him, or, derivatively or conditionally, to them. In the New Testament the Old Testament idea appears as a metaphorical coloring in the language expressive of the final spiritual good made available through Jesus Christ. W. P. Paterson's discussion of Idolatry deals only with the general drift and features of the protracted conflict between the religious ideals of Israel and the popular religious tendencies which appear in the Old Testament, leaving specific kinds of idolatry for separate treatment. Image, by the editor, is a summary of fourteen words signifying "image" in one form or another. Ten of these are primarily discussed in specific articles, to which references are given. Each of these words is defined, not philologically, but by its translations either in the A. V. or R. V. Flood is elaborately handled by F. H. Woods. He gives large space to a rather long-drawn-out discussion of the flood legends of extra-Israelitish peoples. But the treatment is well arranged and up-to-date in its positions. The articles on Fowl, Goat, and Hyssop are by the well-known pen of G. E. Post. He has carefully collected the Bible material on each of these topics, and has, besides, added many instructive cognate Arabic words. These themes are handled in a comprehensive way, except that no reference whatever is made to the light which the Assyrian vocabulary sheds on each one of these words.

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*Old Testament History.*—This volume is especially rich in articles relating to Old Testament history. The history of the Hittites, as reflected in the biblical and monumental literature, is briefly sketched by Sayce. According to him their primitive home was probably

Cappadocia. Unlike Hilprecht, he does not consider the brilliant attempt of Jensen to decipher their inscriptions a success. In addition to the references to them in the article *Israel*, the Hebrew patriarchs and kings are treated independently and in detail. The article on *Isaac* is from Ryle; while the perplexing questions which gather about the names of Jacob, Ishmael, and Joseph are ably considered by Driver. The testimony of the different biblical references is first presented in full, that of the J, E, and P sources being carefully distinguished. The varying forms of the narrative and the conflicts arising from the different points of view are fully recognized. It is also plainly stated that, inasmuch as the book of *Genesis* was not committed to writing until centuries after the events which it records occurred, it cannot contain a literally exact record of the acts and sayings of the patriarchs. Undoubtedly one of the chief aims of these narratives is to explain facts and institutions existing in the later periods, when the prophetic and priestly writers lived. The pictures of the religious life and faith of the patriarchs there represented are evidently colored by the feelings and beliefs of the later age. Furthermore, the patriarchs are clearly idealized, in common with many other prehistoric figures, by being invested with the character which afterward marked the tribes descended, or reputed to have been descended, from them. Allowing for all of these later influences, Driver concludes that the view which, on the whole, best satisfies the circumstances of the case is that the patriarchs were historical persons, and that the accounts which we have of them are in outline historically true, although their characters are greatly idealized by later generations. The task, however, of separating the historically true from the products of the idealizing process is not attempted. The practical religious value of these portraits, as presenting universal, and especially Hebrew, character and experience, is rightly emphasized, for in these we must recognize their original and lasting significance. The articles relating to the kings are characterized by a careful analysis of the historical sources and a concise arrangement of the data. In his treatment of the reigns of *Jehoshaphat* and *Jehoiakim* White gives more weight to the testimony of the book of *Chronicles* than the well-authenticated facts of history and the historical reputation of its author seem to warrant. The character and work of *Jehu* are forcibly presented by Whitehouse. The problems connected with the reign of *Hezekiah* are carefully considered by McClymont. He regards 725 B. C. (following 2 Kings 18:10) as the most probable date of the king's accession. Contrary to the evidence

offered by the trend of the history, he prefers to follow Hebrew tradition and place Hezekiah's reform before the great invasion of 701 B. C. The possibility of a natural explanation of Hezekiah's sign (accepting Isa., chap. 38, as the oldest form of the tradition) is admitted. The article on Hosea, by Davidson, is one of the most valuable and suggestive in the volume. It sets forth with especial clearness the social and religious conditions and problems which constituted the background and theme of the prophet's work. Under the title of Genealogy E. L. Curtis treats at length (1) biblical genealogy in general and (2) the genealogical lists found in the writings of the chronicler. He concludes that, with the exception of royal and priestly families, it is doubtful whether before the exile the motive or the means of preserving exact lists existed. From the time of Ezra, however, much attention was given to them. So great was the popular interest that figurative and artificial genealogies were in many cases created in order to span the pre-exilic period; thus presenting close analogies with the artificial pedigrees commonly found in Arabic and late Jewish genealogies. The wisdom of devoting fifteen pages of the articles to reproducing the various tables of the chronicler and to technical notes is not obvious; while the vital questions of the historicity and real importance of these lists receive only passing notice. The history of Israel and (under a special heading) the period of the judges are treated by Barnes. The critical analyses of the historical sources contained in Driver's *LOT*,<sup>6</sup> are usually followed. The political and social, rather than the religious, side of the history receives the chief attention. The essential steps in the unfolding of Israel's life are traced in outline. In general, the accepted conclusions of constructive, critical scholarship are presented. In a few instances the tendency to follow "the traditions of the Fathers" is manifest. Since "it is most convenient," the late testimony of the chronicler (preserved in Ezra, chaps. 1-3) regarding a general return before 520 B. C. is accepted, although the important data which militate against the position are in part cited. Notwithstanding the many attendant difficulties, the expedition of Ezra is also still placed before that of Nehemiah.\*

As a whole, these articles fairly and worthily represent the established results of modern critical, historical investigation, and will undoubtedly perform a most valuable service in introducing them to the general body of Bible students.

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*The Geographical Articles.*—Between Feign and Kinsman, the limits of the second volume of Dr. Hastings' *Bible Dictionary*, and especially under the letters G, H, J, and K, the geographical names are especially numerous. Many of them are, besides, of the greatest, or next to the greatest, importance: the chief divisions of the land—Galilee, Gilead, Geshur, Golan, Hauran, Issachar, Israel (north), Judah, and Judæa; principal sites, rivers, and mountains, like Gadara, Gath, Gerasa, Gerizim, Gezer, Gibeah, Gilboa, Gilgal, Golgotha, Gomorrah, Hebron, Hinnom, Jericho, Jerusalem, Jezreel, Jacob's Well, Joppa, Jordan, Kadesh, Kadesh-Barnea, Kidron, and others; with other names in the geography or ethnology of western Asia—Galatia, Goshen, Gozan, Ham and Japheth, Havilah, Hittites, and so forth. Besides these geographical subjects there are the allied department of geology; various botanical and zoölogical terms, especially Forest and Food; and such other articles as Fenced Cities and Houses. So far, then, as geography is concerned, this volume is the most important of the four which are to compose the dictionary.

In his choice of writers the editor has risen to the great occasion. The more important articles have been assigned in almost every case to experts, and this is true of a large number of the smaller articles. The bulk of the Palestine place names are described by Sir Charles Warren, one of the earliest, as one of the ablest, officers of the English Palestine Exploration Fund; his principal articles, some of the most exhaustive in the volume, are Gadara, Gath, Gerasa, Golgotha, Hebron, Hinnom, Jehoshaphat, and Jordan; with another on Fenced Cities. With equal exhaustiveness, but more discursively, the leader of the American Exploration Fund, Dr. Selah Merrill, has contributed the articles on Galilee (of which he knows more than anyone else does), Gennesaret, the Sea of Galilee, Gilead, Jabesh, Jazer, and Naphtali. Colonel Conder is responsible for a large number of small towns throughout the land, and for the very full and accurate article on Jerusalem. Sir Charles Wilson contributes Judæa; Mr. Bliss, Gilgal and Jericho; and Professor Hull, not only the article on Geology, but a number of sites in the region traversed by his geological expedition—Gaza, Gomorrah, Great Sea, Mt. Hor, Jeruel, and Kadesh-Barnea. Mr. Ewing, a resident for nine years at Tiberias and the discoverer of a number of Greek inscriptions in Hauran, contributes Hauran and Jacob's Well; and Mr. Mackie, who spent many years at Beyrout, Gerizim, Joppa, and Kanah. To Canon Driver, an expert in the geography as well as in the text of the Old Testament, we owe scholarly

articles on Mt. Gilead, Hazerim and Hazeroth, Hill-country, Hivites, Ir-ha-heres, Jebus, and Jehovah-Jireh; to Dr. Nestle, one on Har-magedon; and to Dr. Rendel Harris, on Kibroth-Hattaavah. Besides these, Dr. Hastings has secured the services of specialists in departments of such of the biblical geography as falls beyond Palestine. Professor Ramsay contributes full articles on Galatia, Galatian Territory, and the Galatians; Professor Sayce, on Gezer, Gihon, Gog, Goiim, Gomer, Havilah, Hiddekel, Hittites, and Javan; Professor Hommel, on Hena and Hethlon; Mr. Pinches, on Girgashite, Habor, Hamath, and Haran; Mr. Ll. Griffiths, on Goshen; Mr. W. Max Müller, on Gozan, Halah, and Hara; and Professor Margoliouth, on Ham and Japheth, Joktan, and Kedar. In addition, there are a large number of shorter articles from other scholars: Professors Beecher, Porter, and Price; Messrs. Stenning, Selbie, H. A. White, Thatcher, Chapman, T. Nicol, Peake, Macpherson, Lukyn Williams, J. H. Kennedy, and A. C. Welch. For the most part the articles of these scholars are founded upon a full knowledge of the expert literature of their subjects, and are executed with accuracy and judgment. Among them the articles contributed by Rev. J. A. Selbie, the assistant editor of the dictionary, and Rev. John F. Stenning, of Wadham College, Oxford, deserve special mention, not only for their great number, but for their wide knowledge and scholarly character. The article by Professor Macalister, of Cambridge, on Food, and the botanical and zoölogical contributions of Dr. Post, of Beyrout, are just as valuable as one would expect from these great authorities.

This bare list of geographical experts and other scholars is sufficient proof of the generally adequate character of the treatment which biblical geography, in its most important section, receives in this volume. I need not say more in praise of the editor and his staff. I would only ask the reader to see any wants I have now to record as attaching to a great mass of thoroughly good work, almost always based on the best scholarship of the day and in a large part guaranteed by the highest authorities.

Of general criticisms the following are most obvious. The size of some of the articles is too great (if I may venture to make such a point, who myself have been a sinner in this line in other departments in the volume). In Sir Charles Warren's *Jordan*, one of the fullest English descriptions of the river, the geology is too long drawn out, and some of it has already been adequately given under Dead Sea. In the same article there are notes on the climate of the land in

general which should have been reserved for the article Palestine. Again, many of the articles have been written (by different authors) on widely differing scales; compare, *e. g.*, Sir Charles Warren's Gath with Professor Hull's Gaza; the latter, with a very much longer and more important history, is only three-quarters the length of the former. But the differences are most striking in the critical standpoint of the writers; compare, for instance, Professor Bennett's excellent article on Gad with a number of others in which no attempt is made to arrange the relevant data of the Old Testament in harmony with critical results. Some of the writers merely give a bare catalogue of biblical references.\* These are, perhaps, the principal editorial faults in this dictionary; other reviewers will find them still more striking in other departments. But there is a further want. We should certainly have had more cross-references; *e. g.*, from the lines on the boundaries of Galilee to the article on Ituræa; from Sir Charles Warren's treatment of the name Gath-hepher to a different treatment of the name in the opening of König's article on Jonah; from Heth to Hittites; from Kenites to Kain; and in several other cases. I have observed, too, one or two editorial omissions; *e. g.*, Galgala (1 Macc. 9:2), with at least a cross-reference to Gilgal, under which, however, as we shall see, it is ignored; Gaba (Josh. 18:24, etc.), with at least a cross-reference to Geba; Gabdes of 1 Esdr. 5:20 (A. V.), with a reference to Gabbe; Galaad of Judith 1:8; Geon of Ecclus. 24:27; Gesem (Judith 1:9), with a cross-reference to Goshen; Gittah-hepher, with a reference to Gath-hepher; under the article Greece the occurrences of the name in the A. V. should have been given, and so with Grecia; Hai should have been referred to Ai, and Hareth to Hereth, and *vice versa*; Hemath to Hamath, Jim to Iyim, Janum to Janim, Jethlah to Ithlah, Joppe to Joppa, and Keziz to Emek-Keziz. It is true that a number of these names occur only in A. V., yet they ought to have been noted in a work which contains many words found exclusively within that version. It is also true that a number of the other omissions are of the place names found in the Apocrypha; yet Dr. Hastings has included a number of the latter (*e. g.*, Gortyna, Gabbe, India, etc.), and it is a pity that he did not make his lists complete.

\*It is remarkable, however, that a few of the geographical experts, who used to ignore the difference of documents in the Pentateuch, now, more or less consistently, mark to which of these the cited texts belong. Such indications, of course, may have been added by the editor; yet they do not appear in the article of every writer who may have had occasion to use them.

I proceed now to offer some special criticism on details within individual articles. I do not include the articles by Assyrian and Egyptian specialists on places beyond the Holy Land.

Under Gadara, in discussing whether the town, which is separated from the lake of Galilee by six miles of slope and plain crossed by a river, had any territory on the lake, Sir Charles Warren omits to notice the almost conclusive evidence for this on a Gadarene coin bearing the image of a galley. Nor in mentioning the absence of the name Gadara from the Old Testament does he note the hypothesis, which I have advanced, that the site may be that of Ramoth-Gilead, which, many agree, must have lain rather in the north of Gilead than in the south, where it is usually sought for. We ought, too, to have had some discussion of Schlatter's plausible hypothesis that there were two Gadaras east of Jordan, the second and more southerly being the capital of Peræa, as given by Josephus (*Jewish War*, IV, 7, 3). This hypothesis, which has found some support, is not even mentioned in the article; although the latter says that the Gadara at which the battle between Alexander Jannæus and Obidas the Arabian took place (*ibid.*, I, 4, 4) is probably not the same as the fortress above the Yarmuth. The third use of the name by Greek writers to signify Gezer near Joppa is rightly noted by Mr. Selbie under Gazara.

Gerasa is perhaps another instance of the double occurrence of the same name on the east of Jordan. In his article on Gerasenes (according to Westcott and Hort, the best reading in Mark 5: 1; Luke 8: 26), Sir Charles Warren approves of Thomson's identification of a Gerasa on the east shore of the lake of Galilee with the modern Kersa or Gersa (*K* as well as *Q* seems a common substitute in Semitic place names for *G*). The city which Origen mentions at about this site is spelled by him Gergesa, as Sir Charles Warren points out; I may add to the evidence cited in his article that in 1283 Burchardus noted "a city, Gerasa, on the shore of the lake almost opposite to Tiberias, yet a little to the north." Of course, it is possible that this "Gerasa" of the thirteenth century may have been applied to the site by Christian tradition, and that the modern Kersa (or Kursi, as Schumacher gives it) is no more than an echo of that.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup>No one, however expert, can read Sir Charles Warren's article on the Jordan without increase to his information about that curious river in the most singular of valleys. I note, however, the following *addenda et corrigenda*. In the light of recent researches the account of the name is far from adequate. We cannot accept without question the Massoretic vocalization, or dismiss the Greek Jordan (as Sir Charles



In the articles Galilee and Gennesaret Dr. Merrill has not given any of the probable original meanings of these names; and under Gilead he does not follow the history of that province into Maccabean times. In fact, the Maccabean geography is what one chiefly misses throughout this volume. Under Golan Dr. Merrill takes the Old Testament city of that name to be represented (probably) by Es-Sunamein; and does not mention the much more likely hypothesis that it is the present Sahem-el-Janlan.

Dr. Hull's article on Gomorrah is too brief, and might have made more use of the rather considerable literature which has recently appeared on the place, its position, and its name. In his article on the Great Sea he gives an inadequate account of the coast of the Levant, omitting to say anything of the winds and currents which prevail upon it, and which are the main cause of its harborless and inhospitable character (see the present writer's *Historical Geography*, p. 128). The same writer's otherwise admirable article on Mt. Hor fails to take any cognizance of the difference between the priestly document which refers Aaron's death to that mountain and the statement of the deuteronomist (Deut. 10:6) that Aaron died at Moserah; there should have been, at least, a cross-reference to the article on Aaron.

In Colonel Conder's Haphraim his identification with Ferriyeh on the low hills south of Carmel seems to me not so probable as the other identification (quoted by him) with el-'Afûleh. In his article on

does), as if it were only Greek. This spelling cannot have risen except from some similar vocalization of the Hebrew name in early times, and is supported by the Jordana of the Targum, the Arabic *el-Urdunnu* (cf. the Egyptian *Y-ira-du-na*; the Syriac *Jurdenan* is possibly secondary and from the Greek). Nor is the usual derivation from יָרַד, "to descend," at all certain; Sir Charles adduces in favor of it the use of the name without the article in Job 40:23, as if it meant there a *down-rushing flood*, but the article has probably been dropped for reasons of rhythm (as in Ps. 42:6), and *Jarden* is to be taken as a proper name. Seybold, comparing the Arabic *warada*, "to go down to drink," has suggested "the watering place" (Arab. *maurid* or *wird*), synonymous to the other Arabic name of the Jordan, *Esh-sheir'a* (*el-kebîre*) (*M & N DPV.*, 1896, pp. 10 f., 26 f.). Another suggested derivation is from *radn*, Arabic for the clash of armor or weapons. Except north of the lake of Galilee the river does not descend more rapidly than its neighbors; but the traveler in the land descends farther to it than to any other river — a distinction which favors Seybold's proposal. Every visitor to the strange valley will agree with what Sir Charles says of the possibilities of its irrigation; only that need not come, as he suggests, from the low-running Jordan itself, but far more easily from its many tributaries. Of these I crossed many more in the month of July between Gadara and the Zerka than he enumerates. (There is a mistake in his enumeration on p. 761, second paragraph from the bottom of col. 1. In the next paragraph Surâbeh should be Surtabeh.)

Hermon he makes no mention of the fact that in very many cases in the Old Testament in which Lebanon is named it is Hermon that is meant. It is impossible in a general review to do justice to the many points raised by Colonel Conder's full and lucid article on Jerusalem. In the great controversy as to the position of the city of David he takes sides with those who place it on the western hill, and against the formidable array of authorities who prefer Ophel on the south of the temple. That there should agree upon the latter experts who approach the subject from such different standpoints as Sir Charles Wilson and Professors Sayce, W. R. Smith, Stade, and Buhl, to whom the last explorer, Mr. Bliss, has joined himself, is very significant. I do not think Colonel Conder's evidence is sufficient as against what they have adduced. He does not think that Ophel was fortified till the reign of Jotham (but surely on this point he makes a mistake in fixing the inclusion of Ophel and the temple within the walls at 800 B. C.). On the general question, it is difficult to conceive the temple and Solomon's palace as so far separated from the city of David, and not included within the fortifications for two or three hundred years after their erection.

The articles on Gilgal<sup>4</sup> and Jericho, by Mr. Bliss, are among those which the student will read with great profit. I notice a defect in each. The former makes no mention of the Gilgal, now Jiljuliyeh, on the plain to the east of Mt. Ebal. This is most probably the Gilgal of Deut. 11:30. Schlatter has, indeed, proposed to identify it also with the prophetic Gilgal, but hardly on sufficient grounds. The Galgala of 1 Maccabees should also have been mentioned here. In the article on Jericho, in paraphrasing the biblical account of the fall of the city before Israel, Mr. Bliss does not mention that two discrepant traditions have been mingled in the story (*cf.* the article on Joshua).

<sup>4</sup>Mr. Bliss is right in identifying the Gilgal of 1 Sam., chap. 15, with Israel's first camp where they crossed Jordan. (By confusing the Judean Carmel from which Saul is said to have come to Gilgal with Mt. Carmel Schlatter has fallen into great error on this point.) But Mr. Bliss is wrong in identifying the Gilgal of Josh. 15:7 with the Gilgal on Jordan. The former (as I have pointed out in the article "Gilgal" for Vol. II of the *Encyclopædia Biblica*) is to be identified with the Beth-ha-Gilgal which is given in Neh. 12:29, along with Geba and Azmaveth, as being round about Jerusalem, and which lay, according to the same verse, near the present Tal'at-ed-Dam in the *wad* from Jericho to Jerusalem. The same identification has been independently reached by Canon Cheyne (see "Gallim, 2," in the *Enc. Bib.*, Vol. II). Mr. Bliss identifies Beth-Gilgal with the Gilgal of Amos and Hosea, but this is extremely improbable.

Neither in the article Judah, by Mr. Peake, nor in that on (north-ern) Israel, by Mr. F. H. Woods, is there any attempt at the very important task of defining the vacillating frontier between the two kingdoms. Another omission is in the article on Jabbok, which does not mention Wellhausen's hypothesis that the Jabbok was not the Zerka, but the Jarmuk. I do not think this hypothesis probable, but it ought to have been discussed. In the unsigned article Kamon, the Kamûn of Polybius (V, lxx, 12), as the writer points out, there is no mention of the identification with Keimun, which was proposed (independently) by Buhl and myself (see *Expositor*, December, 1896, p. 412).

To the article Gerar, by Professor Beecher, there might be added references to W. Max Müller's *Asien und Europa*, p. 159, and to the *ZATW.*, VI, 2. The same writer's article on Giants is a careful statement of the biblical data. But it does not mention some of the latest discussions, nor face the question whether the Hebrew tradition of a gigantic race in primitive times has firmer grounds than the similar traditions of most other peoples. The further tradition, which is supported by more than one document of the Hexateuch, that the Israelites on their invasion of western Palestine shrank from the superior height of the settled Canaanites, might also have been alluded to.

Mr. Lukyn Williams in his article Hebrew states that the term does not occur in documents later than the seventh century. To what date, then, does he refer Jon. 1 : 9, in which he does not propose to adopt the LXX reading? Mr. Williams leaves open the question as to whether the Khabiri of the Tell-el-Amarna letters were the Hebrews. As he points out, they cannot be, if the Exodus be assigned to the thirteenth century. But may not the term have been used as inclusive of Moab, Ammon, and Edom? If so, then the invasion of the Khabiri may possibly—though not probably—have been the advance of these peoples from the north to the territories where the Israelites, on coming from Egypt, found them settled.

Professor Porter's interesting observations on the localities of the book of Judith, in his very full and able article on that book, are a further proof of the value of a thorough examination of the geography of the Apocrypha.

To Mr. White's article Horonite there falls to be added the evidence, which Buhl has adduced from the LXX of Josh. 10 : 10, that Sanballat was from Beth-horon, not from Horonaim.

In the article on Forest Dr. Post takes the side of those who believe that "Palestine bore much more wood in Old Testament times than

now." "Palestine and Syria were doubtless much more heavily wooded in ancient times than now." I have never been able to see what evidence there is for so emphatic a statement. Like the A. V., Dr. Post calls the woodland of Palestine *forests*; but the Hebrew *ya'ar*, as applied within western Palestine, is the name, not for forest, but for the state of jungle into which neglected lands fall (Isa. 29: 17); while it is only the forests of Lebanon, Bashan, and Carmel which are used by Old Testament writers as symbols of pride and greatness. That these writers have thus to look beyond their proper territories for their ideal forests proves that within those territories there were no such forests. And so in the poetry it is not the forest which is celebrated or used, as among northern nations, for a source of mystery; but it is single large trees which are celebrated. Carmel alone in western Palestine is used as the type of a hiding place (Amos, chap. 9); and even it seems more heavily wooded at the present day than of old, if we may judge from the planed and hollowed rocks which are now covered by bush.

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*Old Testament Introduction.*—The second volume of the dictionary includes articles under the following titles: Habakkuk, by S. R. Driver; Haggai, by G. A. Cooke; Hosea, by A. B. Davidson; Isaiah, by G. A. Smith; Jeremiah, by A. B. Davidson; Job, by W. T. Davison; Joel, by G. G. Cameron; Jonah, by E. König; Judges, Book of, by König; 1 and 2 Kings, by C. F. Burney. These very important topics are treated with a fulness that leaves little to be desired, and the fact that most of the writers are well known through their works renders extended notice unnecessary. The following brief outline of three of the leading articles may be of service to readers of the AMERICAN JOURNAL OF THEOLOGY:

To Isaiah is devoted twenty-seven columns, treating of (1) name; (2) personal history; (3) structure and contents of the book of Isaiah, (a) chaps. 1-35, (b) chaps. 36-39, (c) chaps. 40-46; (4) authenticity of the book; (5) Messianic prophecies in chaps. 1-39; (6) the theology of Isaiah; (7) religious reforms in Isaiah's time; (8) the historical chapters 36-39; (9) prophecies certainly not Isaiah's in chaps. 1-39; (10) structure and date of chaps. 40-66; (11) theology of chaps. 40-66, (a) chaps. 40-55, (b) chaps. 56-66; the literature, containing over two columns of titles.

Jeremiah has eighteen columns: (1) the life of the prophet; (2) the book of Jeremiah, (*a*) prophecies under Josiah, (*b*) under Jehoiakim, (*c*) under Zedekiah; (3) the Hebrew and Greek texts, (*a*) relative value of the two texts, (*b*) original place of chaps. 46 ff.; (4) redaction of the book; (5) literary style; (6) religious ideas, (*a*) sin, (*b*) God, (*c*) the future, (*d*) Jeremiah's piety; literature.

The Book of Judges is treated in twenty-four columns, under the captions: (1) the name of the book; (2) the condition of its text; (3) its contents and arrangement; (4) its inner harmony or unity; (5) relation to the Pentateuch "sources;" (6) character and age of the component elements; (7) its author; (8) its spirit and its place in the history of revelation; literature.

The articles, for the most part, include the best results of modern scholarship. The positiveness and directness with which these are stated well illustrate the progress of biblical science in the last quarter-century. Thus König speaks of the book of Jonah as "a symbolical narrative," written in the "post-exilic period;" Davison says that the problems considered in Job imply "a comparatively late date" in the history of the literature.

There are some blemishes. An article in which critical material predominates, as in that on Kings, should discuss the reading *הַמִּצְחָר* in passages relating to the calf-worship of Jeroboam (p. 860), and the rejection of the statement in 2 Kings 18:13 (p. 870) seems to the present writer rather summary. In favor of the same he would refer to 2 Chron., chaps. 29-31, where the first year of Hezekiah seems to be subsequent to the fall of Samaria.

We should scarcely expect a modern defender of the earlier date of Joel to ignore Joel 3:2 [Heb. 4:2], but the article has been searched in vain for a reference to the passage.

Very little that has been written in recent years concerning the critical questions involved in these topics has escaped the attention of the writers. Indeed, some of them perhaps have given relatively too much space to the details of criticism and too little to the systematic reproduction of the contents of the biblical books. It is easier, however, to criticise than to write such papers as these, and the reviewer rises from his task with cordial appreciation of the character of this work.

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*Hexateuch.*—The representative articles which relate to the Hexateuch in this volume are the Flood and the Hexateuch, by F. H. Woods; Genesis, by H. E. Ryle; Jacob, by S. R. Driver; and Joshua, by George Adam Smith. These are all of the same point of view, aim, and scholarly thoroughness as those relating to the Hexateuch of Vol. I, reviewed in this JOURNAL, Vol. III, pp. 84 ff. The large mythical and legendary, or ideal, element of the Hexateuch is freely granted, and the real facts concerning the Scriptures are plainly stated, as when, for example, in respect to Genesis it is said: "The evidence of the monuments, which has in recent years so copiously illustrated the biblical narrative, has not yet contributed with any certainty to the establishment of the literal historical accuracy of the patriarchal story." Yet the writers all lean toward finding real history imbedded in the Bible. The patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob are considered by Ryle and Driver as real men. The story of the flood is held (by both Ryle and Woods) to be the presentation of some natural occurrence, and Smith defends the historicity of many statements of the book of Joshua. In the article on the flood the deluge stories of various peoples are sifted and analyzed with great acumen. Many of them are shown to have no connection with the biblical story, and others to be an assimilation of the biblical story through missionary instruction. The article Hexateuch gives an admirable argument for the modern view of the six books. We have, indeed, seen no more forcible, compact presentation of the subject. It lacks only a history of the criticism. With that added it might well be reprinted as a booklet and placed in the hands of Bible-class teachers. Professor Smith's treatment of the book of Joshua is especially valuable in discussing the history of the conquest of Palestine. While admitting the lateness of the book and the lack of any reference to earlier sources than those of the ninth century, save in the poetic fragment about the sun standing on Gibeon, he regards the following points well established: the national unity of Israel before crossing the Jordan, their taking possession of the land by force, the leadership of Joshua, the crossing at Jericho and its fall without resistance, the possibility of an early treaty with the Gibeonites, and the battle of Bethoron. Attention is also called to the remarkable omission of any account of the conquest of the hill country of Ephraim and Manasseh. For this no satisfactory solution has been offered.

While these articles, in their views of the literary and historical character of the first six books of the Bible, are widely removed from those held in our evangelical churches twenty-five years ago, they

exhibit no change in respect to their religious value and teachings. The spiritual, prophetic truths there found are emphasized in the old manner.

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*New Testament Introduction.*—The article on the Gospels, by Professor V. H. Stanton, is a careful, fair-minded piece of work. It presents fairly the leading views on the synoptic problem held in the last century. With special care to do justice to the oral-gospel theory, Stanton yet advocates moderately the two-document hypothesis, with an evident leaning, but no definite committal, to an Ur-Marcus. He does not attempt to settle all details. The article is least satisfactory—perhaps this is unavoidable—in respect to Matthew. In dealing with the Fourth Gospel, Stanton treats chiefly of the differences between its representations of the life of Jesus and that of the synoptists, finding in them nothing seriously to oppose, but much to support, the Johannine authorship. Mark is dated about 70 A. D., Luke about 80 A. D., Matthew in the latter part of the first century.

The thirty-page article on John's Gospel, by the late H. R. Reynolds, author of the voluminous introduction to John in the *Pulpit Commentary*, is devoted almost wholly to a discussion of the Johannine authorship, and an exposition of the teachings of the gospel, though limited space is also given to the consideration of the purpose and plan of the gospel. It presents both the external and the internal evidence compactly, yet quite fully, and discusses the question of the relation of the gospel to the Apocalypse, and to the synoptic gospels, finding in all these nothing incompatible with the direct Johannine authorship, and nearly everything directly confirmatory of this view. The article reflects thorough study of the original sources of evidence, wide acquaintance with modern literature, and in the main fairness in weighing evidence and in criticising the views of others. But one can but be surprised at the total ignoring of every form of the mediating hypothesis, by which both the Johannine source and some degree of non-Johannine editorial work are recognized. No alternative to the unqualified Johannine authorship of the gospel is recognized save the theory of a second-century *falsarius*. Some of the author's expedients for harmonizing John and the synoptists, as, *e. g.*, when he finds in John, chaps. 2-4, the Johannine record of the forty-days' temptation

in the wilderness, will hardly commend themselves to cautious scholars. Does defense of the historicity of John demand that we go to this length in the interpretation and criticism of the synoptic record?

In the article on the Epistles of John, Professor Salmond examines the contents of each of the three, and presents fully and fairly the evidence for their authorship and the objections that have been urged against ascribing them to the apostle John. His conclusion is that all three are the work of the apostle.

The article on James is by J. B. Mayor, author of the well-known commentary on this book. It ascribes the epistle to the brother of our Lord, maintains that the epistles of John, Hebrews, the epistles to Timothy, and especially 1 Peter, Romans, and Galatians, all show traces of its influence, and dates it between 40 and 50 A. D.

The discussion of the Epistle of Jude, by Professor F. H. Chase, is a very thorough and scholarly piece of work. In a table of parallels between Enoch and Jude he shows, for the first time, how considerably the latter has been influenced by the former. Against Spitta he maintains the priority of Jude to 2 Peter. He assigns the letter to Jude the brother of our Lord, and dates it in the seventh decade of the first century.

Professor Dods' introduction to Galatians is a clear and fair piece of writing, which, however, contains nothing specially new. He notices, but of course rejects, the extreme criticism of Steck, Völter, *et id genus*. He presents in condensed form the arguments for the north-Galatian and south-Galatian views of the location of the churches addressed, and, though expressing no decisive judgment, apparently inclines to the south-Galatian view in the form advocated by Gifford.

The article of the lamented Professor Bruce on Hebrews reflects that thorough study of this interesting and difficult book, the results of which appear more fully in his recently published volume. More space is devoted to the exposition of the structure and central conceptions of the writer than to the discussion of questions of authorship, date, etc. On these latter Professor Bruce maintains a cautious reserve. Apollos is the *kind* of man to have written the book, but who actually wrote it we do not know; not, however, Paul. The modern hypothesis of Gentile readers is ingenious, but untenable. Near the year 70 is the most probable date.

It will be observed that each of these articles takes a decidedly conservative position, yet not as a rule in ignorance of what is to be said on the other side. Only in the case of the articles on John's



gospel and the epistle of James is there reason to complain of an ignoring of views contrary to those advocated.

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*New Testament History.*—No article in the new dictionary, it is safe to say, will have a wider reading than Jesus Christ, by Sanday. Few will better repay the closest thought. Covering fifty-one closely printed pages, it is nevertheless a marvel of compression, taking as it does within its scope a broader field than the term "life of Christ" ordinarily includes. In the author's own words, it has for its ultimate aim "to bring home—or to suggest lines on which it may be possible to bring home—what Christ really was and is to the individual believer." Thus in the concluding survey it considers the Christ "of the Apostles," "of the Undivided Church," and finally "of Personal Experience." Particularly valuable are the discussions of what we may call the data and prolegomena of the subject, as, for instance, in the history of the Nativity and the Infancy.

Differing from his former opinion, Sanday now favors 29 rather than 30 as the year of the crucifixion. He adopts the tripaschal theory of the ministry, and supposes that the events of the early Judean ministry "may have occupied three or four weeks"—a reckoning that fails to satisfy the conditions of the Johannine narrative, which plainly intimates that the disciples of Christ had during this period apparently come to outnumber those of John the Baptist. The view that there was only one cleansing of the temple is preferred, as also the Johannine account, placing it at the beginning of the ministry; also that Christ anticipated the regular passover, and died on the fourteenth of Nisan, about the time of the slaying of the paschal lambs.

Of the discussion of Christ's teaching we have not space to speak, nor of the miracles. It is owing, perhaps, to the inevitable compression of the matter that the latter discussion does not come to close grapple with what is, after all, the crucial question: Precisely wherein does the true miracle become probative of a divine revelation? The pages on the Resurrection are illuminating, particularly those which exhibit the nature of the evidence. But is it advisable, in view of the relatively stronger vantage-ground now occupied by the gospels, to cite Paul as "the leading witness"? The so-called spiritual theory of the resurrection, seductive and increasingly popular, should, in our judgment, be more distinctly stated and characterized—particularly that

form of it which no one has so nearly succeeded in placing upon a philosophical basis as Weisse, but is more generally known through Keim. At p. 640, l. 39, should not "morrow" be "morning"?

So brief an appreciation cannot do justice to this notable monograph and its wealth of suggestion. Sanday makes no pretense of *Voraussetzungslosigkeit*, but frankly accepts at the outset "the Christian hypothesis." In this we understand him to include the recognition of a permanently valid distinction between the natural and the supernatural in history, and also of a premundane element in the personality of Jesus. He also holds that Christ's ministry was in a real sense the founding of the church. This is undoubtedly true; historians have been quicker to recognize it than theologians. The life of Christ for which we yet wait is one that shall successfully interpret this conception of the ministry, and make it the constructive idea throughout. Is Dr. Sanday fully convinced that up to the time of the call of the Twelve (see p. 614) "no steps had been taken toward the institution even of a new sect, much less of a new religion"?

Under the title *Genealogy of Jesus Christ*, Professor B. W. Bacon presents effectively the case of modern criticism against the historical authority of the two documents. The theory that the Lucan document is that of Mary is rather too summarily dismissed from court, however few its advocates. The exegetical reader would welcome a fuller explanation of Luke's *ὡς ἐνομίζετο Ἰωσήφ*, which is so naturally read as an inserted clause, if one without any historical theory takes the Greek of an admittedly obscure sentence at its face value.

John the Baptist is treated in about three pages by Bebb. The paragraphs on John's teaching form the most satisfactory portion; the teaching preserved in the fourth gospel is rightly regarded as belonging for the most part to the period subsequent to Christ's baptism. The remainder of the article is not what the subject demands. The important historical problem of the relation of John's ministry to that of Christ does not receive adequate attention. As regards the import of the Johannine baptism, it is vaguely viewed "as emphasizing the true nature of *δικαιοσύνη*."

For the article on Herod, summarizing most conveniently both for reading and reference the history of the Herodian dynasty, every student of the New Testament and Josephus may well be grateful to A. C. Headlam. The Index of the Herod Family will be found particularly useful.

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*The Apostolic Age.*—So far as the apostolic age is concerned, the present volume contains only two studies of immediate interest. The first is a somewhat sketchy article by Headlam upon Gnosticism, nearly half of which is given up to Cerinthus. It was doubtless his desire to keep his study within the possible limits of New Testament reference that led the author to make the presentation of his subject hardly more than a study of the passages in the New Testament in which it is alleged reference is made to Gnosticism. It is a little remarkable in such a discussion to see the ultraconservative position taken as regards the letters of Peter and Jude, as well as the use of Lightfoot and Hort as practically the only authorities. F. C. Conybeare's study of Greece and Hellenism, on the contrary, is marked by admirable condensation of material, and is to be commended as giving one a bird's-eye view of the entire relation of Hellenistic culture to Jewish life, both within and without Palestine. At the same time one feels that Mr. Conybeare has not given quite the proper interpretation to the Hellenizing movement under Antiochus Epiphanes, and has somewhat slighted the reactionary results produced by heathen culture among the Pharisees and their followers.

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*Biblical Theology.*—The plan of this work calls for two kinds of articles on the topics of biblical theology. The first of these may be designated as the biblico-dogmatic kind, and is of the nature of a summary of the biblical teaching on the main topics of dogmatic theology. The principal articles of this type in this second volume are those on Foreknowledge, Forgiveness, Gehenna, Glory, God, Hades, Heaven, Hell, Holiness, the Holy Spirit, the Incarnation, Judgment, Justification, and the Kingdom of God. In these articles the historical development of thought is, with few exceptions, traced from the earlier to the later books of the Bible, and to this extent the method of treatment is biblico-theological, but the point of view is in general that of biblical dogmatics. The second type of articles is in the form of religious teachings of individual writers or writings in the Bible, given under the name of the said writers or writings. We find a section, for instance, on the theology of Isaiah in the article on Isaiah, by G. A. Smith; on the religious teachings of Jeremiah, in the article on Jeremiah, by A. B. Davidson; on the theological import of the epistle to the Hebrews, in the article on the Epistle to

the Hebrews, by A. B. Bruce ; on the theology of John, in the article on the Apostle John, by T. B. Strong ; also in that on the Gospel of John, by H. R. Reynolds, and in that on the Epistles of John, by S. D. F. Salmond. There are also sections on theological content in the articles on Joel and Habakkuk, by Drs. G. G. Cameron and S. R. Driver respectively ; but none, we regret to say, on the teachings of Hosea and Haggai, on the religious content of the Hexateuch (although this ground is traversed in the article on the History of Isaiah, by W. E. Barnes), a very brief and inadequate summary of the teaching of James, and none on that of the book of Job, the last of which is treated by W. T. Davison. In view of the space granted to the teachings of some of the other books of the Old Testament, we cannot but look upon this last omission as a serious blemish. The mere recital of the contents of Job we cannot regard as a substitute for a careful discussion of its system of thought. Neither can we regard the traversing of the Johannine theology thrice, as above outlined, as altogether an ideal treatment of that subject. Such a treatment leaves the question of the relation of the writings of John to his theology in a confused state.

In general the important topics seem to be committed to worthy hands. The work that has been done on them by such scholars as Professors A. B. Davidson, James Orr, H. B. Swete, W. Sanday, S. R. Driver, R. L. Ottley, and Principals Salmond and Stewart, is sober as well as scholarly, and scientific in the best sense. Needless also to say that each article represents the habit and standpoint of its own author, and that these differ widely, so that at times, where two happen to touch on the same subject, there is a conflict and apparent confusion ; but this was, in the circumstances, unavoidable.

Of the biblico-dogmatic articles probably the most important is that on God. The selection of Drs. Davidson and Sanday to write the Old and New Testament parts of this article is one of the indications of the editor's sound judgment and competency to produce such a dictionary. We know of no two other men who could have done the work more satisfactorily to the constituency to which the dictionary appeals. Dr. Davidson's part of the article is certainly a model of scholarly caution and balance of mind. The same is true in general of that of Dr. Sanday, who, however, seems to us to introduce unnecessarily a rather lengthy dissertation on the meaning of the Pauline term "righteousness of God." It is an exceedingly valuable study, to be sure, and characterized by all the good qualities of Professor Sanday's

writings. But the student who is to use the dictionary would hardly look for the discussion under the general head of "God." A separate treatment of it under the title of Righteousness of God, or the insertion of it in the article on the Theology of Paul, would have put this discussion where it would be more accessible to anyone wishing light on the subject. Dr. Candlish on the Children of God gives a very interesting and helpful dissertation on that subject; but when we find, on examination, that this article is also meant to do duty as an equivalent or substitute of one on the Fatherhood of God (there is no other in the dictionary dealing with this subject directly), we must confess to some disappointment. In the first place, this is not the title under which the user of the dictionary, accustomed to the current terminology of biblical theology, will look for a treatment of the subject of the fatherhood of God. Secondly, the approach to this important subject is, so to speak, from the wrong angle. Much that would naturally throw light on it is necessarily shut off in a discussion of the children of God, and some things that would have no place in it are introduced with perfect relevancy here. Principal Salmond's articles on the eschatological subjects of Hades, Heaven, and Hell are genuine storehouses of information. They contain in concise form a vast amount of material, drawn from heathen and patristic literature, and thus far transcend the limits of articles on biblical theology. As a contrast to this method of treatment, Professor G. B. Stevens, in the article on Holiness in the New Testament, limits himself almost altogether to the philological study of the terms "holy" and "holiness" in the New Testament. He does, indeed, apparently rise to some generalizations in a brief summary at the end, but on closer examination these hardly seem to grow out of the data examined. Of minor articles, that on the Heart, by J. Laidlaw, is clear and logical, but it puts the main emphasis on the Old Testament conception of the subject, and gives the New Testament facts a proportionately insignificant place. A. E. Garvie, on Godliness, throws no light on the subject. He seems to gather a few data, but rises to no general conclusion, either by way of definition or doctrine on the subject. R. C. Charles, on Gehenna, seems almost superfluous in the light of Salmond's fuller treatment of the same subject under the more general topic of Hades. Ferries' article on Judgment is a model of brevity, clearness, and exactness, but spiritualizes too much.

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## CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL NOTES.

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### PROFESSOR SALMOND AND CONDITIONAL IMMORTALITY: A CRITICISM.

DR. SALMOND'S recent work on *The Christian Doctrine of Immortality*, which has already gone through several editions, is at present attracting not a little attention. It will amply repay careful study, and well deserves the praise and the critical appreciation which are being given to it. This perhaps is not so much from any fresh contribution in the way of suggestion as from the completeness and conciseness with which it summarizes up to date what has been already said on every side, and gives, in a markedly calm and fair spirit, a final presentation of what may still be called the tradition of the Protestant church on the subject.

In this note I intend to consider one section only of his argument, namely, his treatment of the doctrine of conditional immortality. Here Salmond seems to me to be not only less conclusive than in other parts of his book, but even inconsistent with the general results of his investigation. In examining this treatment, however, it is impossible to confine ourselves to the chapter of Book VI devoted to this subject, as references to it naturally abound throughout the volume. I shall therefore (1) ask attention to the author's general attitude in his inquiry regarding immortality, and his consequent relation to the doctrine of conditionalism; (2) take up his special account of this doctrine and his objections to it; (3) attempt to meet these objections; and (4) conclude with a counter-criticism and statement.

#### I.

The volume is divided into six books, of which the first deals with the Gentile and the second with the Jewish doctrines of a future life; the third, fourth, and fifth investigate respectively the teaching of Christ, of the non-Pauline writings of the New Testament, and of the apostle Paul; while the last discusses the theological results as found in present-day theories. Attention is directed to three points: (1) the belief in the reality and varied circumstances of what the author usually calls "an after-existence" or "survival" of the human spirit

after the death of the body, more rarely "a living on" or "life after death;" (2) the belief in moral distinctions as fixing retribution in the future life; and (3) the belief in the perpetuity of such rewards and the immortality *inferred therefrom*.

This inferential attitude on the question of immortality requires notice, as it more or less consciously determines the interpretation of the data of which, with such admirable discrimination and infinite pains, he has given us a digest. That is to say, instead of asking whether the heathen, Jews, or Christ taught, in so many words, the deathlessness or living on forever of men as men, he rather inquires as to their teaching on retribution and its perpetuity, and then argues the endlessness of life from the endlessness of retribution. This attitude necessarily determines his relation to the doctrine of conditional immortality, both as to its content and its treatment of terms. For the endless loss of life which conditionalism sets forth as the fate of the wicked Salmond cannot regard as an endless penalty or as balancing the endless enjoyment of life by the righteous. The content of the doctrine he therefore regards as a denial of the permanency and equality of ethical retribution; and its treatment of terms as an evasion, or rather evacuation, of the language which the Scriptures employ to denote this ethical retribution. This appears incidentally throughout the volume, but with special force in the chapter devoted to the discussion in question, which I cannot but regard as the least discriminating portion of his work.

## II.

The chapter in Book VI which treats specially of conditional immortality begins with a very interesting description of the history of the doctrine in the Christian church (pp. 592-6). Of Professor Salmond's attempts to minimize the evidence for its prevalence in the early church I shall speak presently. His accounts of the teaching of the leading advocates of today are able and lucid (pp. 598-607).<sup>1</sup> It need hardly be said that they are given with the utmost fairness, and largely from the authors' own words. On the other hand, it is important to note that the after-discussion shows strangely inadequate comprehension of the points he has himself indicated. This is apparent in the very way in which he proceeds to draw out his array of objections, what he regards in the theory as the virtually unconditional mortality of

<sup>1</sup> The references are to the paging in the first edition. In the second edition they will be found two pages on. *E.g.*, the above reference is to pp. 600-609 in the second edition.

man bulking more in his mind than the conditional immortality of a reprieved sinner. From his account we gather the substance of the doctrine of conditional immortality. Under every varied statement lie the common affirmations that immortality or living forever belongs to the righteous only; that righteousness and consequent immortality are obtainable only through Christ's redemption, and those who fail of salvation cannot live forever, however protracted be any admitted survival of the spirit; and that the scriptural terms regarding eternal life and destruction are to be understood in the sense of an actual immortality or non-immortality, rather than in the sense of two eternal lives, in union with God and separation from him, respectively—this union and separation being rather the condition than the content of eternal life and death.

The author's objections to this teaching fall into four classes, drawn respectively from (1) the history of thought and the consent of mankind; (2) the biblical doctrine of man; (3) the conditionalist maltreatment of biblical language; (4) the theological confusion created by the doctrine.

He asserts (pp. 607-11) that history is against the doctrine, since the idea of extinction is a growth only of late civilizations. He refuses any force to the conditionalist distinction between temporary and permanent survival (p. 610).

His second objection is based on the biblical doctrine of man (pp. 611-13). The Bible represents man as made in the image of God, not on a level with the brutes. Even in the Old Testament the after-world is regarded as one of continued existence for all alike, and hence nothing is indicated as to any close of existence (p. 612). The New Testament, instead of developing the doctrine of survival and resurrection to an issue of resurrection *versus* extinction, teaches a general resurrection of the just and of the unjust (p. 613). None of these positions, it is maintained, consist with conditional immortality.

His third objection (pp. 613-21) severely handles what he conceives to be the conditionalist's treatment of the words "life" and "death." Against this treatment he brings four charges: (a) He accuses it (p. 613) of ignoring the obvious moral content of the Scripture terms in favor of a narrow literalism, inasmuch as it insists on interpreting "eternal life" and "death" as, respectively, living and not living forever. (b) He considers that it ignores the analogy of language both by its apparent denial of any evolutionary growth in the meaning of the words "life" and "death," and by its seeming refusal to allow the



gospel to enrich these terms as it has enriched others. As glaring examples of inadequate treatment he cites (p. 616) Christ's words to Martha on never dying, Christ's definition (so-called) of eternal life as the knowledge of God, and leading Pauline expressions on so-called spiritual death. (c) He further charges conditionalists (p. 617) with making admissions as to the presence of a moral or religious force in the terms of "life" and "death" which are inconsistent with that restriction to their elementary meaning which he characterizes as the stronghold of the theory. (d) He charges it lastly (pp. 613-21) with an utterly inadequate exposition of the terms, such as "punishment," "destruction," "perishing," "wrath," etc., which Scripture uses in addition to "death" to describe the eternal fate of those who lose "life worthy of the name."

The fourth set of objections is gathered from the theological bearings of the doctrine under discussion. Four of these are considered at length: (a) Man is robbed of his dignity in being treated as naturally "perishable;" as "incapable even of continued existence;" as "having in the gift of immortality a foreign element added by the incarnation and redemption to a nature of itself inherently perishable" (621-3). (b) The incarnation and work of Christ do not consist with so odd a purpose as immortalizing so inferior a creature as man thus robbed of his dignity appears to be (pp. 623-4). (c) The implications of the theory regarding the state between death and the judgment are yet more repellent to the author than its central idea of extinction of life, and may, indeed, be said to constitute the strongest point in his case. He assumes (p. 624), in common with most of his opponents, the general "resurrection of the just and of the unjust" to be a simultaneous and entirely future event, coincident with the last judgment, and then asks why, if the soul outlives the body, we should affirm a survival which is due to nothing inherent in the soul, and a consequently protracted delay in the execution of the lost. Or, if we choose the other alternative, though not put as such by Dr. Salmond, and suppose the soul to die with the body, we have to face the grotesque idea of its temporary death and temporary resurrection to a second decease, with the difficulty of accounting for any principle of identity throughout (p. 623). He further presses (p. 625) the impossibility, under such theories, of proportioning penal suffering to different degrees of demerit, and the consignment to a common doom of death of sinners not equally guilty. These give, it is maintained, a terror and incongruity all its own to the conditionalist doctrine of the intermediate state and

the judgment, an effect which is only aggravated by the assertion of some that it is the introduction of redemption which is chargeable with these strange results (pp. 624-6). (*d*) Dr. Salmond sees no relief in this doctrine from the ordinary conception of the permanent existence of evil, for he holds that on the one hand all arguments against the permanence of evil could be equally urged against its permission (p. 626), a problem which he thinks conditionalism does not specially meet; and that, on the other hand, the ending of sin by the extinction of the sinner is so mechanical an issue (p. 627) as to be unworthy, not only of the dignity of man, but also of the character of God (pp. 626-7). The necessity for the continued life of the sinner is argued by him on the ground of continuous guilt demanding continuous punishment. This he understands to mean continuous suffering, contending that the completion of the penalty would require restoration and life, not the extinction of the sinner, while its incompleteness demands its further progress. He regards evil as having no destructive effect on the essence of the soul, and considers this curious view of the compatibility of eternal sin and eternal life in the same individual as worthier of God and man than the "cowardly" theory of conditionalism.

Thus, according to the author, conditional immortality is opposed to the general consent of mankind, alien to the presuppositions of the Bible, blind to the spirituality of its language, and ridiculous in virtue of its own theological consequences. Can this wretched doctrine of death be delivered from so crushing a condemnation?

### III.

In attempting to give these objections the careful answer they deserve, I must set out by indicating the cardinal fallacy which runs through the whole of the author's treatment of this subject. This fallacy lies in assuming that the only alternative to a nature essentially and unalterably immortal is a nature essentially mortal, that is, certain to die, and unalterable except by conditions which would constitute a radical change. The essential point of the conditionalist contention, that the constitution of man may be regarded neither as certain to die nor as certain to live, but as capable by its very nature of either life or death, according to the conditions of its development, seems never to have been grasped. The idea of mutability, unstable equilibrium, and alternative development, far from being foreign to philosophy, is so common, and, today especially, so obtrusive in regard

to various orders of beings, human and infra-human, that it is the more strange that the author should not have apprehended it as being the essential idea of the doctrine he combats. His failure to grasp this is the more strange inasmuch as he has himself given verbal expression to the idea in summarizing the views of his opponents (pp. 602, etc.). The effects of this failure will be seen all through his objections. Thus in his argument from history Salmond takes the conditionalist position as being that man is by nature made to die and only becomes immortal through a superadded quality. The true conditionalist position is that man is made for immortality, but through sin may not attain to it. Such a fate is non-natural. It comes through the fact that evil by its very nature works the destruction of what it attacks. But only along with a deepening sense of sin have men come dimly and slowly to perceive this. Hence the possibility of the author's appeal to history. Men in all ages have rightly preferred to say that all men are immortal to saying that all are mortal. It is a reaction from this which has caused some to assert universal death. Between these extremes lies the truth that man is designed for immortality, but may through sin show himself incapable of realizing his nature.

From the same cause Salmond errs also in his treatment of the argument from the Bible doctrine of man. He is right in representing the Bible as saying that man is "a finite copy of his Maker's nature different in origin and destination from the beasts put under his dominion, made like God and for fellowship with him, the bearer of a free personal life and meant to live" (p. 611). But when he denies that the Bible regards the image of God as lost, he seems to forget that the apostle Paul does speak of that image as being in process of decay (Eph. 4:22), *φθαρόμενον*. The "old man" mentioned in this passage cannot mean sinful tendencies, since these, according to the author's own statement (p. 622), increase in vehemence; these evil tendencies the apostle distinguishes as the cause of decay. It must mean the original constitution of man, which is so far from retaining the divine image that it is condemned as rotten and worthless in the vicarious death of Christ (Rom. 6:6). The divine image is in process of renewal (*ἀνακαινούμενον*) in believers (Col. 3:10; Eph. 4:22). The conditionalist notes that man is distinct from the brutes, being made in the image of God, but that he has fallen from his relation to God through sin.

All that is said about natural immortality may be applied to natural righteousness. It is admitted that man has fallen from original righteousness; why not also from original immortality? The one seems to

me to be the consequence of the other. Every argument against conditional immortality may be used against conditional righteousness. Righteousness and immortality are alike the gifts of God in Jesus Christ, but the gift, not of a foreign element, but of that which, in his proper completeness, man was intended to have (pp. 621-2). The author reiterates the assertion of man's superiority as man to the brutes that perish. But in Ps. 49:20 and 2 Peter 2:12 the fate of ungodly men is likened to that of the brutes. That this is not the mere death of the body is shown by the fact that it is attributed to the absence of good understanding—a spiritual cause.

Salmond's argument on the biblical doctrine of man further contends that the Old Testament doctrine of universal existence—why does he not say life?—after death, and the New Testament doctrine of universal resurrection, do not consist with the conditionalist alternative of life and death, or, as he calls it, immortality and extinction, as the destiny of man. Now, observe first, according to the author's own account in Book II of the doctrine of Shēōl, the condition of the dead there was regarded as so lifeless (pp. 199-202) that, in order to show that they are thought of as having any life at all, the author is obliged to cite highly poetical hyperboles, such as the apostrophes of Isa., chap. 14, the figurative character of which he admits. On his own showing, therefore, the Old Testament doctrine of death, though not that of an extinction of being, was tantamount to an extinction of life for all. He himself indicates the progress of revelation as bringing to the righteous a hope of deliverance from this virtual extinction and a faith in a future life through and with the God to whom they were united, and as further suggesting for all men the connection of the future state with the ethical conditions of the present. But when he argues that the resurrection for all men which is the final outcome of revelation does not present the alternative destiny of the conditionalist doctrine, but rather one of life in glory or life in shame, he fails to note that both in the passages cited from Daniel and in the affirmation of the New Testament the resurrection and fate of the wicked, so far from being represented as any kind of life, is contrasted with the resurrection unto "life." His assumption as to the specialized limitations of the words "life" and "death" prevents him from attaching any importance to this indication. What the New Testament perfectly revealed was not the truth of the instinct which taught universal survival, but the truth of the hope of the godly when they looked for deliverance from a fate to which the Jewish Shēōl assigned all alike.

This fate, according to Salmond, though nearer death than life—for it is devoid of consciousness, intelligence, memory, feeling, and volition—has yet in it some elements of life. The faculties may still be galvanized by such events as the arrival of the king of Babylon, or *possibly* by a summons from the witch of Endor. The author contends that the New Testament develops this idea of some surviving spark of personality in the almost lifeless soul into the glorious teaching of a full and blessed immortality for the righteous, which is, indeed, the case. But why this one-sided development? Is there no development also of the idea of death, prominent in that of Shēōl? This idea, according to Dr. Salmond, is not developed, but completely reversed, and intimation given instead, dimly at the close of the Old Testament, and more explicitly in the New, of revivification for the wicked also, with consciousness and memory, *i. e.*, of a real life in a world of eternal sin, sorrow, and shame. The author would call this a development on parallel lines, but it is certainly not a development at all, but a reversal of the main idea of Shēōl, which he has so ably and fully pictured for us. The conditionalist asserts the development of the idea of death into what Salmond would call extinction of life for those who have forfeited their right to live. The idea of a development of the Old Testament doctrine into the New Testament doctrine of man, instead of conflicting with conditionalism, supports it.

The author's third error lies in his occasionally confusing the terms "life" and "death" with "existence" and "non-existence." The chief blame for his making this mistake lies with some of his opponents, who have rashly used the terms synonymously. "Life" and "death" are ultimate terms, and cannot be analyzed. A rosebush may be dead, and yet in a sense be said to exist; and it is the same with the body. Death does not mean annihilation of substance. The terms have quite different meanings, and should not be confused. The usage of the words "life" and "death" is singularly uniform.<sup>2</sup> Even in so-called figurative uses, "alive to one's interests," "dead to the world," the terms are not so much figurative as partial; the meaning of the terms is the same, though restricted to certain relations. Unless so defined, the terms should be used as in ordinary speech, and they should be so understood in Scripture. Therefore, to refute existence and annihilation as

<sup>2</sup> This uniformity appears in the invariability of the contrast. When I say, "My dead friend is still alive," I am not affirming death and life of the same person, as might appear, but I am affirming death of his body only, which is no longer alive, and life of his spirit only, which has never died. Death thus always indicates the total and real loss of that alone of which it is affirmed.

their meaning is not to establish a figurative sense, but simply to leave untouched the ordinary sense of the terms used alike of the body and of the soul according to the context. To prove eternal existence, or to disprove annihilation, is not to prove living forever. And so when Salmond similarly appears to be arguing for the eternal *existence* of the wicked, he is really arguing for their eternal *life*, in verbal contradiction to the Scriptures. This he, in common with the rest of the orthodox party, conceals from himself by supposing that in the phrase "eternal life" the term "life" has a restricted sense, that something is added to the connotation of the term. This supposed richer connotation leads to great disparagement of the idea of mere immortality as the content of the biblical promise of eternal life, in marked contrast with our author's insistence on the greatness of the prerogative as the inalienable right of every man, the denial of which to some would constitute them a different order of being from their neighbors.

Let it be admitted, however, that even this great idea of immortality is surpassed by the more glorious spiritual sense attributed to Scripture by Salmond and the traditional school. Let it be further admitted that instinct will cling to this fuller sense so long as it is contrasted with the other alternative. This, however, only brings out the author's fourth fallacy in not apprehending, and therefore not meeting, the contention of his opponents. This so-called spiritual or theological sense, and the natural or absolute sense of eternal life or death, so far from being alternative, are connected as condition and consequence. All conditionalists will admit that "life" in the phrase "eternal life" has a meaning richer and fuller than merely to live on. It implies communion with God; it carries with it that title, fulness, and fruition that we call pardon, holiness, and happiness—briefly, the divine favor. The threat of death carries with it the ideas of guilt and depravity of which it is the issue, and of the horrors attending that issue. In none of these, however, lies the essence of the threat, but in the loss of life itself. Union with God is not the essence of life, but primarily its cause; separation from him not the essence of death, but its cause or condition. Not reluctantly and inconsistently is this admission made. Rather does the conditionalist eagerly assert that it is only through such fulness, such union, that life can become eternal, everlasting.

To follow the author through all his confused conclusions, deduced from the misleading alternative thus presented, is not possible within present limits. It will be seen, however, that the causal connection

between righteousness and life, between depravity and death, has an important bearing on the argument from a class of reasons adduced by our author, and many others, against this usage. It is urged, *e. g.*, that when the New Testament speaks of "passing from death into life" (John 5: 24), or "being dead in trespasses and sins" (Eph. 2: 1), a figurative sense is clearly present, and that the conditionalist treatment of it as merely anticipative, referring to future life and death, is strained and unnatural. But if we realize that a man who has complied with God's conditions has in effect received that which God has promised upon these conditions, we may truly say that he has passed out of the state which leads to the one into the state which issues in the other. Further, that Christ is affirming in this oft-cited passage (John 5: 24) the great principle of faith in himself as essential to eternal life, rather than emphasizing present time as opposed to future, is clear from the reference to judgment and resurrection which follows.

When once the ethical connection of life with righteousness is allowed, the anticipative sense becomes natural, and the so-called spiritual sense strained. If a few instances of a limited or partial application of the words "life" and "death" are still brought forward, such as "dead to sin," "dead to the law," it must be noted that this limitation is always fully expressed in the context. And thus we must conclude that any such figurative sense is at least so infrequent that it cannot be made a rule for suggesting, much less fixing, such a sense where it is not indicated or necessitated by the context. The Scripture knows no such thing as "spiritual life and spiritual death," its aim being rather to emphasize the spiritual conditions of life and death. When, *e. g.*, Christ was comforting the sorrowful Martha, did he play, even for spiritual purposes, with those words of life and death by which human souls have always expressed their anxieties, longings, and aspirations, and which the author himself uses to describe his own conviction of immortality? Shall we not rather say that, in the light of Christ's words to Martha, "He that believeth on me shall never die," the mortality of a believer is just as impossible as the immortality of an unbeliever? Again, when the evangelist has ascribed creation to the Logos (John 1: 3, 4), by what sudden leap of thought are we to suppose him to add that in him was life in the author's theological sense? On the other hand, what more natural than the progress of thought, which, after ascribing the creation of lifeless substance to the Word, proceeds to describe him as the source of life in the ordinary absolute sense? And when we are further told that "the

life was the light of men," we ascribe also to the Word that distinction between the living creature which does not and the living creature which does possess a knowledge of itself and of its spiritual relation to the living God. Thus does the evangelist account for the origin of matter, of life, and of conscience, as fresh manifestations of the Word, but his "spiritual" term is not "life," but "light." Salmond's controversial use (p. 616) of John 17:3, "This is the life eternal," stands in curious contrast with his examination of the same passage when treating of Johannine doctrine (p. 488), and one cannot but think that his readers would have found his customary careful exegesis more convincing here than mere affirmations unsupported by any evidence drawn from the context of the passages cited.

The author's closing contention in favor of the figurative sense of life is found in the scriptural contrast of life, not only to death, but to terms of a wider denotation. He is quite right in saying that the contrast of life with destruction, wrath, fire, and so forth, implies more than mere life on the one side; but he forgets that every irregular antithesis works both ways, and that the conditionalist has equal right to the force of the contrast. For these terms, as contrasted with life, must include not merely the loss of this "something more," but the entire deprivation of life itself. To understand these terms as an eternal life in conditions which would naturally be its destruction is to vitiate the contrast altogether. Had the same treatment been accorded to the terms "life" and "death" which has been admirably given (p. 620) to the term "eternal," by which its spiritual force is shown, not to be opposed to its natural meaning, but based upon it, the same result would have been attained, and all the misleading false alternatives avoided.

Finally, the fifth error, viz., the endeavor from the eternal duration of retribution to deprive the threat of death of its absolute force, is liable to the same objection of forgetfulness of the contrast. The punishment is indeed eternal, but it consists, not in a blasted life, but in the loss of all life. Proof of the everlastingness of a penalty, or of the agencies by which it is executed, is no proof of the everlastingness of life in that penalty, if the penalty itself be death. It is this last of the professor's confusions which vitiates his attempt to minimize the force of citations from the early Fathers, whom he can undoubtedly show to have taught eternal punishment, but whose other phrases equally indicate that they did not regard punishment as consisting in any life at all, but in its utter extinction. He ought also to



have informed us that writers like Arnobius, whom he acknowledges as a conditionalist, present the dogma when defending it against unbelievers, not as their private speculation within the church, but as the Catholic faith.

Salmond concludes his chapter on conditionalism by urging theological objections. Of these the chief part is drawn from the false alternative which he presents of a necessary mortality or a necessary immortality as the constitution of man. The futility of such objections I have already exposed. It must here be added, in regard to his contention of the inadequacy of the end which conditionalism suggests to be designed in the incarnation and atonement, namely, the securing of immortality for man, that even the author can hardly urge that the securing of so grand a prerogative as immortality to a being whose constitution, so far from being alien to it, demands it, and the purging him from the truly alien element of sin, with its alien result in death, is a conception of Christ's work so very inferior to his own. It is at least excusable to suppose that, without detracting from the glory of man as God designed him, this doctrine adds to the glory of the Redeemer who saved him. It should be noted also that too much is made on both sides of the abstract notion of immortality, as if it were in itself a quality or capacity either originally belonging to human nature on the one side, or to be added to it on the other, instead of being the simple continuation of the life of any living creature. So the scientists of sixty years ago used to speak of heat under the name of "caloric," until it was discovered to be no "imponderable substance," but only a form of motion among already existing atoms. Such permanency, in its relation to any constitution, must depend on the divine will, and this will we know to be, not arbitrary, but always reasonable, expressed in ever freshly discoverable regularities of change, which we call laws of nature, and which make every state in a sense depend on the fulfilment of certain conditions. In a being, then, whose distinctiveness lies in his moral and religious perceptions, why should not attaining to permanency be also conditional, and conditional justly, on the use made of this his distinctive faculty? Is the attainment of this permanency by the fulfilment of the constitutional conditions in the affiliation of the soul to God in Christ so unworthy an end of his incarnation and redemption?

## IV.

Having dealt in detail with Dr. Salmond's objections, let me summarize his controversial position. His first great fallacy lies in ignoring the *tertium quid* between necessary death and necessary deathlessness. Connected with this is his second error of never fully facing the question of why any limits should be set to the admitted effects of sin on the constitution of man. His criticisms, drawn from the consent of mankind and the Bible doctrine of man, are met by the exposure of these two fallacies, as also is the greater part of his theological objections. His third mistake is in not perceiving the consequence of confusing his own use of the word "existence" with the popular, non-religious use of the word "life." His fourth great error, like his first, lies in the false choice he offers between what he contends for as the meaning of eternal life, and the meaning for which conditionalists contend. He never seems to perceive the real and inseparable connection between the conditions and the contents of the disputed promise. His fifth confusion is that by which he confines retributive punishment to the idea of conscious suffering, implying life and, therefore, involving a limitation in the meaning of that eternal life with which it is contrasted; instead of following the converse process and grasping the fulness of the penal terms as including the loss of all life. On these three last mistakes his treatment of conditionalist exegesis and part of his theological contention depend.

We also saw that this treatment of conditional immortality arises largely from the author's method of inferring the doctrine of immortality as held by the heathen, by the Jews, or by Christ and his apostles, from the statements they make on retribution, and this obliges him to treat conditional immortality too much as a dogma of future punishment, even when professing to discuss it as a doctrine of immortality. Consequently his theological objections virtually resolve themselves into a declamation against the possibility of such a fate for man as man, whether according to heathen, Jewish, or Christian conceptions of man. His exegetic objections are similarly only a plea for the necessity of a fuller connotation in regard to rewards and punishments than that which he supposes to be allowed by the notion of mere life and death. In all this he is virtually determining his doctrine of immortality by that of future retribution, instead of more logically determining the nature of that retribution by a proper view of the import and conditions of eternal life. Once introduce ordinary clearness of

thought into the argument, and without any over-refinement of simple popular usage, the conditionalist position can speak for itself, and this labored defense of ecclesiastical tradition will need no further refutation. We should, instead of it, find the professor welcoming the doctrine he now opposes, which, far from contradicting, is the necessary supplement to the rest of the conclusions derived from his own data.

Had the author, for instance, observed the uniformity in all languages of the use of the words "life" and "death" as applied to a future state; had he noted his own inability to escape from the employment of these words, except by Latinized synonyms, to express either his own ideas or those of the ancients, he would then surely not have failed to realize that, when Christ and his disciples used on this same subject of a future state the very same words which men in all ages and of every nation have used to express their questions or their convictions, the very same words in which even present-day controversialists express their views without fear of misconstruction, they, too, must be understood to use them (if they are not to mock their hearers) in this popular sense. Why should anyone have no doubt what Salmond means, if he tells us that the spirits even of the wicked must live forever, and can never die, and yet doubt that these expressions are used by Christ in the same sense when he limits the promise of living forever and never dying to those who believe on him? Just suppose for a moment that Christ had intended, without touching metaphysical questions of existence and annihilation, to teach the doctrine of conditional immortality, will the author inform us in what more appropriate language he could have done so than that which he has actually employed? If, further, Salmond, in the spirit so beautifully expressed in his introduction, will allow Christ to speak for himself in this way regarding his own promise of life, difficulty will not long remain in perceiving how this essential promise necessarily carries all the spiritual connotation which he fears to lose; nor will the context at any point fail to make good the rich, full, *conditionalist* exegesis.

Nor, when once the doctrine is fully apprehended, will its bearings at all derange our author's own theology. Nay, the effect will be to confirm and crown the whole. For God is now exhibited as having life for his essence; his love its source, his law its safeguard, his light (of knowledge and purity) the condition of its permanent communication to the creature, and liberty, alike in God and man, its most characteristic exercise. Man is now exhibited as made thus far in

God's image, for sonship and communion with him, but capable of fully realizing that image and sonship only as innocence becomes holiness and a fitness for immortality; capable, on the other hand, of destroying by sin that image, and forfeiting that immortality; and capable, therefore, of redemption by the Son of God, who, becoming true Son of man, fulfils these conditions, undergoes the sentence of death in body and spirit, and in body and spirit is restored after the power of an endless life. He is seen to be capable of receiving by the Holy Ghost that fitness for the immortality secured to him by the Son, and capable likewise of refusing the good tidings of life, thereby justly incurring the final execution of the long-delayed penalty. This penalty, moreover, is seen to be at once declaratory and retributive in its nature, since its essence lies in death, of which suffering may be regarded either as the merciful threat or the appropriating grasp. The old doctrine of eternal sufferings now appears to be, not an exaggerated, but an inadequate representation of retributive justice; and the everlasting penalty of sin and the final extinction of evil, so far from being opposed, are seen to meet in a destruction of evil, not by a mechanical, but by a constitutional and righteous withdrawal of life from the sinner. To crown all, the purpose of God is seen, not as a mere passion for the salvation of an aggregate of individuals (whether some or all of mankind), but as the creation of a final order of beings fit for communion with himself, as with a father—beings infinitely varied in character, yet constituting a common whole. This design, in conclusion, is disclosed as fulfilled through conditions rigidly ethical alike as regards God and as regards man, all of them centering in the person of the everlasting Son. When we shall see all this, shall we say that this doctrine of conditional righteousness, conditional sonship, and conditional immortality is, after all, so poor a piece of literalism? Shall we not, rather, acknowledging that it is the highest expression we have yet found of the theology of the New Testament, forthwith summarize it beyond need of further defense in those little heeded words (Luke 20: 35, 36, R. V.) originally uttered on this very point: "Those that shall be accounted worthy to obtain that world and the resurrection from among the dead cannot die any more, but are equal to the angels, for they are sons of God, being sons of the resurrection"?

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## RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

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**NATURALISM AND AGNOSTICISM.** The *Gifford Lectures*, delivered before the University of Aberdeen in the years 1896-98. By JAMES WARD, Sc.D., HON. LL.D., Edinburgh, Professor of Mental Philosophy and Logic in the University of Cambridge. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1899. 2 vols. Pp. xviii + 302; xiii + 294. \$4, net.

THIS is one of the most valuable books I have read for a long time; in its realization and statement of the precise contemporary problem, possibly the most valuable. Since his famous article "Psychology," in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Professor Ward has written so little that the present work has been anticipated with keen expectation—anticipation only increased by the author's record (unknown to the general public) in relation to theological matters, and by his sympathetic experience in the study of scientific questions, especially in their psychological and epistemological aspects. In most respects the "Gifford Lectures" altogether justify these hopes, and higher praise could hardly be given.

Accordant with the perspicuity and soberness of the entire presentation is the clearness with which the contents are set forth. They may be summarized as follows: (1) an introduction on the general standpoint of modern science, with special reference to its origins (lecture i); (2) a discussion of the mechanical theory—very fair, yet of exceeding rigor (entitled Part I, and embracing lectures ii-vi); (3) a criticism of evolution (*a*) in its mechanical and (*b*) in its biological forms (lectures vii-ix and lecture x, respectively, entitled Part II); here Mr. Spencer receives a tremendous castigation. So far Vol. I. (4) In Vol. II, a presentation and overthrow of the modern theory of psychophysical parallelism (entitled Part III, and including lectures xi-xiii); (5) a refutation of dualism (entitled Part IV, and including lectures xiv-xvii); (6) a conclusion, called spiritual monism, giving in bare outline Professor Ward's reconstruction of the results of contemporary inquiry (entitled Part V, and including lectures xviii-xx). It will be noted at once that, considering the space at his disposal, our author has covered the entire ground of fundamental problems, and

the division and selection have been so managed that this task has been accomplished with relative adequacy. Indeed, as regards the mechanical theory, in particular, the treatment may be taken as final. With respect to biological evolution and spiritual monism, especially the latter, I am not completely convinced, or even well satisfied; this, possibly, because Dr. Ward relies chiefly on epistemology where others would appeal to metaphysic.

A leading, as well as a most refreshing and valuable, characteristic of the investigation centers in its strong historical sense. The precise situation of speculative problems at the present moment is kept in view constantly, with the result that fruitful suggestion abounds everywhere. Dr. Ward sees plainly that the once importance of the natural sciences, strictly so called, has passed away, and that the raw material for immediate study must be sought in the newer group of biological and even semi-human sciences. Accordingly, his problem almost states itself. Given the mechanical theory, the theory of mechanical evolution, the theory of biological evolution, and the theory of psychological parallelism, the principal question is: What do the fundamental conceptions employed by each involve ultimately? By framing theories of the universe the sciences have *handed themselves* over to philosophy, for in science as such there need be nothing fundamental, and there is nothing ultimate.

As I have hinted already, Dr. Ward's criticism of the first, second, and fourth positions must be viewed as thoroughly successful. In other words, the mechanical theory, the theory of mechanical evolution, and the theory of psychological parallelism fail as accounts of the universe as a whole. They can be proved insufficient and abstract, or partisan and illogical. Or, to put the matter even more harshly, they imply conceptions which man—such is the actual constitution of his experience—cannot think. Further, because such “unknowables” are taken by some to be thinkable, they really lean upon elements which, although implicitly present, have not been explicitly recognized, and a recognition of them explodes theories that proceed as if these factors were non-existent. In illustration of this it may be said that the account of the manner in which the mechanical theory turns itself inside out in the inevitable course of its historical development is masterly to a degree, and the same may be allowed of the measure meted to the half-monisms associated with the “new” psychology. In the criticism of the theory of mechanical evolution the work rises to a very high level of dialectical skill, so much so that many might be

inclined to hold that Mr. Spencer receives too summary treatment. But others, no doubt, will reply that this writer cannot be too severely "shown up," and certainly Dr. Ward beats him to a pitiable rag. Indeed, the tone of pity, rather than the old familiar one of irritated contempt, furnishes an apposite indication of the direction in which philosophy is traveling now. Although Dr. Ward nowhere says so, he implies that Mr. Spencer was trained as an engineer, and has remained faithful to his original calling to the end. Consequently he has been so situated as never to have even come within sight of a philosophical problem; for, whatever the universe may be, it is assuredly not a more or less inefficient machine.

Three points may be selected for criticism, even although the work as a whole deserves and commands praise out of all proportion to any possible blame. (1) Dr. Ward, like so many psychologists, attaches supreme importance to the will. In his view conation must be regarded as a more fundamental fact of experience than cognition. It were truer to declare that the two are complementary; they cannot be separated, nor can one be aggrandized at the expense of the other in a normal experience. Of course, as everyone knows, in the period of philosophy just closed abstraction was made of the intellect. This happened to be a main vice of Hegel and his British pupils. A similar abstraction of will seems to be on the carpet now. One can trace it, for example, in the neo-Fichtian movement at Harvard, and here Dr. Ward appears to give it some countenance, even though he might reply that he does this chiefly by implication, and all the way through indicates the necessity of a psychic central unity. Better, however, amid some contemporary tendencies, to avoid even appearance of evil. (2) A more dangerous, because less evident, point is the stress laid, in the lecture on "Biological Evolution," upon "subjective selection," and the use made of it to favor neo-Lamarckism, as opposed to neo-Darwinism. While the attack on Weismann may be perfectly just—and certainly wins assent in its reference to this writer's multiplied metaphysics—one feels inclined to urge that, at the moment, enough has not been accomplished toward a philosophy of evolution to warrant the adoption of positions so decisive. Moreover, the remarks will most assuredly be misunderstood by professional biologists; indeed, they have been so misinterpreted already by a distinguished American expert. And, having regard to the office which this work is likely to perform for a better understanding between science and philosophy, I cannot help concluding that the line

adopted is unfortunate. It were greatly to be desired that Dr. Ward should take up the entire question of biological evolution in detail. The brevity of the present statement forms a main element in the trouble. (3) More fundamental than either of the foregoing are the inferences to which Dr. Ward has laid himself open respecting his constructive conclusions. Thanks to the insistence upon individual experience, and especially upon the peculiarity or self-intimacy of each man's psychological universe, this "spiritual monism" possesses not a few characteristics that render it suspiciously like monadism. Not that Dr. Ward represents a return to Leibniz, but one may be forgiven misgivings in regard to possible influence exerted by Lotze. Systematic thinking, in this country at least, has many reasons for dreading such an event. Be this as it may, several ultimate problems stand over for further treatment—the very interesting differentiation between the individual and the universal object, for example.

In conclusion, I should like to add that limits of space render it quite impossible to do even the scantiest justice to the most timely contribution to English philosophical literature since Mr. F. H. Bradley's *Appearance and Reality*. The work is one that ought to be *absorbed* by all who have to deal with religious problems, most emphatically by that large and increasing class who are nonplussed by the contemporary necessity for a resolute free thought which, despite its freedom, does not minimize one whit the vital importance of religion.

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HEART OF MAN. By GEORGE EDWARD WOODBERRY. New York :  
The Macmillan Co., 1899. Pp. 329. \$1.25.

THIS is not a book for the careless or unthoughtful, but it will repay an attentive reading. To the literary charm one expects from Professor Woodberry it adds the interest of deep problems of life and thought. The four papers in the volume are not related by chance, as their titles might suggest; they are embraced in a unity which is founded "deep in the general heart of men." The first, "Taormina," republished from *The Century*, makes the ancient Sicilian town a parable of the dealings of nature and man with man, and finds the woe wrought on him by his fellows worse than all the destructions of Etna. The essay abounds in profound observations on life and men, and is



almost a poem in prose. The final essay, which resembles it in its poetic, mystic style, is theological, its title, "The Ride," being, like the "Sofa" of Cowper, an incident on which to hang observations on the soul's deepest life. Its natural longing and dependence (our natural being expressing the elementary spiritual life, God in us), the question of authority in our faith, the soul above nature, all are discussed with depth of insight into our profoundest problems and with a strong grasp on the fact that the spirit is the center of all life.

In more direct and forceful style the other essays discuss the ideal in life and politics. The paper on "Democracy" has strength and sweep and uplift. It is rooted firmly in the idealism which pervades the whole volume. "Democracy is a mode of dealing with souls," not things. Its great doctrine of equality is the underlying principle which leads to its liberty and fraternity. The development of this idea is able, convincing, and worthy the close reading of discouraged Americans and all men who despair of the mass. Especially fine is the summary of what democracy has accomplished in America, and those who doubt the propriety of universal suffrage should read what is here said of the wisdom of experience and the rights of *man* as against an educated or a wealthy class.

"The New Defence of Poetry" is perhaps the ablest of the papers. It is a plea for idealism in life. The soul outweighs all else, and it is by poetry or some form of imaginative art that wisdom is stored up for the race. The ideal is the practical, for the universe is no bundle of facts, but thought realized, and imaginative literature deals with this abiding order. This is the same in reason, will, emotion, sense—in truth, virtue, joy, beauty—and the author even asserts, what may well be doubted, that the choice of any one of these will bring the soul to all. In the development of this theme the emotional ideal, the difference of art and nature, the sphere of realism, the faith of idealism, classicism, and romanticism, are in turn dealt with and illustrated copiously from literature and history. It is the essay—the volume, indeed—of a philosopher who adds to his high ideals and inspiring thought a style at once strong and fine.

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SYMBOLIK DER SCHÖPFUNG UND EWIGE NATUR. Von F. BETTEX. Bielefeld und Leipzig: Verlag von Velhagen & Klasing, 1898. Pp. 446. Bound, M. 5.

WHAT is the message of the universe? Things are significant. They have their secrets and wish to impart them—but we do not understand. This incapacity grieves us, for we all surmise the existence of a symbolic of the universe.

So, in substance, opens this book, latest and last of a trilogy of little treatises issued by our author, with a common topic, the study of nature.

It is divided into four sections, under the titles: "Symbolik," "Kosmos," "Das Gesetz des Weltalls," and "Die ewige Natur."

By "Symbolik" the author means the doctrine of symbols; that which teaches us to recognize within the material form its idea, beneath the phenomenon its original content; that, to wit, which the divine Spirit would say by it.

A symbol he defines to be "that which has in addition to a signification, sense-perceived and concrete, another, profounder and abstract." He refuses any explanation of the force of symbolism founded on association of ideas. It lies rather, he believes, in the direction of Goethe's statement: "The passing is the similitude of the permanent."

This world is, therefore, but a symbol of a higher world: a book of God's thinking, in which the words are phenomena containing those truths which give it its supreme value. Indeed, to profound thought the symbol disappears through mergence in the reality it stands for. At this vanishing point fire, for instance, ceases to be a symbol of God's wrath, and is that wrath.

Our author divides all things into departments of form, of color, and of sound. Of his investigation in these departments the following is a specimen: Since speech is an inspiration, every letter is an inexhaustible symbol. The first letter of the alphabet both in its form as German capital and in its "square character" in the Hebrew is a hieroglyph setting forth man's progress through life, one hand raised to heaven in supplication, the other depressed to earth in acquisition. Under the form of a Latin capital its symbolism changes and it indicates man's earthly half; while *V*, the letter of will, wish, and wail, presents his upper and spiritual half. The *A* and *V* combine in *X* to lift the hands to heaven. This devotional *X* terminates the alphabet, and thus its Arabic notation (10) combines the first digit with the "letter of mystery."

The second section, "Kosmos," is exclusively and interestingly astronomical. In the third section the allegation is made and elaborated on that "number is the formative and foundation principle of the creation." While explicating the meaning of "the great 1" he attacks Darwinism, and what he calls "new-baptized Buddhism." The character of the teaching in the fourth section may be inferred from a single assertion: "A purely immaterial heaven is unknown to Scripture."

This book is the fruit of the tendency, so generally felt in philosophical and theological circles, to interpret the universe in terms of monism. In the case of our author the tendency has affected a mind of that "moralizing" sort which a century ago would have issued "Reflections" or "Meditations and Contemplations" like those of Christoph Christian Sturm or James Hervey. The result is a treatise, in a few passages suggestive and stimulating, in many whimsical as the most extravagant spiritualizations of the Kabbala; but everywhere aiming to deserve the epithet "erbaulich." Because of this commendable aim we stint our criticism and leave the work to the great distributive principle of literature, "chacun à son goût."

ROBERT KERR ECCLES.

BOWLING GREEN, O.

**THE QUEST OF FAITH.** Being Notes on the Current Philosophy of Religion. By THOMAS BAILEY SAUNDERS. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1899. Pp. vi + 191. \$2.50.

A TREATMENT of religious belief by an examination of representative works of the present-day discussion concerning belief in God. Chap. ii, on "Agnosticism," shows that Huxley assumed principles which refuted his scientific agnosticism. Chap. iii, on "The Sceptical Argument," examines chiefly *The Foundations of Belief* by A. J. Balfour. Chap. iv, on "A Gifford Lecturer," examines Fraser's *Philosophy of Theism*. Chap. v, on "The Teleological Argument," acceptably calls attention to the changed form in which the argument must be presented, examining the works of the Duke of Argyll, Haeckel, and Henry Drummond. Chap. vi discusses Gladstone's *Studies Subsidiary to the Works of Bishop Butler*. Chap. vii treats of representative Catholic writers, as W. S. Lilly. Chap. viii, on "The Witness of History," examines *The History of Intellectual Development* by Mr. Beattie Crozier.

This book looks like a collection of reviews and lacks somewhat in unity and progressiveness of argument. But it renders a service in

emphasizing the fact that religious faith and the philosophy of religion are of increasing interest to the mind of the present day, and that the trend of thought is away from materialism toward belief, while the changed aspects of the several arguments strengthen rather than weaken the foundations of belief.

Chaps. iii and iv are the most skilful and satisfactory; the author shows that certitude, belief, is for Balfour "the child, not of reason, but of custom" (p. 60), and since, according to the author, the content of social custom is rational, Balfour's basis of belief is, after all, in reason. But I ask: Is not society an organization of interests rather than of thoughts, and are social customs reasoned beliefs of the past? It is doubtful, in my opinion, whether Balfour's argument can be turned against himself in the above manner.

Again, apparently the author is, with Dr. Fraser, prepared to trust reason in the attempt to form a theory of the relations of God, man, and the world, and thus arrive at a basis for belief. Fraser would hold that the universe is rationally and morally trustworthy, which involves the postulate of a supreme moral intelligence, but the author, if I understand him, rejects Fraser's position on the ground that the attribute of omnipotence is not reconcilable with the assumption that the universe is morally trustworthy, which involves free moral agents. Is, then, reason in conflict with itself? Nor is the final conclusion of the author an acceptable substitute for the conclusions of Dr. Fraser, namely, Crozier in the above work concludes that we are led to believe in what he calls "a stupendous and over-arching supernaturalism everywhere enfolding and pervading the world and its affairs, and giving scope and exercise to all that is properly religious." Of this Mr. Saunders says: "There is, I think, no serious difficulty in accepting this conclusion and also at the same time refusing to express adherence to any of the particular religions in which, often mixed with quite alien elements, the conclusion has been embodied" (p. 189). The question is: Which postulate, since we are to trust reason, has the more claim to the acceptance of the unbiased reason? Everybody must decide for himself.

In conclusion I would say that this book is worthy of a careful reading by those to whom it is addressed, namely, "those who take a general interest" in the problems of religion and "are alive to the direction and importance of current controversies in the sphere of religious belief."

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**DIE MACHT DER NATUR IM GEISTLICHEN LEBEN.** Eine physiologisch-psychologische Untersuchung auf Grund von Rom. 7: 14-25. Von AUGUST LICHTENSTEIN. Gütersloh: Druck und Verlag von C. Bertelsmann, 1899. Pp. iv + 127. M. 2.

THIS is a presentation of the development of the spiritual life in man, the purpose of which is apparently to introduce into traditional thought the scientific facts involved in the interrelationship of the physiological and psychological elements in the human organism.

The presentation is based upon a good exegesis of Rom. 7: 14-25, which passage is referred to the experience of the regenerate man. This is followed by a discussion, at times unnecessarily detailed, the substance of which is that man is possessed of a twofold life, organic and spiritual, whose common ground is in God. This life is ruled, on its two sides, respectively by two forces: the organic force, having its seat in the animal life, which works through the blood and nerve systems; the spiritual force, having its seat in the soul life, which works through the natural consciousness of God and the natural conscience toward God. These two forces are interinfluential, and yet in such a manner that, in their deepest workings, they stand in vital opposition, in spite of the fact that the life to which they in common belong has its essential unity in God. This opposition is due to the entrance of sin into the spiritual life of man, in the case of our first parents, the spiritual life having its influence, necessarily, upon the organic life, and thus placing the whole life in alienation from God, and so creating an essential conflict between the animal and what remains of the spiritual elements in man. This alienation expresses itself in the sinful tendencies to unbelief and pride, to uncleanness and self-seeking, which tendencies rule the whole life of man after the manner of laws. These laws in the unregenerate state are supreme within the man, and have the force behind them broken only by the superior force introduced at baptism through the supernatural new birth. They are gradually supplanted through the new life thus begun in the soul—a life which is due specifically to the Holy Spirit, and expresses itself in the opposites of the laws of sin—in belief and humility, in purity and unselfish love.

In other words, the unregenerate man is in a condition in which the organic life, ruled by the force and laws of sin, controls the inner, spiritual man—the true ego—and, despite the consciousness which this ego has of the supreme rightness of the law of God, holds its will in slavery. The regenerate man is in a condition in which the organic

life, with its force and laws of sin, is gradually brought under the higher power of the supernatural force of the Holy Spirit, which is destined ultimately to come into supreme control over the whole man, through the fostering stimulus of the means of grace—especially through prayer, the Word of God, and the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. The present process, however, is one of struggle and conflict, and is that which is specifically presented to us in the passage of Romans at the basis of this discussion.

It is in the exegesis of this passage that the merit of the book largely consists. The thought of the discussion which follows it is not specially new; its statement is somewhat repetitious, and consequently tedious in following out; while its spirit is wholly confessional. To those who share this spirit it may be interesting; to others, hardly so.

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DIE FRÖMMIGKEIT DES MENSCHENGESCHLECHTS IM LICHT DES CHRISTENTUMS. Eine religionswissenschaftliche Untersuchung. Von KARL HAUG, Pfarrer. Leipzig: A. Deichert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung Nachfolger (Georg Böhme), 1898. Pp. viii + 336. M. 4.50.

THE idea of this book is a good one. The comparative studies of religion which we have had heretofore have dealt with its external manifestations, approaching it as mythology, as ritual, or as theology. But it must be evident that the essence of religion is in the life of man, either as an experience or as a motive to conduct. It is this religion in the heart—*Frömmigkeit*, for which *piety* seems hardly an adequate word—which our author takes as the subject of his essay. We might formulate his plan in the words: a comparative study of the religious life.

Unfortunately the execution falls far behind the promise. In fact, the author gives us an apologetic argument for the Protestant theory of the religious life. He traverses the whole field of religious history with this Protestant (or, more specifically, Lutheran) standard in his hand. He applies his measure to all forms of piety and finds them all lacking. The only true piety is this; all others are false or defective.

A brief introduction defines the nature of Christian piety (I use this word for convenience) according to the New Testament Scriptures. The Scriptures are in perfect agreement, and according to them all Christian piety consists in "a personal relation to a personal, supramundane God on the ground of the self-manifestation of this God, who has revealed himself in the Old Covenant, but especially in Jesus Christ, his only son. It is not only a subjective condition, a feeling—whether one describes this as a feeling of dependence or of freedom—but an actual living communion with the living God" (p. 22). This definition is followed by a discussion of heathen piety. We suspect that we shall hear nothing favorable because the emphasis laid upon an *actual* living communion in the sentence just quoted indicates that other so-called communion with God is illusory. This is what we find to be the case. In contrast with the living, personal, supramundane God of the Christian, the heathen divinities are the product of the human fancy or imagination. Not that there is not a slight basis of truth at the bottom of the religious perception. Man has a dim consciousness, an indefinable feeling (*Ahnung*), of a higher power, on which he is dependent and which stands in some relation to him. But this feeling is powerless to produce anything worthy of the name of religion. "The heathen gods are, according to the prophetic conviction, *Elilim* (Nothings), to which there is no corresponding reality; or, if there be such, it is demonic or devilish" (p. 30).

If, now, the heathen view of the gods is based on imagination, the heathen piety is equally illusory. In fact, on the side of feeling, all piety outside of Christianity (and a good deal inside of Christianity) is *enthusiasm*, that is, fancied communion with a god who has no existence. "Man imagines by lifting up his soul, by excitation of feeling, to reach communion with the divinity. Presupposed is the conviction that man is related to the divinity, or even that he is a divine being who is capable of communion with the gods" (p. 46). The effort of the devotee is to induce this feeling by contemplation, by fasting, by means of drugs. The phenomena are similar in all religions. The author, with the help of Chantepie de la Saussaye, examines the religions of India, Persia, Greece, and Rome—always with the same result.

But there is another side to piety. Religion is not exhausted in feeling, but calls forth activity. Men are not content to come into communion with the divinity; they wish to earn his favor. Hence the various actions of which piety is fruitful. The most widely

observed of these is sacrifice, but we find also prayers, vows, self-castigation, self-mutilation, observance of rules, ritual or moral. Dr. Haug classifies them together under the head of "Ergismus"—work-righteousness, shall we say? The point which interests us is that this side of piety is as vain as the other. Both enthusiasm and "ergism" are sheer illusion. Neither one is found in pure Christianity. Neither in the synoptic gospels is there anything ergistic, nor in the gospel of John is there anything enthusiastic. "In Jesus and the apostles there is essentially no trace of enthusiastic or ergistic religiosity" (p. 139).

The most melancholy thing is yet to come. This false piety, consisting of enthusiasm and ergism, has constantly invaded the true religion. Not only the monotheistic religions (Judaism and Islam) have been its victims, but Christianity itself has suffered. The history of the church between the time of Paul and the time of Luther is a sad record of backsliding and corruption. Enthusiasm and ergism meet us at every turn. Nor are they less powerful since the Reformation. Not only is the Roman Catholic church their incarnation, they have shown themselves in all parts of Protestantism. Pietism, the Moravian brotherhood, Methodism, Anabaptism, the Salvation Army, the High Church movement—all testify to the conquering power of these deadly forces, hostile to true religion. Three-fifths of the book are taken up in tracing this sad picture.

Is this sad picture a true picture? Looking first at the history of the church, we must say that the author's view is at least one-sided. We will, of course, accept his definition of religion (or piety, as he calls it). It is filial communion with God through Christ. But does not this communion take place in all branches of the Christian church? It seems very bold to deny the reality of communion with God in a pious Russian peasant, in a saintly Roman Catholic, in a devoted Moravian. Yet all these fall under the author's denunciation of enthusiasm or ergism.

If this be so, can we hesitate to go farther? God has not left himself without witness to the heathen. Is it possible that, outside Christianity, there has been found no believing heart to recognize this witness and to respond to it? The fact that our author recognizes a true, though dim, consciousness of God in the hearts of all men should give him pause. It is irrational to suppose that everywhere this consciousness becomes false so soon as it develops into a more distinct faith in the Godhead. In fact, the faith of the Christian is this same feeling taking concrete form on contact with the historical Christ.



"God is no respecter of persons, but in every nation he that feareth him and worketh righteousness is acceptable to him." It is astonishing to see Christian ministers ignoring so broad a statement, and so unmistakable a statement, made by a New Testament writer. The fear of God and the working of righteousness here spoken of are precisely the heathen enthusiasm and ergism so impugned by our author. The New Testament writer recognizes them as the same in kind with the faith and obedience of the Christian.

Only on this basis can we have a science of religion. The dim consciousness of God in every human soul is the basis of all religious feeling. It is awakened to greater or less distinctness by events or experiences in which the soul discovers the presence of God. In these events and experiences God does reveal himself to man. But the revelation is not equally clear in all these events—in none is it so clear as in the person of Jesus Christ. But there is a real unity underlying the various forms of religious feeling. The intellectual treatment of the revelations is, indeed, often imperfect. Men have low, sensual, grotesque conceptions of what God is. But this does not nullify the underlying unity. The Christian's faith is one form of the enthusiasm or mysticism found in all religions.

In like manner Christian morality is one form of the "ergism" which is as widespread as mysticism. Faith produces obedience. It is impossible for a man to have the most imperfect consciousness of God without having at the same time a desire to do the will of God. Here again the intellectual interpretation of the phenomena is often imperfect. Men's ideas of duty differ as widely as their conceptions of God. But obedience to what is conceived to be the will of God follows communion with God as certainly as the tides follow the moon. The misguided intellectual apprehension does not invalidate the unity of motive. The Christian has the greatest amount of light on duty (as he has the greatest amount of light on the nature of God) in the life of Christ. But in its motive his obedience is not different in kind from the heathen "ergism."

It will be evident to the reader that I do not take this book seriously as a contribution to the science of religion. Neither do I take it seriously as a contribution to Christian apologetics. The author is biased by a foregone conclusion, so that he is incapable of doing justice to any person or any communion outside his own church. No doubt his intention is good. He desires to defend the faith once delivered to the saints against the assaults of the new-fangled science of religion.

A warm heart for his own flock is shown by many a turn of homiletical language. But he will convince no one who is not already on his side.

The point of view may account for the author's serious misrepresentation of Baptist Christianity on pp. 255 f. In general, as will be inferred from what is said above, he shows little sympathy for any form of Christianity other than the Lutheran. His language is often rhetorical rather than accurate, and he is not always consistent with himself.

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MICHAEL. Eine Darstellung und Vergleichung der jüdischen und der morgenländisch-christlichen Tradition vom Erzengel Michael. Von WILHELM LUEKEN, Lic. theol. in Oldenberg. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1898. Pp. x+186. M. 4.80.

THIS book was called forth mainly by two statements by Bousset, of Göttingen, found in the latter's book *Der Antichrist*, viz.: (1) that it would be an interesting task to bring together the speculations of late Judaism regarding the archangel Michael, and (2) that, after such a task has been performed, it would probably be found that the development of the doctrine of Christ was to a large extent influenced by such Michael speculations.

Our author soon found that the first statement was rather behind than beyond the truth. But as to the influence of Jewish speculations concerning angels upon the Christology of the early Christians, he has discovered fewer proofs than he set out to find, and confesses disappointment at the results reached, notwithstanding the interesting parallels found by him.

The work falls into two parts. In the first "Michael in Jewish Tradition" is treated. The second takes up "Michael in the Tradition of Eastern Christendom." The arrangement is natural. We are told what the Jews thought of angels in general and of Michael in particular. Then we are told that much of this was taken over by Christians belonging to the eastern church. Owing to lack of space, a like discussion for the western church could not be taken up thoroughly. The author uses the best available sources, and recognizes the limitations and the frequent untrustworthiness of Jewish compilations. But apparently

he does not realize that it is a very precarious undertaking to conclude, as the writer is inclined to do, that Jewish conceptions of angels influenced Christian views regarding Jesus Christ. We are not sure of any Jewish literature for some centuries after Christ, and it would be an interesting, and perhaps profitable, undertaking to trace the influence of the Christology of the church upon the angelology of Judaism. The parallelism between Jewish and early Christian thought concerning angels, and especially Michael, and the way in which Christ is portrayed in the epistles of Paul, in Hebrews, in the pseudepigraphical, patristic, and other early Christian writings, is strikingly pointed out. Assuming that much early Christian teaching concerning Christ was suggested by the traditions in Jewish theology about Michael and other angels, it does in no way disprove, nor even cast suspicions upon, Christian Christology. Space does not permit us to point out the doubtful interpretations of authors cited, and especially of New Testament passages. But the book will be read with pleasure and profit by thoughtful students of Christian theology. The last section discusses the influence of Jewish angelology upon Christology. This is acknowledged to be the least certain, but it is a subject of by far the greatest importance. Many will be thankful for the bibliographical information which is scattered throughout the work.

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**SEMITIC INFLUENCE IN HELLENIC MYTHOLOGY.** With Special Reference to the Recent Mythological Works of the Rt. Hon. Professor F. Max Müller and Mr. Andrew Lang. By ROBERT BROWN, JR., F.S.A., M.R.A.S. London, Edinburgh, and Oxford: Williams & Norgate, 1898. Pp. xv + 228. 7s. 6d.

IN 1897 two prominent English writers on mythology, Professor F. Max Müller and Mr. Andrew Lang, each published a book reviewing his former publications on mythology, answering his critics, and vindicating the principles on which he had worked. In *Contributions to the Science of Mythology* Müller, the leader of the philological school, "ripe in years and rich in honors, completed his self-imposed task;" and in his *Modern Mythology* Lang, a representative of the anthropological school, makes in his own jaunty manner a criticism of Müller's work and seeks to readjust his own writings to the light of present knowledge. Brown, a representative of the Semitic school of

Hellenic mythology, was constrained by the works of Müller and Lang to write the book before us, in order to set forth anew the principles of the school which he represents. The book is, therefore, a kind of *apologia pro vita sua*.

Part I (pp. 1-21) is devoted to "Professor Max Müller's Last Pronouncement on Mythology." It is a respectful review of Müller's work and a recognition of the validity, in many cases, of Müller's methods. Brown maintains, however, that in many cases Müller has pressed his methods too far, and that often where Müller confesses himself unable to explain Greek myths another method would yield a satisfactory solution. Part II (pp. 23-79) is devoted to "Mr. Lang's Latest Attack." Here the author loses patience altogether. He has no faith in either Mr. Lang or his methods, and with a spirit which we suspect is somewhat rancorous, though it is somewhat veiled by a rich vein of humor, he pursues him and his totemistic methods without mercy. Part III, the remainder of the book, is devoted to an exposition of the author's own views of the proper method of explaining those Hellenic myths which do not readily yield to Müller's philological reagents. Here the author shows, in a brief but convincing sketch, that the long contact between the Greeks and the Phœnicians, when the former were just emerging from prehistoric barbarism and were religiously in a plastic condition, has left a deep impression upon the religion and the mythology of Greece. Not Aphrodite only, but Poseidôn, Hēraklēs, Kronos, Athemas, Kirke, Athena Ilia, and the signs of the Zodiac are due in one way or another to Semitic influence, while Hekatē is borrowed from Egypt. Brown lays down these sound principles for the determination of such mythological problems (p. 90): "When neither the name [of a divinity] nor the chief mythic incidents connected with his legend appear in other branches of the Aryan religious mythology; when Aryan nature-myths do not supply an appropriate explanation of his concept and history; when his cult is found in regions either absolutely non-Aryan or else permeated with non-Aryan influence; when his form is more or less unanthropomorphic; when his character and story generally are in harmony with those mythical personages admittedly non-Aryan; and when the resources of Aryan philology are powerless or inadequate to explain his name, and some or many of his principal epithets," that then a foreign explanation should be sought.

This is eminently sound, and Brown has proved, we think, Semitic influence in the cases enumerated above. This proof is not put forth

here for the first time, but much of it is reproduced from the author's former works, *The Great Dionysiak Myth*, *The Myth of Kirke*, *The Heavenly Display*, etc. They are brought together here in a convenient form, however, and in a form which Semitic and biblical students will appreciate, as in a brief compass it is possible to gain many helpful suggestions with reference to Semitic mythology from its reproductions among the Greeks.

As to the explanation of myths in general, Brown holds that all possible aid should be sought from every method except one. Throughout the book he makes an exception in the case of totemism. For totemism he has no use: it never was, is, or can be true. Mr. Lang and his totems are pursued relentlessly with logic, ridicule, and scorn, even into an appendix, where is reprinted a witty article in which a supposed American professor of anthropology in the year 4886 A. D. reviews a work which proves the existence of totemism in England in the Victorian era. This appendix is good sport, but abominable science, and is a blemish on the book; indeed, this vein is the main fault of the work. In his hatred of totemism Brown forgets that after their origin was forgotten myths underwent different interpretations in different places and at different times, and seizes upon a flimsy expedient to avoid admitting it. He forgets also that political conquest produced syncretism, which gave gods originally totemistic worshipers outside of their original territory, and allows himself to be betrayed into statements as to the opinions of other scholars which are not quite accurate. Is it hatred of Mr. Lang which has produced in him this color-blindness?

Mr. Brown is betrayed into one or two errors. Gilgamesh is identified with Marduk (!) (p. 198); and expression is given (pp. 94 f.) to a sort of rhapsody that through such works as Hommel's *Ancient Hebrew Tradition* "the house of cards reared mainly by Wellhausen . . . now totters to its fall." Biblical criticism meanwhile, instead of tottering, is amused at the dust which Hommel's feigned attack has cast into the eyes of the unwary.

The core of Brown's book is nevertheless sound. The influence of the Semites on the Hellenes is his real thesis, and that he has proven.

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RESEARCHES INTO THE ORIGIN OF THE PRIMITIVE CONSTELLATIONS OF THE GREEKS, PHOENICIANS AND BABYLONIANS. By ROBERT BROWN, JR., F.S.A., M.R.A.S. Vol. I. London: Williams & Norgate, 1899. Pp. xvi + 361. 10s. 6d.

MR. BROWN has devoted himself to this and kindred subjects for years, and in the work the first volume of which is before us the ripest fruits of his years of study will be presented. An enthusiastic student of Greek literature, deeply imbued with Semitic learning, the author has endeavored to show in his various works the Semitic influence in Greek mythology and life. His services in this field commend him to the regard of a wide circle of scholars. The book before us increases their debt to him.

Of the eight chapters of this first volume, seven are devoted to the Greek side of the subject. The Hipparcho-Ptolemy star-list is examined and its Phœnician antecedents traced; then the constellations are traced through Greek literature from Eudoxos to Homer; next the early coin types of Greece and the unnumismatic art of the Aigaion seaboard and of Asia Minor are made to bear their witness to the primitive constellations. The concluding chapter treats of Babylonian astronomy after Alexander. The astronomy of the earlier Babylonian period will fall to the second volume.

It is Mr. Brown's habit in both these works to give ancient proper names in an exact transliteration of their original spelling, from whatever language they may come. This leads at times to curious effects: thus Borsippa appears as *Barsipki*.

Of the Greek side of this work I am not able to speak. The chapter on Babylonian astronomy makes good use of both Greek and cuneiform sources, and gives excellent promise for the rest of the work, which Semitic scholars will await with interest.

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A DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE. By JOHN D. DAVIS, PH.D., D.D., Professor of Semitic Philology and Old Testament History in the Theological Seminary at Princeton, N. J. With many New and Original Maps and Plans, and Amply Illustrated. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1898. Pp. viii + 802. \$2, *net*.

OLD TESTAMENT ARTICLES.—The articles on the Old Testament in this volume proceed from the pen of Professor Davis, and are avowedly

and frankly conservative. The Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, the unity of Isaiah and of Zechariah, and the integrity and historicity of Daniel are strongly defended. Joel is placed before Ahaz; the book of Jonah is historical and may be dated before or shortly after the close of the reign of Jeroboam II. In the book of Judges all indications strongly favor its existence in the time of Samuel, even if it was not written by that prophet himself. The book of Ruth is historical, and the Song of Songs is not improbably from the hand of Solomon himself, or at least from his time.

But, on the other hand, there is no blind adherence to traditionalism for its own sake. The article on Creation compares the Babylonian account, and acknowledges that, apart from the radical defect of failing to give God the glory, the Babylonian traditions preserve fundamentally the same account of the development of the world that the Hebrew prophet does. In the article on the Flood the author holds that the description of the flood must have originated with eyewitnesses and have been handed down by tradition, and that the language of the narrative must be understood in the sense of the authors and promulgators of the story centuries before Moses. Again, the biblical classification of the hare and the rock-badger, or "coney," among ruminants is admitted to be an error based upon the observation of the ruminant-like motion of the jaws of these animals.

The author usually gives a fair, though necessarily brief, statement of the views of the critical school, together with his reasons for rejecting them. But it seems scarcely just, at this late day, to state that the real ground on which the denial of the genuineness of the last twenty-seven chapters of the book of Isaiah rests is the mention of Cyrus by name.

A few inconsistencies have been noted, such as the adoption of the spelling Masorites as well as the preferable Masoretes, and the inclusion on p. 39 of the book of Ecclesiasticus among the books which were doubtless originally written in Aramaic, while on p. 40 it is correctly said that the prologue to Ecclesiasticus implies that the book was originally written in Hebrew. It would seem that the recovery of a considerable portion of the Hebrew original of this valuable book was a fact of sufficient moment to have been mentioned at this point, and we cannot help being surprised at the omission of this fact by the author.

A careful examination of the book as a whole leads us to commend it warmly. Its conciseness and its comprehensiveness, taken together

with its direct, clear statements, will make it an invaluable addition to the library of the Sunday-school teacher and the busy pastor, and even the professional Old Testament scholar will find it a convenient handbook for ready reference upon a multitude of minor points.

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NEW TESTAMENT ARTICLES.—Questions of the authorship and date of New Testament books are treated from the conservative point of view, opposing views being sometimes, but not always, referred to. Of 2 Peter it is said: "Although doubts were cherished in some quarters concerning its authorship, these are overborne by the weighty historical evidence." First Peter is said to have been written from Babylon, Rome not being mentioned. The writer of the article Gospel (Professor Purves) seems to accept a form of the oral hypothesis as to the origin of the synoptics, referring, however, to the theory of the use of Mark by the other two.

In the geographical and chronological articles account is taken of the latest discussions. The province of Galatia, in both text and maps, is made to include the four cities of the first missionary journey; but the destination of the epistle is left doubtful, with the statement that there are "serious difficulties" in the south-Galatian theory. As to the site of Capernaum both views are stated, but the arguments given are in favor of Tell Hum. The location of the Emmaus "sixty furlongs off" is left doubtful, and the map gives only the more distant one. Reference is made to the earlier dating of the events of Acts, but the common chronology is accepted.

In the articles on ecclesiastical subjects the writers do not conceal their convictions. The article on Baptism argues strongly in favor of affusion as well as immersion, adding: "Probably the mode varied even in apostolic times." After referring to the principles of "modern Baptists," it is added: "It is certainly scriptural to [baptize] the children of believers." The article Bishop is in the main fair, but Anglicans will note, with reference to Timothy's ordination, that while 1 Tim. 4:14 is twice referred to, no reference is made to 2 Tim. 1:6. James was the "head of the board of elders" at Jerusalem, and not an apostle. Under Elder, Calvin's distinction between "ruling" and "teaching" elders is doubted. Under Laying on of Hands the omission of all reference to the related passages, Acts 8:17; 19:6, and Heb. 6:2, is unaccountable.



Only a few articles on subjects of biblical theology are inserted. For example, there is one on Faith, but not on Hope or Love; there is one on Sin, but not on Righteousness.

Some errors of the press are unavoidable; but there are more serious oversights. In the three-column article New Testament, besides misprints, we note the following: "In *many cases* these versions and [patristic] citations were made from manuscripts not now existing" is an understatement. That "uncials" were "written without breathings or accents" is true only of the earlier ones. The date of the facsimile of Codex B is given as 1868 instead of 1890, and the lacuna in Hebrews is said to be 9:14-28 only. As to Codex D, a false impression is given by the statements that Beza "found" it in the monastery at Lyons, and that it is "dated" in the sixth century.  $\aleph$  is called "Alpha," and the manuscript is said to have been obtained in 1844 and 1859, although the New Testament portion was not found until the latter date. The division of the New Testament into verses is ascribed to Stephens' Vulgate of 1555, instead of to his Greek Testament of 1551. It is most likely, however, that such inaccuracies as these are exceptional; and that the utility of the volume, as a convenient repository of biblical facts, is not seriously impaired by them. The articles in general, while condensed as they should be, are clear and readable.

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GESENIUS' HEBREW GRAMMAR. As edited and enlarged by E. Kautzsch, Professor of Theology in the University of Halle. Translated from the twenty-fifth German edition by the late REV. G. W. COLLINS, M.A. The translation revised and adjusted to the twenty-sixth edition by A. E. COWLEY, M.A. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press; New York: H. Frowde, 1898. Pp. xvi+2+598. \$5.50.

IN Germany Gesenius' Grammar has long been the standard work for the use of students of Hebrew, and in this country it has practically displaced all others as a reference-book for advanced study. The general features in its history are known to American readers, and with the details of its arrangement and method they have become familiar as the successive editions in English dress have appeared. For over

twenty years the various editions in Germany have been issued by the competent hand of Professor Kautzsch (the twenty-second to the twenty-fifth, 1878-89, the twenty-sixth 1896), and the editions in English have been sufficient to reproduce the most important changes, the fundamental revision of 1878, the reconstruction of the syntax in 1889, and the many improvements in detail of the 1896 edition, notably the statements upon the "Relative Pronoun" and "Relative Clauses," the fuller and more appropriate examples both in the etymology and the syntax, the indication in the paradigms of mere analogous formations by bracketed forms, and the systematic use of consecutive letters of the alphabet along the margins of the several sections in order to facilitate references to the grammar.

With the exception of a few notes in brackets signed G. W. C. and S. R. D. (the latter undoubtedly Dr. S. R. Driver, to whom grateful acknowledgment of assistance is expressed by Mr. Cowley in the preface), the book is a faithful reproduction of the original work in English of transparent clearness. The present writer has read many pages of it with the necessity of but rare reference to the original to resolve an ambiguity or to clear a doubt. After a careful comparison of much matter in the two versions he would wish to make only an occasional change in word or phrase of the English. And yet, and therefore may better be said, the translation has not been slavishly done. Anyone who has attempted to put much German into English will appreciate the constant labor and skill needful to make a translation like this, and the temptation to sacrifice, on the one hand, the meaning of the German, or, on the other, the English idiom, and will indorse the concluding phrase of the preface that the editor has been engaged in "a rather toilsome piece of work." Several happy liberties have been taken with the text, as in the substitution of English parallels to Hebrew expressions where the original makes reference to the German language. Some will wish that the liberty taken by Davies and by Mitchell of transferring the paradigms to the beginning of the volume had been adopted by these editors. The writer has observed but few typographical errors, for the most part omissions of letters or parts of letters that were doubtless correct in the proof sheets.

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WISSENSCHAFTLICHES HANDBUCH DER EINLEITUNG IN DAS ALTE TESTAMENT. Von EDUARD RUPPRECHT, Pfarrer. Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1898. Pp. xxiii + 548. M. 7.50.

THIS is the only traditionally conservative introduction to the Old Testament of modern times. The author dedicates it to the memory of Hävernick, Hengstenberg, and Keil, whom he treats as the highest authorities in criticism. He depends upon them throughout, drawing occasionally also on his notes taken under Delitzsch at Erlangen in 1856. His aim is to give the church an introduction to the Old Testament which will be positive rather than negative (p. xiv). His model is Keil.

The work, as a whole, is not without praiseworthy characteristics. Good judgment has been shown in the arrangement and adjustment of material, and the proper proportion of space has usually been devoted to the different subjects and parts. In many cases, also, a fair summary of the strongest arguments on different sides of certain critical problems has been given, and in every instance the author sets clearly forth his own personal conclusions. In the first half of his volume he has dropped the more technical discussions into extended footnotes. He gives a clear history of criticism; and at the close of the volume has added a valuable chronological table, in which he synchronizes the principal events of sacred and profane history down to the time of Christ. The appended bibliography (compiled by Adolf Zahn) is to be commended, also, because in it the most important works on *both* sides are collated—a thing not always done; *e. g.*, Driver, in his *Introduction*, sixth edition (1897), it will be remembered, omits to mention Green's *Unity of Genesis* (1895), though by far the most important monograph on that book which has appeared in recent times. Brief indexes bring the work to completion. These are only a few of the virtues of Rupprecht's work.

On the other hand, it must be said that his introduction is not what most conservatives would have desired. He is too harsh at times against those who dissect the Scriptures, not hesitating even to pronounce them "enemies of the cross of Christ" (p. vi). He starts with "tradition" (p. 41), and, unfortunately, ends where tradition leaves off. His point of view is that of half a century ago. He looks backward rather than forward. He has evidently learned nothing since he left the university. Even Delitzsch's riper views he rejects in favor of those taught by him when a young man in 1856—his error being, as Rupprecht thinks, an error of the head rather than of the heart (p. xv).

He rejoices that at least three of the ablest Assyriologists—Sayce, Hommel, and Halévy—stand opposed to the theory of Wellhausen (p. xviii).

The following are some of Dr. Rupprecht's views: First of all, he believes that the history in Genesis is continuous and free from gaps. He argues that because Adam lived with Lamech, Noah's father, and because Shem was contemporaneous with Abraham, therefore the record is complete and trustworthy (p. 13). On the authority of an archæologist, Nikolos Howard, Adam was created 4220 B. C., the flood happened 2564 B. C., and Abraham was born 2212 B. C. To which he adds that the chronology of the Bible is to him as sacred as the history itself (p. 469). The sources used by Moses in composing the Pentateuch were for Genesis, chaps. 1-11, probably oral, but from Abraham on, written (p. 91). The alleged contradictions are empty imagination (p. 168). The value of counting the occurrence of words is *nil* (p. 180). The book of Joshua was written soon after Joshua's own period, but before Samuel's (p. 192); Judges, before the time of Eli (p. 195); the books of Samuel, soon after the division of the kingdom, and by a Judean (p. 207); the books of Kings, in the second half of the exile (p. 212).

The prophets wrote the books ascribed to them in every case. Their order chronologically is: Joel, Obadiah, Jonah, Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi. The book of Daniel is placed among the *Kethubim* because he did not possess the prophetic office (p. 217). Hosea's active ministry continued sixty-five years (p. 255), Joel's thirty years (p. 257). The hypothesis of an original earlier prophecy underlying the book of Obadiah is "worthless fancy, born of a desire to beget something critically new" (p. 263). Jonah is actual history. Zechariah is a unit.

The titles to the Psalms are as old as the psalms themselves and by the authors themselves (p. 296). Elihu furnishes the human solution of Job's enigma (p. 334). The book of Job was probably written in the period of Solomon (p. 337). The Song of Songs is not a drama, but a lyric dialogue composed by Solomon himself (pp. 291, 346), which must be interpreted allegorically as typical of Christ's love for his church (p. 349). Our author's interpretation of Koheleth is novel and altogether unique. He says: "As the Song of Songs is *das Liebesbuch* of the youth Solomon, and Proverbs *das Lebensbuch* of the maturer man, so the book of Ecclesiastes is *das Totenbuch*, or death-song, of the aged Solomon" (p. 385)—perhaps a sign of Solomon's penitence.

Fifty-three pages are devoted by Dr. Rupprecht to his interpretation of Songs and Koheleth. The books of Chronicles and Esther he treats as trustworthy history (p. 426).

In the second portion of his work he discusses general introduction, giving a brief sketch of the history of the canon and text, but depending almost wholly for his information upon the notes taken in Delitzsch's class-room in 1856 (p. 472). Accordingly his treatment of both subjects is of only secondary value—indeed, is too brief to be of any special help to the student; and, unfortunately, in the bibliography of Zahn, at the close of the volume, no works on the subjects of canon and text are recommended.

The general form and make-up of the work, however, are good. The author's style is somewhat antique, yet pleasant and easy to read, excepting an occasional sentence 164 or 115 words in length (*cf.* pp. 136–8). There are few mistakes in orthography, aside from foreign proper names. The chief weakness of the book lies in the author's almost total dependence upon others, and his prejudice against all that is new. But perhaps this is to be condoned in a pastor who is over sixty years of age. Certainly, to those who are not wholly satisfied with the teachings and theories of the Wellhausen school Dr. Rupprecht's work will be not altogether an unwelcome resurrection of the traditional views.

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JESAJA UND SEINE ZEIT, dargestellt von J. MEINHOLD, a. o. Professor der Theologie in Bonn. Freiburg i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1898. Pp. iii + 46. M. 1.

DIE JESAJAERZÄHLUNGEN, JESAJA 36–39. Eine historisch-kritische Untersuchung. Von LIC. J. MEINHOLD, a. o. Professor der Theologie in Bonn. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1898. Pp. iv + 104. M. 3.

THESE two contributions to the study of Isaiah offer some new and attractive material for the elucidation of the prophet's life and writings. The former is a popular lecture clearly and thoroughly presenting the historical conditions in which Isaiah's work was done and the development of his thought in these conditions. According to Meinhold, Isaiah was from the first a prophet of Yahweh's judgment, like

Amos and Hosea. But he rejects the current hypothesis, for which Hackmann stands, that denies to Isaiah any final prospect of Judah's deliverance, any Messianic hope. Indeed, that view sustains itself only by the denial of the Isaianic authorship of the oracles of comfort—which is too simple and easy a method of argument. Meinhold finds three changes in the attitude of Isaiah: (1) in his endeavor to save Judah by appealing to Ahaz and the court; (2) in his return to the preaching of judgment without mercy owing to Judah's obduracy in Sargon's time; (3) in his oracles of deliverance uttered at the time of Sennacherib's invasion. Meinhold would break the force of Hackmann's arguments from Isa., chaps. 28–32, by dating these chapters in the Sargon period rather than in the time of Sennacherib.

In his second pamphlet he subjects the parallel passages, Isa., chaps. 36–39, and 2 Kings, chaps. 18–20, to a very careful analysis. He furnishes a revised text, critical notes, and an extended discussion of each section, including the Assyrian account of the Sennacherib campaign. His results may be summarized as follows: Isa., chaps. 38 and 39, belong together and were written previous to the final redaction of Kings. They form a prophetic wonder-story of Isaiah. Isa. 37: 9<sup>b</sup>–36 is the work of the final redactor, and is largely legend. As Meinhold regards this redaction as belonging to the late exile, he points out that the oracles assigned to Isaiah in this passage are evidence of what Isaiah was at this time believed to have taught. Hence he builds up an argument against the views of Hackmann and Cheyne referred to above. It is a clever piece of work. Isa. 36: 2–37: 9<sup>a</sup> is from the hand of a deuteronomic writer, but earlier and more historical than the following narrative. He would regard these events as following those with which the Assyrian account closes. Isa. 36: 1 with 2 Kings 18: 14–16 is the parallel of the Assyrian account, and the most historical.

Both these brochures illustrate the unsettled state of the criticism of the prophetic books. It is evident that many critics have gone too far, and their conclusions will not stand the test of more thorough examination.

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A CRITICAL AND EXEGETICAL COMMENTARY ON THE BOOKS OF SAMUEL. By HENRY PRESERVED SMITH, PH.D., D.D., Professor of Biblical History and Interpretation in Amherst College. ("The International Critical Commentary.") New York; Charles Scribner's Sons, 1899. Pp. xxxix + 421. \$3, *net*.

IN examining this commentary we have been struck, first, with its excellence. It exhibits the same fine scholarship as the others of this series, and stands easily the best English commentary upon the books of Samuel. We have admired, secondly, the independent judgment of the author. He has evidently carefully thought over the problems of his work and adopted his own conclusions without necessarily following in the track of such eminent scholars as Budde, Driver, Kittel, and Wellhausen, who have traversed much of the material before him. He is, however, in thorough harmony with modern critical scholarship in respect to the general literary composition and historical value of 1 and 2 Samuel. Two main sources are held to underlie these two books. These sources are clearly evident from the different positions assigned to Samuel, from the different views given in respect to the desire of Israel for a king, from the double narratives of the choice of Saul as king and of David's introduction to Saul, and also from other particulars. The earlier of these sources Professor Smith holds to have been written soon after the death of Solomon, and to furnish a brief life of Saul (1 Sam., chaps. 9-10: 16; 11, 13, 14), an account of David at the court of Saul (1 Sam. 16: 14-23; 18: 6-13, 20-29*a*; 19: 11-17), David's flight and life as an outlaw (1 Sam. 21: 2-10; 22; 23: 1-14; 25-27; 29; 30), the death of Saul (1 Sam., chap. 31), and David's reign (2 Sam., chaps. 2-4; 7 [?]; 9-20; 1 Kings, chaps. 1-2). The second source is regarded as coming from "a writer with a theocratic bias dissatisfied with the comparatively worldly view of David presented in the history just defined, and also with its lack of serious condemnation of Saul." Hence this author, who lived at "a comparatively late date—perhaps in or after the exile"—rewrote the history. His work included an account of the personality and activity of Samuel (1 Sam., chaps. 1-8; 10: 17-25; 12; 15), the early life of David and his relation to Saul (1 Sam. 16: 1-13; 17, in some form; 18: 1-5, 14-19, 30; 19: 1-10, 18-24; 21: 11-16; 22: 3-5; 23: 19-24: 26; 28; 2 Sam., chap. 1), and a summary of David's reign, with the Messianic promise (2 Sam., chap. 7). Neither of these two works must we consider as entirely preserved in the section mentioned.<sup>1</sup> These two main sources were

<sup>1</sup> We have followed Professor Smith in giving the above outline. We are at a

united into one history, giving us substantially our present books of Samuel. In this theory Professor Smith differs from Budde, Cornill, and others, in *not* identifying these underlying histories with the documents of the Hexateuch known as J and E. "Repeated examination," he says, "of the points of resemblance has failed to convince me of the identity which is claimed."

In a commentary the question is doubtless often an open one in regard to the exact kind of information which it should furnish. For ourselves, we like to know, not only the possible interpretations and renderings which may be given to passages, but also how representative scholars stand in regard to them. This and other similar information, which frequently can be introduced by the insertion of a few abbreviations, we do not think Professor Smith has given with sufficient fulness. We illustrate with a few examples selected almost at random. On 1 Sam. 1:5 no explanation is given of "double portion," A. V. and R. V.;<sup>2</sup> no indication, also, that Driver, Wellhausen, and Stade follow the Septuagint rendering of this verse given in the margin of the R. V., but which Professor Smith condemns as awkward. In the same verse, for the explanation of צִרָה "co-wife," the reference is to Lagarde's *Mittheilungen*, with no mention of the far more accessible work of Driver on *The Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel*, where a page is devoted to the discussion of the word. On the question whether the Septuagint text of 1 Sam. 17:1—18:5 is a recension of the Massoretic text or has arisen from another original text, only Wellhausen is mentioned as favoring the former view, although agreeing with him are such authorities as Kuenen and Budde. We look in vain also for Budde's emendation of 1 Sam. 17:12. The view of Budde that we have a double narrative woven together in 2 Sam. 1:1—16 is rejected, but we are not informed that this view is indorsed by Cornill and Kittel, and that the reason for it is supposed to rest in the requirement of 2 Sam. 4:10. Perhaps it is too much to ask for all of these particulars. Some, indeed, prefer that a commentator should simply give his own views, with little regard to those of others.

An important feature of a critical commentary upon 1 and 2 Samuel is necessarily the treatment of the Hebrew text, which has suffered loss, however, to account for the assignment of 2 Sam., chap. 7, to the earlier source. We wish, also, that he had indicated in his final summary the place of 2 Sam., chaps. 5, 6, 8, 21—24.

<sup>2</sup> An obsolete rendering, it is true, and yet, from its retention in the R. V., worthy of explanation.



many corruptions. Here Professor Smith has made diligent and judicious use of the results of others and added his own most creditable suggestions for the solution of textual problems. This is a marked and impressive part of his work.

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**JERUSALEM THE HOLY.** A Brief History of Ancient Jerusalem ; with an Account of the Modern City and its Conditions Political, Religious, and Social. By EDWIN SHERMAN WALLACE, late United States Consul for Palestine. With fifteen Illustrations from Photographs and four Maps. New York, Chicago, Toronto: The Fleming H. Revell Co., 1898. Pp. 359. \$1.50.

This is a well-made book of 359 pages, with fifteen clearly printed and attractive photograph illustrations, and four maps. These maps, reprinted by permission from Mr. Townsend MacCoun's *The Holy Land in Geography and History*, are fairly adequate; but one full-page map of the modern city and its environs would have been worth them all.

The three historical chapters on "The City of the Canaanites," "The City of David and Solomon," and "Jerusalem as Christ Saw It" are mediocre compilations, padded with common-place moralizing and trite religious reflections. But when in chap. iv, "The City as it is To-Day," Mr. Wallace begins to use the results of personal observation and inquiry during the five years of his consulate, his matter is much more interesting and important. The reader gets information that should be trustworthy of the topography of Jerusalem, its walls and gates, its streets and markets, its water supply and climate. The religious life and activity of the city are well presented in chapters on "The Jews," "The Moslems," "The Christians," and a useful summary is furnished of various missionary enterprises carried on in Jerusalem.

Mr. Wallace's account of the excavations and their results is disappointingly meager. The subject is dismissed in fifteen pages, closing with a recommendation to the reader to consult the quarterly reports of the Palestine Exploration Fund. He discusses at some length, however, the question of the site of the holy sepulcher in the chapter infelicitously entitled "The New or Gordon's Calvary," which is accompanied by two very good photographs. Major Conder and Dr.

Selah Merrill are cited along with General Gordon as advocates of the claims of the "new Calvary;" and to this company Mr. Wallace professes himself to belong. "Certainly, of all the sites advocated, this hill just north of the Damascus gate," he says, "offers the most convincing evidence of its identity as the true place of the crucifixion. In fact, there is no argument against it."

It remains to be said that as regards the future of Jerusalem Mr. Wallace is distinctly an optimist. He finds the climate in summer preferable to that of the majority of places in the temperate zone. With its altitude, dry air, and proximity to the sea and the mountains, it may even be regarded as a summer resort. The rainfall is increasing year by year, and good government and skilled cultivation of land now regarded as hopelessly barren may yet make Jerusalem "the center of an agricultural district that could compete with other countries in the great world-market."

These optimistic conclusions are warranted less by observation than by prophecy, in the interpretation of which Mr. Wallace is a thorough-going and uncompromising literalist. The millennial future of Jerusalem he finds "described in many pages of the Inspired Word." "The only legitimate interpretation of the various allusions to that future city is the natural one, *i. e.*, to take just what is there said as it is said and attempt neither to add to nor detract from the statements." But one need not accept the ex-consul's exegesis of prophecy to join cordially with him in his prayer for the prosperity and peace of Jerusalem, and in the hope that this revered and venerable city may speedily be delivered from the stupid misrule of the Turk and permitted to render up her buried treasure to a waiting Christian world.

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DER VORCHRISTLICHE JÜDISCHE GNOSTICISMUS. Von M. FRIEDLÄNDER. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1898. Pp. x + 123. M. 3.

In his book on Judaism in the pre-Christian Greek world, published two years ago, Friedländer defended the thesis that there was in the Judaism of that period an antinomistic and universalistic party, opposed to the party that was faithful to the law and to the nation. At that time his view found little approval. In the present work he returns to his former contention, which he thinks he can now substantiate with better reasons.

And really it might be inferred from the passages in Philo's writing, *De migr. Abr.* (Mangey, I, 450), on which Friedländer builds, that there was a Jewish party which not only explained the command regarding the sabbath and circumcision in an allegorical way, but rejected it altogether. On the other side, also, it is true that the oldest Gnostics that we know were antinomists, and probably of Jewish origin. But can we discover traces of them in Philo and the Talmud? It is just here that my uncertainty concerning Friedländer's line of argument, much of which can be certainly proved untenable, begins. Does anything in Philo's writing, *De poster. Caini* (Mangey, I, 22 ff.) point to the sect of the Cainites, or in the epistle to the Hebrews to the Melchizedekites? Nor can the "Minim" of the Talmud be invariably either the Jewish Christians or the Ophites. Rather must we understand that name to refer to unbelievers in general. That finally the "Gilonim" (Sabbath, 116a), whom no man must rescue from burning, are the Ophites is far from being proved. The cosmological speculations, moreover, which we meet so often are not connected with the antinomistic tendencies of the "Minim."

And yet the book is not without significance. It has not only proved the existence of an antinomistic tendency in the Judaism of the dispersion, but has also made the Jewish origin of the older Gnosticism considerably more probable than it was before. Then, too, we gain valuable information from it concerning many other points—only not concerning the history of primitive Christianity. Friedländer regards the whole primitive Christian community as strictly legalistic; and, strangely enough, derives the anti-legalism of the Pauline epistles, whose genuineness he apparently denies, from the Alexandrian radicalism. This is such a total misapprehension of Paulinism that we do not know where to begin to refute it if we would.

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CODEx BEZÆ CANTABRIGIENSIS, Quattuor Evangelia et Actus Apostolorum complectens Graece et Latine. Sumptibus Academiae photypice repraesentatus. Cantabrigiae, MDCCCXCIX; Folio. Tomus prior, pp. viii + foll. 1-175*b*; tomus posterior, pp. iv + foll. 177-510. £15.

EVANGELIUM SECUNDUM LUCAM, sive Lucae ad Theophilum Liber Prior. Secundum formam quae videtur Romanam edidit FRIDERICUS BLASS. Lipsiae: in Sedibus B. G. Teubneri, MDCCCXCVII. Pp. lxxxiv + 120. M. 4.

DER CODEx D IN DER APOSTELGESCHICHTE. Textkritische Untersuchung. Von DR. BERNHARD WEISS.<sup>1</sup> Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1897. Pp. iv + 112. M. 3.50.

IN the publication in facsimile of the whole of Codex Bezae a great and timely service has been rendered to New Testament textual study. The actual evidence of the manuscript down to the mutilations of the margin at the hands of its annotators is now for the first time brought within the reach of scholars in every part of the world, in a facsimile edition which may safely be said to be unsurpassed. The facsimile of Codex Bezae is certainly the most sumptuous and beautiful reproduction of a New Testament manuscript that has yet appeared.

Since the use made of the manuscript in the sixteenth century by Theodore Beza himself, there have been two efforts to publish its evidence. An edition by Thomas Kipling appeared in 1793. It was this which Credner used (1832) in his work on the Codex Bezae. Scrivener's edition of 1864 has, until the appearance of this facsimile edition, constituted for most scholars the least distorted presentation accessible of the manuscript's evidence.

The form and contents of this great manuscript are familiar. The conspicuous witness for the Western text, it contains a Latin text side by side with the Greek. The order of books is Matthew, John, Luke, Mark, Acts; but before the last stands the closing page of 3 John. In the facsimile the first volume carries us through John 20:1-13, the second beginning with the Latin of the same passage. The publishers have confined themselves to giving a brief preface, recognizing the labors of the great editors and students of the manuscript, among them

<sup>1</sup> *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*. Herausgegeben von OSCAR VON GEBHARDT und ADOLF HARNACK. Neue Folge, Band II, No. 1.

Scrivener, Hort, Harris, and Blass. At the foot of each page the chapter and verses it deals with are indicated. There is prefixed to the work a list of subscribers, from which it appears that a reasonable number of copies is to find its way to America.

The publication of this facsimile edition is suggestive of the increasing recognition of the importance of Codex Bezae which has marked the last ten years, and justifies a brief review of recent opinion on its significance. Professor J. Rendel Harris published in 1891 *A Study of Codex Bezae*,<sup>2</sup> in which he supported its traditional Gallican origin, and sought to explain many of the peculiarities of the Greek text by the theory of retranslation from the Latin. In 1892 Alfred Resch, in touching the same problem, recalled attention to the view advanced by Credner sixty years earlier. Credner held that the text represented by D developed among Jewish Christians, whose early indifference to the New Testament canonical Scriptures made extensive corruption of the text natural.<sup>3</sup> Increasing Catholic influence led to the stichometric arrangement and the introduction of the lectionary and other signs into the margin about the year 500. Codex Bezae itself was written in the seventh century for an oriental Christian settling in southern Gaul, who himself made the Latin translation. This view is important chiefly for its revival by Resch,<sup>4</sup> who, however, explains the early corruptions in the text as due to independent translation from an original Hebrew gospel, D's archetype representing the original form of our gospel canon. Resch pushes the Latin translation back to 500 A. D. on account of the influence which Harris had shown the Latin text to have exerted upon the Greek.

In 1892 Corssen<sup>5</sup> pronounced the Bezan text composite, an original Western text, which he found in the fragments of the Fleury palimpsest and the quotations of Cyprian, having been mixed with the common text. In this will be seen substantially the starting-point of Professor Blass.

The problem was next approached from a strictly archæological side by Professor W. M. Ramsay.<sup>6</sup> Professor Ramsay found the Bezan text, not indeed Lucan, but possessed of a high value, reflecting the

<sup>2</sup> *Texts and Studies*, Vol. II, No. 1. Cambridge, 1893.

<sup>3</sup> *Beiträge zur Einleitung in die biblischen Schriften*, Vol. I. Halle, 1832.

<sup>4</sup> *Aussercanonische Paralleltexte*. Leipzig, 1892.

<sup>5</sup> *Der cyprianische Text der Acta Apostolorum*. Berlin, 1892.

<sup>6</sup> *The Church in the Roman Empire before A. D. 170*. London, 1893. *St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen*. London, 1895.

interpretation of many passages about 130 A. D., and even adding several items of historical importance. He recognized in the Bezan reviser an Antiochian (Acts 11:28, Bezan text) and credited him with many skilful changes in matters relating to Asia Minor.

In 1893 Mr. Chase advanced the view that the Bezan text of Acts was due to retranslation from Syriac rather than from Latin, and that it had its origin in Antioch.<sup>7</sup> As no Old Syriac text of Acts has come down to us, however, the proof or disproof of this theory was, to say the least, very difficult. Professor Harris in 1894 discussed this and other theories then current in a volume of lectures.<sup>8</sup> In these he slightly modified his view of 1891, somewhat reducing his estimate of the part played by Latinization. In 1895 Mr. Chase applied his theory of Old Syriac influence to the Bezan text of the gospels, maintaining its origin in Antioch about 180 A. D.<sup>9</sup>

The views of Professor Blass are characteristically ingenious, striking, and subversive. Luke, a man of Antioch, coming to Palestine with Paul in 54 A. D., and finding the apostles already scattered, saw the need of a good written gospel, and composed one. Going with Paul to Rome in 57, he reissued his gospel in a Western—"Roman"—edition, and wrote Acts, which was in turn afterward reissued in an Eastern—"Antiochian"—edition. Of the two forms of the gospel the Antiochian is thus the earlier; of the Acts, the Roman. This is beautiful, but seems to leave the origin of the Western text of Matthew, Mark, and John in deeper darkness than ever. These are matters of Professor Blass' preface. His chief task is the reconstruction of the Western text of Acts. In this work his great authority is Codex Bezae, which he supplements with some readings of  $\aleph$  and X and of a number of cursives, the Ferrar group among them. Of the versions, the testimony of the Old Latin, the Old Syriac, the Sahidic, and the Gothic is used.

Professor Weiss' book appeals less strongly to the imagination. His undertaking it was partly occasioned by Professor Blass' earlier publications on the Western text of Luke.<sup>10</sup> The author sets out with no theory, but, confining himself to Codex Bezae, undertakes the sober

<sup>7</sup> *The Old Syriac Element in the Text of Codex Bezae*. London, 1893.

<sup>8</sup> *Four Lectures on the Western Text of the New Testament*. Cambridge, 1894.

<sup>9</sup> *The Syro-Latin Text of the Gospels*. London, 1895.

<sup>10</sup> See *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 1894, No 1. *Acta Apostolorum*, edit. philol. Göttingen, 1895. *Acta Apostolorum secundum formam quae videtur Romanam*. Lipsiae, 1896.

task of arranging its readings, and weighing them, with reference to their supposed priority. The main conclusions may be briefly summarized. While recognizing the great antiquity of some of D's characteristic readings, some of which go back to a time prior to the recognition of Acts as canonical, Professor Weiss declines to admit the claim that its text is older than that of the other great uncials, or the scientific legitimacy of undertaking to restore an independent Western text. He thus reaffirms what may be called the conservative position.

The study of the Western text thus vigorously prosecuted during recent years shows no signs of diminution. Professor Hilgenfeld's edition of the Greek and Latin text of Acts is one of its most recent monuments; and in a late issue of *Texts and Studies* Mr. Burkitt has declared his belief that "the earliest 'Western' readings will be found no whit inferior to those of Codex B." The eyes of the text-critical world are on the Cambridge codex, and its appearance in facsimile is thus singularly opportune.

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SYNONYMIK DES NEUTESTAMENTLICHEN GRIECHISCH. VON GERHARD HEINE. Leipzig: E. Haberland, 1898. Pp. xxiv + 222. M. 4.

THIS book is evidently the result of much labor. In its preparation the author has made faithful use of the standard works on synonyms by Döderlein, Tittmann, Pillon, Schmidt, Trench; the lexicons of Wahl, Grimm, Cremer; the grammars alike of classical and of New Testament Greek; the revised translation of Luther, and the translation by Weizsäcker, together with Bengel's *Gnomon*. His resources would have been materially augmented by an acquaintance with the more scholarly English commentaries, like those of Lightfoot, Westcott, Sanday, Plummer, and others; as well as by the *Bibelstudien* of Professor Deissmann.

After enlarging on the importance of the study of words, and stating the province and function of synonymic, in a section which, in spite of a somewhat lofty pedagogical tone, is rendered interesting by many well-chosen quotations from other writers on the subject and by apt illustrations, the author takes up his task in earnest by classifying

"P. M. BARNARD, *Clement of Alexandria's Biblical Text*. With a preface by F. C. Burkitt.

the New Testament vocabulary in two chapters, first according to etymology and then according to signification. The former of these chapters, in which the words are grouped according to their derivation and composition, must prove instructive to younger students (for whom, indeed, the book is confessedly designed; see pp. v, 4, 5, 6, etc.), since it exhibits in detail the effect on a given stem of the various endings and prefixes. It will accordingly furnish a substantial help in the wholesome task of retranslating a passage from the vernacular into New Testament Greek.

The second chapter, however, which comprises nearly three-quarters of the volume, is the one in which the words are discriminated according to their inherent significations, and to which accordingly the student of synonyms will naturally have recourse. In it the words are grouped according to external relations or logical categories in sixteen sections, which in turn are subdivided into numbered paragraphs, which paragraphs (to say nothing of their lettered subdivisions) run up in three or four instances into the thirties. A partial transcript of the contents of one or two sections will give a better idea of the book's arrangement than can any mere description. Section xi is entitled "Miscellaneous Human Activities," and is devoted to "1. Going; 2. Departing; 3. Sending away; 4. Leaping; 5. Shaking off; 6. Footsteps; 7. Doing and making," and so on, closing with "34. Competitive Contests; 35. Delaying; 36. Burdening; 37. Tarrying and Continuing; 38. Withdrawing." Section xii has the caption "All Sorts of Human Conditions," and the paragraphs begin with "1. Existence; 2. Usage; 3. Acquisition," etc., and close with "30. Negatives; 31. Very; 32. Except; 33. Before; 34. *ἐν ὀνόματι*; 35. On behalf of."

The embarrassment occasioned by this anomalous scheme of grouping, the author flatters himself, is obviated by the full alphabetical "List of Words" which he has prefixed to the work. But, unfortunately, of the more than eighteen hundred words contained in this list nearly one-seventh are handled in two or more different places, some even in five; so that the reader is compelled to turn the pages to and fro before he can be sure that he is possessed of the author's views on a given term. The average German student must have more time and patience than his cis-Atlantic brother to be willing to search in from two to five different places for information which might have been given him at one opening of the book. This grave mistake in arrangement will certainly impair the work's usefulness. Moreover, the author's desire to make his book all-comprehensive (Preface, p. v)



has reduced it occasionally to the level of a mere vocabulary or word-book. It is surprising, too, that he has chosen to pay no attention to the different shades of meaning in which one and the same term is employed by different New Testament writers.

But injustice would be done if the impression were given that the book is without merit. On the contrary, the skill of the experienced teacher can be discerned on many a page. The definitions are terse, clear, and sharply marked. The frequent joint employment of Latin and German in stating them is helpful, and the occasional references to Hebrew correspondents, and to examples from the Septuagint, are pertinent. The class of students for whom the work is primarily intended may explain why in the case of many debatable, and especially doctrinal, terms (for example, ἀπέχει, γλώσσας λαλεῖν, ἐπερώτημα, ἐπιούσιος, ἰλαστήριον, λόγος, etc.) we are given diverse interpretations, or are referred to the "commentaries." The typography is distinct, handsome, and fairly accurate.

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KRITISCH-EXEGETISCHER KOMMENTAR ÜBER DAS NEUE TESTAMENT. Begründet von H. A. W. MEYER. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

ABTHEILUNG III. *Die Apostelgeschichte*. Von der 5. Auflage neu bearbeitet von DR. HANS HINRICH WENDT. 8. Auflage, 1899. Pp. iv + 427. Bound, M. 7.50.

THE book of Acts is the New Testament writing in the study of which an opportunity is given to compare history of an uncertain date and authorship with contemporary documents; that is to say, a book in which the critical question is of more importance than interpretation. The contemporary documents are the epistles of Paul, and secondarily the Apocalypse, the synoptical gospels, and the epistle of James. What the traditionalists deny is not the opportunity for such comparison, but that the comparison presents a critical problem, a difficulty. This difficulty is the evident existence of a controversy between Paul and the Twelve, which appears in the documents, and the reduction of this to an inconsequential and polite difference in the history. The problem presented is admitted by Wendt in general terms, and due acknowledgment is made of the discovery of the problem by Baur. Wendt finds the source of the difficulty (1) in a

conscious warping of the facts by the author, making it to a certain extent a *Tendenz*-book ; (2) in the use of original sources by the author, which he edits. Wendt combines these two in a general way, maintaining that the author's general purpose was historical, with only a slight infusion of coloring matter, and that the main peculiarities of the book are due to the use of documents. The author, in his opinion, was a Hellenistic Jew, of about 95 A. D., and he warped or colored the facts, not in the interest of Judaism, nor of Paulinism, nor of a reconciling of the two, but under the unconscious influence of the undoctinal universalism of his own times.

More particularly, the most obvious of the documentary sources is that containing the part in which the author speaks in the first person. The critical assumption is that the author is not a contemporary; and therefore parts purporting to come from an associate of Paul, unless they are pure fabrications, must be from a contemporary document. Moreover, Wendt finds connection between these parts and the other parts of the Pauline history, indicating a common source, and then, further, between these and the history of the establishment of Gentile Christianity as a distinct thing. The author of this chief source is presumably Luke, as this accounts for the association of the whole book with him. The rose-colored picture of the early Jerusalem church which precedes this comes, the writer thinks, more probably from oral than written tradition. The discourses all of them, and the miracles some of them, are invented by the author himself to fit the different situations, after the manner of Thucydides.

There are several obvious criticisms of this view. (1) It does not account for the doctrinal verisimilitude of the discourses in the early chapters in Acts. These fit into the historical situation in the Jerusalem church, not after the manner of an invention, but of a historical writing. They represent just the lapse into Jewish Messianism which is evidently the doctrinal key to the situation. (2) It does not account for the discrepancy between the history and the contemporary documents, and especially between the history of Paul's work and the Pauline epistles. In the one, Paul is the apostle to the Gentiles exclusively; in the other, he preaches to the Jews first, and to the Gentiles only after his rejection by the Jews. Then, in the history, he is pursued by a Judaizing party in the Jewish church, but is sustained by the church as a whole, and by the apostles. In the epistles the authority that pursues him, far from being an inconsequential party in the church, without any sanction of its leaders, is such that even Peter

quails before it. All this ignorance or misrepresentation of the situation is explained, forsooth, by assuming a document covering the whole Pauline history, written by an associate of Paul. (3) This leaves Peter unaccounted for, as well as Paul. It makes him a reformer before Paul, makes the admission of the Gentiles to an equality with the Jews to be his work before the appearance of Paul, and makes Paul's admission into the apostleship to be based on this anticipation of his universalism by Peter. Whereas the epistles, which are the only trustworthy sources for this history, make Peter's change of ideas to be due to Paul. That is, he was started in this direction by Paul, but the synoptics prove that it was Jesus himself who showed the leader of the Twelve the way back to the truth.

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THE FIRST EPISTLE OF ST. PETER, I. 1—II. 17 : The Greek Text with Introductory Lecture, Commentary and Additional Notes. By the late F. J. A. HORT, D.D., D.C.L., LL.D. London: Macmillan & Co.; New York: The Macmillan Co., 1898. Pp. xvi + 188. \$1.25.

THAT was a very noteworthy literary compact into which the three scholars, then comparatively young, Lightfoot, Hort, and Westcott, entered in 1860, for the production of a commentary on the New Testament, and the outcome of it has greatly enriched biblical scholarship. The commentaries of Lightfoot on Galatians, Philippians, Colossians, and Philemon, besides the posthumous volume of notes on the other Pauline letters, and the works of Westcott on the gospel and epistles of John and the epistle to the Hebrews, are all books to be profoundly grateful for. Remembering the monumental work of Hort on the text of the New Testament, no one can wish that he had withheld that in order to carry out his part of the compact on the commentary. Yet every New Testament student can but wish that he could have done both this and that, and that wish will certainly be intensified by the study of this volume. It is, of course, only a fragment. In place of an introduction to the epistle, such as Dr. Hort would doubtless have given if he had lived to complete his work, we have only an introductory lecture, scarcely more than a sketch of an introduction. From it, however, we learn that Dr. Hort accepted the epistle as unquestionably genuine, dated it in Rome about the

year 64, and found in it distinct evidence of the influence of Romans, Ephesians, and James. The commentary proper is not eminently readable, less so than Westcott's commentaries, much less so than Lightfoot's. The thoroughness of its examination of each word and phrase almost obscures the general current of thought—an effect still further increased by the absence of any translation or paraphrase, such as in Lightfoot lightens up the exposition—and will, we fear, render the book wearisome to any but the most earnest and thorough student of the epistle. Of the five characteristics of Hort as an interpreter which Bishop Westcott enumerates in his introductory essay those which are most manifest in this fragment are thoroughness, illustrated especially in the close lexicographical study of the noteworthy words and phrases, and the fact that his dominant interest in interpretation was not philological or historical, but theological. Both characteristics are well illustrated in the notes on 1:1, 2 (covering thirteen closely printed pages) and on 1:18, 19. Of any warping of the interpretation by the predominant theological interest there is, outside perhaps of a tendency too easily to assume that all writers of the New Testament use words in the same sense and express by them substantially the same thought, scarcely a trace. From the vice of less able interpreters Hort is saved by his independence of traditional views and his thoroughness of investigation.

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**THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS.** *The First Apology for Christianity: An Exegetical Study.* By ALEXANDER BALMAIN BRUCE, D.D., Professor of Apologetics and New Testament Exegesis in the Free Church College, Glasgow; Author of *The Kingdom of God*, etc., etc. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1899. Pp. x + 451. \$2.50.

**THE THEOLOGY OF THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS,** with a Critical Introduction. By GEORGE MILLIGAN, B.D. Minister of Caputh, Perthshire. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark; New York: Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons, 1899. Pp. xx + 233. \$2.25.

ALTHOUGH this book by the late Professor Bruce was published, in its present form, only a few months before his death, its contents were already known, all except the last chapter having appeared in *The Expositor*. The author defines his book as "an exegetical study." It

is, however, a contribution to New Testament theology rather than to exegesis. The epistle is discussed section by section, and certain important terms and clauses are interpreted with some fulness, but the main interest centers in what the author terms, in the title of the last chapter, "The Theological Import of the Epistle."

The volume illustrates admirably Dr. Bruce's well-known characteristics: his industry, his love of truth, his faith in the gospel and the freedom of that faith, and his ardent devotion to the intellectual and spiritual interests of the church. It must be admitted, too, that the author's limitations are also revealed. The discussions of critical questions, the exegesis, and the theological reflections do not always grasp the more profound and serious difficulties, and the style, while always clear, is sometimes repetitious or prolix.

Professor Bruce belonged to that large and increasing school of biblical scholars who make generous concessions to the present drift of historical criticism and philosophical and theological speculation, but who hold firmly to what they regard as the essentials of a Christian faith. This union of freedom and faith—perhaps we should say, of radicalism and conservatism—appears on almost every page. The author of the epistle was "a Hellenist, Jew by race, Greek in culture;" he had some acquaintance with "the evangelic tradition," probably in a written form; he had felt the influence, if not of Philo, at least of the Alexandrian philosophy; he used an imperfect translation of the Hebrew Scriptures, and his quotations do not always sustain the arguments based upon them; he was mistaken in his belief that the end of the world was near. Yet the epistle properly belongs to the canon of sacred Scripture, and the inspiration of its author is quite independent of his accurate knowledge or correct use of the Old Testament.

As to the dogmatic teaching of the epistle and the value of that teaching, Dr. Bruce feels himself under no bondage to traditional views, and yet he holds to the substance of traditional interpretation, upon the more weighty doctrines. The Son of God is a preëxistent person, "to all intents and purposes, not the highest of creatures, but absolutely divine." He has "for faith the religious value of God." At the same time the complete humanity of Jesus, with its limitations, is insisted upon; and these limitations seem to be attributed to the exalted and eternal Savior. Professor Bruce justly insists, however, that the purpose of the writer is "not to furnish, in a scholastic or speculative spirit, a definition of the Son's divinity," but to show "the fitness of the Son to be the full and final Revealer of God to men."

This book will be read with interest and profit by all who seek a better understanding of the remarkable epistle which it interprets. Yet one rises from its perusal repeating a sentence from its preface, which Dr. Bruce would doubtless apply to his own work as frankly as he has applied it to the work of other men: "The last word has not yet been spoken."

Mr. Milligan's book is a more systematic treatise upon the theology of the epistle to the Hebrews than Professor Bruce's, and, at the same time, in its excellent exegetical notes, it contains examples of more elaborate and careful exegesis. We wish that these notes had been increased, even if this had required the sacrifice of a part of the "Critical Introduction," which is of somewhat disproportionate length. In this introduction the author argues that the unknown writer addressed his epistle, in about the year 63 or 64 A. D., to a small circle of Jewish Christians residing, perhaps, at Rome, but distinct from the Roman church.

The theological doctrines which Mr. Milligan deduces from the epistle may be thus summarized: The preëxistent Son of God, who is "possessed of a true personality, in which the 'essence' of God finds perfect expression," but who "stands in a certain position of eternal subordination to him, voluntarily assumed" a "perfect human nature." In this state he passed through the experiences of other men. He was "the object of God's saving power." He perfected his faith through trials, and was thus prepared for his work. "He had the understanding and the will of the flesh, its thoughts and desires, its natural appetites and affections." As such he suffered and died. The epistle does not teach, however, that this death is vicarious or substitutionary, but representative. "As the foremost of the human race, he leads the way through death into the inheritance of eternal life." All the experiences of his human life, the sufferings and death, are "the preparation for the perfect discharge of his priestly office." It was not until his earthly life was ended that his high-priestly office began. The exalted Christ is the eternal high priest, continually offering a life, which has passed through death; for it is "not the death of Christ in itself, but the will and the love lying behind the death, that are acceptable to God."

There is much that is fresh and instructive in the discussion whose outline is thus briefly stated. The serious difficulty in the theological system thus expounded is in the effort to form any clear

\* Quoted with approval from Rev. Mr. Rendall.

conception of the relation of this subordinate, preëxistent Son to Him who, without limitation, is called God, and of the process by which this eternal person, without losing his identity, became man. This is an old perplexity, but it presses upon every generation for its answer. Mr. Milligan truly says: "Upon the manner of the Son's incarnation the author nowhere dwells." But the author was a thoughtful man, and it is reasonable to believe that he had in his own mind some consistent conception, which did not involve contradictions or impossibilities. Is it not the duty of one who expounds this epistle to seek to discover that conception? May not a more profound study of the epistle and a wider reading of earlier and contemporaneous literature discover a solution of the problem, whose clear exposition would add to the value of the last chapter, upon "The Present-Day Significance of the Epistle"?

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DAS PERSÖNLICHE CHRISTENTUM DER PAULINISCHEN GEMEINDEN  
NACH SEINER ENTSTEHUNG UNTERSUCHT. VON DR. JOHANNES  
MÜLLER. Erster Teil. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buch-  
handlung, 1898. Pp. v + 306. M. 6.

THE task which the author sets before himself is the discovery of the inner process of the Christianization of individuals in the apostolic age. This task he proposes to accomplish by the use of a strictly scientific inductive method. Such Christianization began to take place only with the day of Pentecost. As long as Jesus was with his disciples, much as they believed his words and loved him as a person, their attachment to him was not of the nature of an independent principle of life. Accordingly, for the proper study of the problem the facts given in the Pauline epistles, particularly 1 Thessalonians, 1 Corinthians, and Galatians, are the most helpful. Upon careful examination these facts yield the result that conversion to Christianity took place, not through the dissemination of a new religious teaching, but much rather through the powerful inworking of a divine influence on the hearts of men. Inasmuch as the change from unbelief to faith in Christ is uniformly attributed by Paul to the gospel, the author undertakes to show that the gospel, as received by Paul, was not the mere content of a divine message, but involved the very acts proclaimed in the message. The gospel has nothing to do with religious or ethical doctrines. It is

the declaration of a practical attitude on the part of God toward men. It includes God's determination to save men and his command of obedience. More in detail the gospel declares to men that God is the living and true God, as against the idols of heathenism; that sin is a universal fact in the human race; that it involves guilt in the individual; that Jesus is the Messiah, the Son of God; that his death and resurrection are the effectual means of restoration from sin to holiness and the removal of guilt; that Christ is the exalted Lord of believers; that they owe him allegiance, are bound to obey his word, repent from sin, and live holy lives; and, finally, that Christ is to appear again as a judge. This gospel Paul simply announced, not only not striving to clothe it in oratorical forms, but positively avoiding all the arts of persuasion, and depending on the content of the message for its effect. The gospel was thus a herald's message, a categorical statement, naked and bald, without accompanying argumentative processes or theoretical elaborations. The acceptance of this simple and pragmatic message was accompanied in the heart by a sure, complete, and all-embracing psychological revolution in the individual. The further progress of this revolution the author does not aim to trace. Incidentally he gives us to understand that it resulted in doctrinal and moral changes in the man, and thus doctrine arose as a consequence of conversion, and not conversion as a consequence of doctrinal instruction.

The author has made a very forcible case against the undue emphasis laid by Baur and his school on the intellectual element in the early preaching of Christianity. He has shown that the gospel as conceived by Paul was not what Professor Orr has called a "Christian view of God and the world." On the other hand, by excluding all intellectual elements from the Pauline idea of the gospel, the author has thrown himself into a net of contradictions from which he cannot extricate himself except by faulty exegesis.

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THE THEOLOGY OF THE NEW TESTAMENT. By GEORGE B. STEVENS, PH.D., D.D., Dwight Professor of Systematic Theology in Yale University. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1899. "The International Theological Library." Pp. xvi + 617. \$2.50.

THE matter which especially concerns the reviewer is Professor Stevens' conception of biblical theology as a science, his account of



the teaching of Jesus, and, though in less degree, his treatment of the apostolic history, of the epistle to the Hebrews, and of the Apocalypse.

As to his conception of biblical theology as a science, it must be said that he is generally in accord with the Germans. Occasionally, it is true, the systematic theologian is in evidence, and the author's interests are perhaps never quite those of the historian. Thus on p. 246 he distinctly declines to enter into the discussion of the relations of the catholic epistles to Paulinism, and two pages later (p. 248), after declaring (very properly) the impossibility of finding answers to the questions of introduction on these matters, defines the primary task of the biblical theologian as "not to trace the development of thought within the New Testament period (although every aid for so doing will be of great service to him), but to expound in systematic form the contents of the New Testament books. The doctrinal content of an epistle, for example, may be correctly and adequately exhibited, whatever view be held respecting its author or date. It makes no essential difference for our purpose whether the epistles of James and Peter are pre-Pauline or post-Pauline. What they teach must be depicted in substantially the same way, whether it be done in an earlier or a later portion of our work. Indeed, the mere chronological relations of books are of comparatively small importance for biblical theology. Of much greater moment is the logical order — the order which may be supposed to represent the development of religious ideas from the simple and elementary to their more elaborate and reasoned forms."

To this may it not be replied that the very essence of biblical theology is that it is a historical science? Does it not matter profoundly to the biblical theologian when the catholic epistles were written? If they were written after Paul, and (as Professor Stevens himself seems to hold as to 2 Peter) even later than the apostolic age, why should they be treated as (p. 257) "representing, at least approximately, the primitive apostolic teaching"? It would seem that this was an opinion to be acquired rather than assumed, for if the epistles are late, do not their contents represent, presumably at least, a late rather than a primitive form of Christian teaching? But it should be added that these criticisms are not upon the work of Professor Stevens as it stands, but upon his conception of the task of the biblical theologian. As regards that there will perhaps always be a difference of opinion. At the same time it is to be regretted that English and American scholars seem not as yet to have clearly recognized that the formulation of the teaching of individual books and authors is not a thing by itself, but

stands as a middle term, on the one side necessarily resting upon exhaustive philological study of terms (a task by no means complete or to be taken at second hand) and thorough exegesis of passages and books; and, on the other, leading the way to the crowning task of biblical theology, the reconstruction of the history of biblical thought in its genetic relationships and historical development.

Professor Stevens' earlier volumes had prepared us for careful, unhurried discussion of the doctrinal contents of each book, and the expectation is not disappointed. In his treatment of the teaching of Jesus as given in the synoptic gospels, however, we miss the recognition of the genetic relations of thought which is such an admirable characteristic of his treatment of the Pauline thought, and we could have wished a definition for the kingdom of God (p. 40). Yet one feels the reason for not meeting the wish, and can express the heartiest appreciation for the author's clear exposition of the content of the phrase. The discussion of the term "Son of Man" is full, and in general its conclusions deserve acceptance. They are (p. 51) that by the term Jesus denotes something peculiar to himself, viz., that he is the head and founder of the kingdom of God, and that (p. 53) it had a Messianic significance for himself and by usage for his disciples. In the discussion of the fatherhood of God and the sonship of man it seems to us Professor Stevens abandons exegesis when he holds (p. 72) that "in the thought of Jesus, God is the Father of all men," but that "men are not actually what they are ideally. The correlation between God's fatherhood and man's sonship should be perfect, but on account of sin it is not so." Absolutely true to Jesus, however, is the further sentence: "Jesus does not designate as sonship the kinship of nature which all men have with God, but reserves that term to express the closer spiritual relation which is constituted by faith and obedience." But, if so, why not use the figure throughout in the sense of Jesus? For the same is just as true of his use of the term "father."

As regards the fundamental questions as to the relation of Jesus to the law, as one would expect, Professor Stevens' position is generally satisfactory, though occasionally he seems to overstate (as on pp. 110, 111) the emphasis Jesus laid on commandment. The most disappointing discussion, perhaps, in the entire volume is that concerning Christ's attitude toward his own death. Formally it leaves little to desire, but, perhaps from its very completeness, perhaps from the general habit of not treating the thought of Jesus genetically, it fails to reach the heart of the matter. It is, in fact, difficult to see just the

position Professor Stevens occupies, and yet the solution of the difficulty lay in his own treatment of Son of Man and Son of God. Jesus believed that suffering and death, in so far as they were sent by the Father, should be gladly undergone by a Messiah whose office it was to set forth God's love and so found a kingdom of God composed of the sons of God. To receive suffering and death as coming from a loving Father is a part of the Messianic work of saving men from their sins.

Far more satisfactory is the treatment of the parousia, in which Professor Stevens makes criticism an admirable aid to exegesis.

We cannot trace the author farther in his treatment of Jesus. It will be enough to say that he has done his readers a great service in his insistence upon a thoroughly objective point of view, and the most critical of students, however much at places he may question conclusions, will admit the likelihood that he rather than the author is in the wrong. Above all are we in debt to Professor Stevens for his admirable contribution of caution and valor in the use of criticism.

As regards the other parts of the volume, it can be said that Professor Stevens has treated each book of the New Testament writings fully. Occasionally the reader is somewhat overwhelmed by the wealth of detailed discussion, and frequently one feels that footnotes might very well have been used to relieve the text. In his treatment of Hebrews the author is seen to good advantage, and even in the Apocalypse he succeeds in mingling critical hypotheses with a sort of constructive work few writers on the book have exhibited.

Altogether we welcome the work. Outside of special treatises it is the first considerable addition to the literature of the subject made by an English or American scholar, and we venture to believe it will prove a work of permanent influence and importance.

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UNTERSUCHUNGEN ZUR GESCHICHTE DER GRIECHISCHEN SPRACHE,  
von der Hellenistischen Zeit bis zum 10. Jahrhundert n.  
Chr. Von KARL DIETERICH. Mit einer Karte. Leipzig:  
B. G. Teubner, 1898. Pp. xxiv + 326. M. 10.

THIS elaborate study of the development of the Greek *κοινή*, on its way toward modern Greek, is published in connection with the invaluable *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* edited by Karl Krumbacher. Dieterich presents a great mass of facts, especially from the papyri, and he treats

the evidence in a very orderly and scientific manner. Perhaps one may question whether the evidence is abundant enough to make his careful tabular statements convincing; in many cases the abstraction of three or four isolated specimens, by interpreting them on a different principle, would make havoc of a whole statement. In this JOURNAL we may ignore the special purpose of the book, the earlier evolution of modern Greek, and restrict ourselves entirely to what is subsidiary, the light thrown upon forms occurring in the New Testament.

Here, of course, the first thought of the reviewer is a fervent wish that the book went on from phonology and morphology to syntax. The history of spellings and declensions and conjugations brings us only to the threshold of interest for Greek Testament grammar; and we touch on live questions only when the author (as in the relations of perfect and aorist) finds himself unable to deal with forms without illustrating syntax as well. Inferentially, we are interested in the evidence collected to prove that the first five centuries of our era were the most important formative period in the development of modern Greek. The New Testament is described as the first literary work in the popular dialect of the beginning of this period; and if a similar collection of evidence proved this doctrine true for the syntax also, we should have fresh material of no small weight for our grammatical exegesis.

Detailed comments on this book, necessarily limited by space considerations, may best be given mostly in the way of supplement; there are a large number of phenomena which might have been illustrated from the New Testament, and some where the omission is really unfortunate. P. 40: *Βερνείκη* is not a *Latin* word, and its occurrence in the N. T. antedates the inscription quoted. *Τίτλος* is also N. T.—P. 44: add *πείν* and *ταμείον* from N. T.—P. 79: under *α* for *αν* add *Ἀγούστον* as variant in Luke 2:1 (N C \*).—P. 85: for aspiration add the variants *ἐφ' ἐλπιδι* and *ἀφίδω* (Westcott-Hort, II, 143 f.).—P. 150: *αὐτοῦ τὰ σημεῖα*, etc. (John 6:2; 3:33; 4:47, etc.), is claimed as "offenbarer Ägypticismus."—Pp. 151 f.: the acc. in John 4:52 is, as Blass says,<sup>1</sup> quite classical.—Pp. 159, 165: add material in W.-H., II, 157 f.—Pp. 171 f.: add N. T. genitives in *-α* and *-ρης*. The name *Νύμφαν* (Col. 4:15) may be illustrated from *Δούλα* and *Παρθένα* given here; see also my note in *Expos. Times*, V, 66.—Pp. 184 f.: add N. T. occurrence of *ἀνὰ μέσον*, *ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν*, *ἀκμὴν*. Blass has strictures on this page. On *διὰ πάντα* for *δεῖ* cf. the N. T. *διὰ παντός*. For *ὥς ἂν* "as it were" cf. 2 Cor. 10:9.—

<sup>1</sup> See his rather severe review in *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, June 10, 1899.

P. 196 : the use of *ἴδιος* is of course *sub judice* in N. T. So also (p. 200) the alleged relative *τίς* ; and (p. 202) the use of *εἰς* for *τις*. It will not do to assume that these changes are *developed*.— P. 203 : *καθ' εἰς* is illustrated. It is interesting to note that *ἕτερος* is still retained dialectically, from which Dieterich's general argument leads us to infer that its fusion with *ἄλλος* was not complete in the *κοινή*.— P. 205 : fut. act. for mid., add exx. from N. T.— P. 207 : add *ἐνεστῶσαν* (1 Cor. 7: 26).<sup>2</sup>— P. 210 : *οἰκοδομημένος*, add the new logia (No. 7).— P. 217 : add *ἐτίθουν* 3 pl. (Acts 4 : 35).— P. 220 : *ἀφίωμεν* in Luke 11: 4 is hardly a mere variant with A B C D, etc., behind it. The imperf. is unnecessarily given as *ἤφα*; and the N. T. occurrence of *ἀφῶ* should have been noted.— P. 222 : imperf. *κάθου* is not provided for.— Pp. 223 f.: *ἡμεθα* has good warrant as a N. T. form — *NA B, ND, NB* speak for it severally in the *ll. cc.*— P. 225 : see Blass' criticism as to *ἐν*.— P. 229 : the converse of *-όω* to *-άω* comes in the (? Ionic) *ἡσσόομαι* (2 Cor. 12 : 13).— P. 234 : add *χύνω* (*χύνω*) for N. T.— P. 235 : the alleged fusion of aorist and perfect in N. T. cannot be discussed here, nor the "inexplicable alternation of imperfect and aorist in N. T." (p. 241).— P. 242 : there are probable exx. of *-σαν* 3 pl. in N. T.— P. 246 : note the statement that the periphrasis *ἵνα* c. conj., which ultimately took the place of the infin., cannot be quoted before the tenth century.

The above collection of points in which (with the New Testament specially in view) the author might enlarge his evidence will indicate to some extent the range of a work which we earnestly hope is only a first instalment of his industry.

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THE OXYRHYNCHUS LOGIA AND THE APOCRYPHAL GOSPELS. By  
REV. CHARLES TAYLOR, D.D., Master of St. John's College,  
Cambridge. Oxford : At the Clarendon Press, 1899. Pp.  
vi + 105. 2s. 6d., *net*.

DR. TAYLOR's essay is founded upon a lecture which he delivered at Mansfield College, Oxford, in the Easter term of 1898. His method is to discuss each logion separately, presenting such parallels to its language and idea as Jewish and early Christian literature afford, and quoting paragraphs which bear upon it from other critics and scholars.

<sup>2</sup> By the way, in what sense is *εἰσφέρτες* a participle?

A certain incoherence in literary form is thus produced, but this will be readily overlooked in view of the body of valuable material, ancient and modern, here brought to bear upon the Oxyrhynchus problem.

Dr. Taylor explains the present in λέγει as didactic, not historical. The absence of the article from Ἰησοῦς he does not discuss. Yet it is striking, and must be significant. He thinks the scribe should have written τοῦ κόσμου in Logion II, *i. e.*, "Except ye fast *from* the world," and cites telling parallels from Clement of Alexandria. He unites Logia III and IV, assuming but one line to have been lost at the foot of the verso. In V he accepts the shrewd conjecture of Professor Blass, and reads, "Wheresoever there be two, they are not godless; and where there is one only, I say, I am with him." The apocryphal gospels appear most prominently in the last pages of the essay, where parallels are given from the Evangelium Thomæ and others.

The author has no theory to maintain, and recognizes that where the evidence is inconclusive he does not have to conclude. But he says and cites much that is illuminating for the study of these logia. The book is without an index, which is especially unfortunate in view of the variety of writers, works, and topics dealt with.

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PAPIAS AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES. A Study of Religious Thought in the Second Century. By EDWARD H. HALL. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1899. Pp. 314. \$1.25.

THIS little volume is an attempt to give an account in popular form of the rise of traditional Christianity. It assumes that the first century is shrouded in quite a dense fog, and that only in the second is it possible to see the beliefs emerging distinctly which show us the processes by which historic Christianity finally took shape. The author modestly disclaims originality; but he is well versed in the researches of modern criticism, and cordially sympathizes with its most negative types. He uses Papias to introduce his readers to what he considers the process by which the gospels attained their present form and authority. He admits that the information thus obtained is quite vague and capable of several interpretations, but concludes that it is doubtful if Papias had our gospels, and that at any rate he did not regard any gospels as authoritative. The account of Papias is followed by brief accounts of the writings of Clement of Rome, Ignatius, Polycarp, pseudo-Barnabas,

Hermas, as well as of the "Didache" and "the Gospel of Peter." The object is to show that these writers did not recognize any authoritative gospels. This is followed by an account of two representative thinkers, Justin and Marcion. The chiliastic views of the second-century Christians are next described; then the line of theological speculators, beginning with Paul and including especially the chief Gnostics, while the concluding chapter on "The Mystic Gospel" describes the fourth gospel as an effort to idealize the person and teaching of Jesus.

The book is written with much skill. The author has a persuasive style, with a touch of irony in it, and succeeds in representing the whole historic process which he describes as so misty and vague that the average reader will probably feel that nothing very certain is known about the beginnings of Christianity. The book is, of course, open to serious criticism. It is strange that, if the earliest assured literary remains of Christianity were to be selected as the groundwork of the study, the epistles of Paul were not chosen instead of the fragments of Papias. It is unfortunate, too, that in discussing Papias the author does not give any account of what Papias' book was. The theory that he did not have at least some, if not all, of our gospels before him has been given up even by Professor Harnack (*Chronologie*, p. 663). The natural inference is that his *λόγια κυριακά*, of which he wrote expositions, were these gospels; and the usage of *λόγια* in the New Testament, Philo, and the early Fathers supports the inference that by this term were meant inspired books. On these *λόγια* Papias wrote interpretations, which he further illustrated by carefully collecting oral traditions. If so, our author's whole representation of the matter is wrong, and Papias really proves that in the first half of the second century our gospels were so generally accepted as the authoritative and divinely provided records of Christ's life and teaching that the bishop of Hierapolis was moved to write the first commentary upon them. This is but a sample of what we think the utterly misleading impression conveyed by Dr. Hall of the bearing of criticism on the origin of Christianity.

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DIE HEILIGE GRABESKIRCHE ZU JERUSALEM IN IHREM URSPRÜNGLICHEN ZUSTANDE. Von CARL MOMMERT. Mit 22 Abbildungen im Texte und 3 Kartenbeilagen. Leipzig: E. Haberland, 1898. Pp. viii + 256. M. 5.50.

THE author of this volume, who is a Catholic clergyman in Schweinitz, Germany, has made at least three different journeys to Jerusalem, and has spent several years in trying to solve an intricate problem. He has undertaken a difficult task, and there can be no doubt that he has done his work in a most painstaking and conscientious manner. During the century now closing quite an array of learned and, we may say, competent investigators, including historians, architects, archæologists, civil engineers, university and college professors, Catholic and Protestant clergymen, literary men, and at least one eminent physician, have undertaken to solve the same puzzles, so that Mommert's is not the first, but till now the last, in a series of patient efforts to reconstruct the plan and form, and to indicate the position, of the buildings that were erected between 330 and 340 A. D. on the site now occupied by the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

The subject is unique and special. A student may be proficient in Palestinean topography and archæology in general, and still know next to nothing about this. The writer of such a book must be in a large sense an expert, and must appeal to experts who are, in this line, taking Europe and America together, very few in number. Mommert's book will be found in a few libraries, and in the hands of a few persons who are specially interested in the subject, but the sale of it must be limited. His compensation for his labor will not be in the shape of money, but in the satisfaction that he has tried to clear up difficulties which had hitherto been unexplained. On p. 134 the author "hopes, from the present chaos of churches, cloisters, chapels, cells, dormitories, refectories, storerooms, rubbish and ruins of centuries, to restore the original plan of the ancient Basilica of Constantine. God grant it!" With unusual facilities in our hands for testing the work of Mommert, as well as every statement or theory that has ever been made or advanced respecting the Holy Sepulchre, we must say that God has not yet granted Mommert's pious wish. While fully recognizing the scholarly character of his work and the unusual pains he has taken with it, we must say that he leaves the question or the questions about where they were when he began to write. Perhaps no one could do better, simply because the question is, humanly speaking, hopelessly beyond the reach of patient investigation.



If one will open the map, the last in Mommert's book, he will be confronted by a labyrinth of buildings such as exists nowhere else on the face of the earth. The marvel is that any engineer had the courage to attempt to plan it to scale. Further, if one visits the spot itself, the labyrinth will be ten times more puzzling, intricate, and involved than it appears to be on paper, because probably not more than a quarter of the underground, up-stairs, hid-away, cell-like rooms are indicated in the plan. Add the number of times the buildings have been destroyed by fire or by conquerors who were hostile to Christianity, particularly Khalif Hakim in 1010 A. D., and the Persians and Jews in 614 A. D., also the number of times they have been reconstructed and rebuilt, and the inevitable changes that would result, and there is reason why Mommert, as a scholar, should apply the word "chaos" to this vast rubbish heap, every stone of which, however, he, as a devout Catholic, must venerate.

The interesting question as to the line of the second wall and its bearing on the Holy Sepulchre, the reasons which led to the selection of the present sites as the actual places of the crucifixion and burial of our Lord, the so-called "evidence" for the finding of the true cross, whether the high claims that are made for the Holy Sepulchre are valid or not—these and similar topics do not properly come within the scope of the present notice. On these matters it is well known that the world is divided, Roman Catholics and Greeks having devout faith in the traditions of their respective churches, while Protestants almost universally discard these traditions and hold an entirely different view as to these two most sacred places, the crucifixion and burial.

On the ground now occupied by the Holy Sepulchre there were erected by order of Constantine (as he himself was never in Jerusalem), at the date already indicated, at least two buildings, one over the supposed tomb of Christ and the other much farther to the east, and separate from it, called "The Basilica." The one over the tomb was a round structure, a roof supported by columns; the other was a long, rectangular edifice, composed largely of porticos and covered arcades, having at the east end a large open court surrounded by columns. On the east this court touched the main street, which was straight and lined on both sides with columns, and which ran entirely through the city from north to south. This edifice served as meeting place, market-place, promenade, lounging place, and every public purpose of that nature, and was in every way worthy of its royal builder, who wished to adorn a famous and ancient city of his empire. The other edifice also was

built with great elegance, but no amount of decoration could change its simple form. Constantine was a pagan converted to Christianity; in honoring its hero, Jesus of Nazareth, he would build according to what he knew of such structures in Greece and Rome; and as to the "Basilica," they do great injustice to history who attempt to read back into Constantine's mind their own churchly ideas or the churchly ideas of mediæval times. The above is our own view, not that of Mommert, who is bound to make a *vast church* instead of a "Basilica," and who, while he is to be commended for his exhaustive examination of authorities—of which there are few—shows a disparaging spirit of those who have labored in the same field, simply because he differs from them all, a statement exemplified by the unkind words which on pp. 23, 177, 183 he uses of our own Edward Robinson.

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NEGLECTED FACTORS IN THE STUDY OF THE EARLY PROGRESS OF CHRISTIANITY. By JAMES ORR, D.D., Professor of Church History in the United Presbyterian Theological College, Edinburgh. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 1899. Pp. 235. \$1.50.

THIS volume comprises three lectures originally written for the Mansfield summer school at Oxford, and later delivered at the theological seminary of Auburn, N. Y. They were published by request of the Auburn faculty, and their intrinsic value fully justifies the request.

It has become quite customary with recent writers, under the fascinating leadership of Edwin Hatch, supported by the magnetic aid of Harnack, to emphasize the influence of the institutions of the ancient heathen world, notably the influence of Greek thought and customs, upon the organization, rites, worship, and doctrine of the early church. Professor Orr insists that the obverse is also true; that Christianity exercised a powerful social, intellectual, and moral influence over the Græco-Roman world. He claims that before the rule of Constantine the number of Christians was much larger, that there were many more Christians among the higher classes, and that the influence of Christianity was much more potent and pervasive throughout the empire, than is generally supposed. Though these suggestions are not altogether new, their present revival is timely and pertinent,

especially when buttressed by an interesting array of facts which are stated in clear and convincing terms.

Gibbon estimated the Christians at the time of Constantine as at most one-twentieth of the entire population of the empire. Friedländer follows Gibbon's estimate. Victor Schultze and others have held that the Christians were about one-tenth, while Keim regarded them as embracing one-sixth, of all the subjects of the empire. In favor of the higher, rather than the lower, estimate Orr adduces the testimony of the catacombs, in their vast extent and millions of receptacles, as well as the early progress of Christianity, as shown by the New Testament, by heathen testimony, such as that of Pliny in reference to Bithynia, and by statements selected from early Christian literature.

In support of the proposition that there were numerous representatives of Christianity in the higher walks of life, the evidence of wealth shown by the ownership and by costly monuments of the catacombs is used; specific inscriptions bearing noble names are cited; the cases of Pomponia Græcinia, Flavius Clemens and Domitilla, Acilius, Glabrio, and others are considered; various references are given from the New Testament, and also from heathen and Christian writers of the second century; and finally the social position and superior ability of Christian teachers, such as Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, Cyprian, Origen, Dionysius of Alexandria, and Gregory Thaumaturgus, are urged.

It is shown that the New Testament and the numerous Christian apologies were addressed to virile minds, and must have been called forth by the expectation that these writings would find readers of superior intellectual ability. The silence of pagan writers concerning the Christian religion in the second and third centuries was not due to ignorance, but to a deliberate intention not to direct public notice to a movement which threatened to revolutionize long-established customs. The marked influence, success, and high order of Christian thought are manifest in the literary attacks upon Christianity as well as in the able apologies produced in its defense. Gnosticism is a proof of the commingling of Christian with oriental ideas, and of the union of both with neo-Platonism. By its very exaltation of knowledge Gnosticism could have been cultivated only by those of more than moderate attainments. If, says Orr, Gnosticism was, as Harnack claims, "on the one hand an acute Hellenizing—I should prefer to say orientalizing—of Christianity, it was not less, on the other, an acute Christianizing of Hellenic and oriental speculations."

If we add to these considerations the effect of Christianity on morals and legislation, credit the author with exceptional skill in the classification and use of his facts, and with a style clear and sparkling as the water of a mountain stream, it will be admitted that Professor Orr has, without dogmatism, ably defended the cautious and moderate statement of his thesis. He has also produced a book which, if less weighty than his *Christian View of God and the World*, or his monograph on *Ritschl and Ritschlianism*, will prove easier and more delightful to the majority of readers than either of those admirable works.

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KIRCHENGESCHICHTE DEUTSCHLANDS. VON DR. ALBERT HAUCK, Professor in Leipzig. Erster Theil: Bis zum Tode des Bonifatius. Zweite Auflage. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1898. Pp. ix+612. M. 12.

THE appearance of the first part of Hauck's "Church History of Germany" in a second edition (first edition in 1887) furnishes a suitable occasion for calling attention to this monumental work. Vol. II appeared in 1890 and is already out of print (a second edition is promised for 1900). Vol. III (1041 pages), bringing the work down to 1122, appeared in 1896. Dr. Hauck is otherwise known as the editor of the latter part of the second edition of the great *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche* and of the third edition of this work, now in course of publication.

The volume before us treats of Christianity in Germany from its first introduction, chiefly in the Arian form, to the death of Boniface, archbishop of Mainz (755 A. D.), who completed the Romanization and the ecclesiastical organization of a large part of Germany and died a martyr to his zeal for further conquests. The author gives, in accurate form, based upon a critical study of the sources, all the available information regarding the earliest efforts at the Christianization of the Germans. A large part of the volume, and by far the most important, is devoted to the work of the Anglo-Saxon missionaries in Germany and the Netherlands, beginning with Wilfred, archbishop of York, who had been banished from his diocese (678 A. D.), and on his return from Rome, where he had sought papal support, was driven by a storm upon the coast of Friesland. From this time onward the

Anglo-Saxon Catholics were filled with enthusiasm for the conversion to Roman Catholicism of the pagans and Iro-Scottish Christians of the continent. The work of Wictberct, Willibrord, Willibald, and especially of Wynfrith (Boniface) is exhaustively and entertainingly sketched. Incidentally much information is given regarding the Anglo-Saxon church and the Iro-Scottish church, of which Columban was the most important representative on the continent. Hauck has made it clear that the Iro-Scottish Christians of the sixth century were far from being so primitive in their conceptions as has sometimes been supposed. While they were strenuous in their rejection of papal and secular authority, their piety and their missionary zeal were of a distinctly ascetical type, and their monastic rules were as rigorous and as mechanical as those of the Catholics. Their Christianity was that of the fourth century rather than that of the first or second. The chief distinction between the Iro-Scottish and the Anglo-Saxon missionaries lay in the fact that the latter were slavishly devoted to papal absolutism, and made the subjugation to Rome of the populations among which they labored the principal object of their striving, while the former wrought with complete independence. Supported by the Frankish kings and the popes, and working in entire subservience to these powers, especially the latter, Boniface was able to accomplish a work in Germany of almost incredible magnitude.

Hauck's history is sure to be for a long time without a rival, and as a work of supreme merit it should be translated into English. Recently the Verdun prize, the highest distinction that can be bestowed upon a work on German history, was awarded to Dr. Hauck for this masterpiece.

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GESCHICHTE DER KREUZZÜGE IM UMRISSE. VON REINHOLD RÖHRICHT. Innsbruck: Wagner, 1898. Pp. iv + 273. M. 3.60.

We are told that Ranke was the first man who attempted to write a history of the world confined exclusively to the information to be had from a few reliable authors. His work shows how singularly small that information must have been, and how writers before and after his time who have composed large volumes upon such slender themes must have drawn from sources less reliable. Reinhold Röhricht in his *History of the Crusades in Outline* must have attempted something in the nature of Ranke's experiment. He has, as he confesses in the preface,

endeavored to let the people and events of a wonderful age speak for themselves without any commentary of his own, and has left the reader to create by the sympathy and interest aroused the milieu wherein the figures moved, trusting that the enjoyment would be only more complete by such self-activity. Within a very small compass, then, the book tells the history of these mighty events in the simplest, most condensed form. One after another the great migrations toward the East are described, in language evidently as close as possible to the wording of the original and true story. Particular attention is paid to the establishment of the kingdom of Jerusalem with its dependencies. The book is stocked with solid information, and will be worth studying by everyone who prefers the plain, substantial truth to a more adorned narrative.<sup>1</sup>

DER VIERTE KREUZZUG IM RAHMEN DER BEZIEHUNGEN DES ABENDLANDES ZU BYZANZ. VON WALTER NORDEN. Berlin: Behr, 1898. Pp. 108. M. 2.50.

DR. NORDEN'S book presents itself as a rather loosely written, but still readable, treatise upon the connection between the fourth crusade, the policy of the Staufen emperors, and the maritime republic of Venice. Dr. Norden tries to show that, although hatred of the Greeks was current among the crusaders since the experiences of the first crusade, the fourth crusade was, after all, no premeditated attack upon the Byzantine empire for the purpose of subduing it. Constantinople was, after all, a Christian city, and the Greeks were Christians, even if schismatics. The crusaders were led into the attack by the commercial plans of Venice and the presence of a "pretender" to the Greek throne (Alexius III.), who bargained for their assistance and gave great promises of close union in the future between the East and the West. Thus an honorable means was found of doing away with the grievances under which the crusaders had smarted from the very beginning. Only when the young emperor had been reestablished on his throne, and had refused to fulfil the heaviest of his obligations, namely, the

<sup>1</sup>A suggestion or two may perhaps be permitted. If, in a second edition, the events could be illustrated by means of maps, this truly admirable account would be increased in value for the public which it is trying to reach. Particularly the route taken by the first crusaders through Asia Minor, with all its side-expeditions, would thus be made immeasurably clearer. Again, if the many Mahommedan names with which the author is conversant and the reader is not were given on the map with their equivalent Greek or Roman names, further clearness would be gained. There is no index.

enforced submission of the Greek church to the Roman, and when the revolt of the Greeks in Constantinople had made matters still worse, did the crusaders take up a plan which had been entertained before, but abandoned—the plan, that is, of conquering East-Rome and doing away, once for all, with a power which they considered the chief barrier to a true success in the Holy Land. For in their opinion the treachery of the Greeks was the chief cause of the previous failures of the crusaders in Palestine and Syria.<sup>1</sup>

A. M. WERGELAND.

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PARISH PRIESTS AND THEIR PEOPLE IN THE MIDDLE AGES IN ENGLAND. By REV. EDWARD L. CUTTS, D.D., Author of *Turning Points in English Church History*, etc. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; New York: E. & J. B. Young & Co., 1898. Pp. xvii + 579. 7s. 6d.

THERE can hardly be a more worthy occupation than that of bringing the results of learned research within the reach of the general reader. In this way knowledge is diffused, the world grows wiser, and is lifted to a higher plane. But the requirements for such work are high and rigid, and not everyone can meet them. The writer must be a scholar, because no maker of popular literature can be excused if he misinforms the general reading public; he must, moreover, have the gift of literary style, because, in the first place, no one has a right to set an example of slovenliness in style before the people; and, in the second place, if he does, the punishment is likely to be swift, for people of good taste will not read his books. In a word, as someone has recently said, "he must know how to express the thoughts of the great in the words of the simple."

Mr. Cutts seems to us to meet these requirements in a very marked degree. He has written much, and his books have been widely read. The proof of the pudding is in the eating. His present book is fully up to his usual high standard. He is fortunate in his subject, because

<sup>1</sup>The author contradicts himself in some places, notably on p. 58, where he calls the successful attempt of Philip of Swabia to place in power his brother-in-law, Alexius III., a continuation of the forceful policy of Henry VI., whereas on p. 44 he has pointed out that Philip of Swabia really could not do much for his brother-in-law, having to leave it all to the Venetians and the crusaders, being himself amply occupied with securing his own throne in Germany. A few such discrepancies mar the book.

all English-speaking people must have a perennial interest in the history of the religious life and customs of the English during the Middle Ages. Scholars of late years have been very diligent in their researches in this field, and the result has been a great collection of valuable material, much of which has been brought together in the British Museum, where it was waiting for distribution among the people.

The author, in his thirty-two chapters, has touched and illuminated nearly every phase of mediæval English church life. It is not possible here to go into any of these chapters, but he begins, after an introduction, with the conversion of the English, and between that period and the fifteenth century he draws his pictures, supporting them with extensive quotations from the original sources.

His conjectures are always ingenious, and nearly always convincing. For example, on the intermediate state of things between the open-air station and the structural church he says: "We have before us the curious fact that usually the rector of a church is liable for the repair of the chancel and the people for the repair of the nave. This seems to point to the fact that the forerunner of the rector built the first chancel, and left the people to build the nave; and we suggest the following explanation: At first in the worship of these stations a temporary table was placed on trestles, and a 'portable altar' upon that, and so the holy mysteries were celebrated. But in rainy weather this was inconvenient and unseemly, and the rector of the parish provided a kind of little chapel for the protection of the altar and ministrant; indeed, there is an ancient foreign canon which requires rectors to do so. Then the parishioners, for their own shelter from the weather, built a nave on to the chancel, communicating with it by an arch through which the congregation could conveniently see and hear the service."

The value of the book is much enhanced by photographic reproductions of illuminations from manuscripts of various dates.

J. W. MONCRIEF.

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DIE REFORMATION UND GEGENREFORMATION IN DEN INNERÖSTERREICHISCHEN LÄNDERN IM XVI. JAHRHUNDERT. Von DR. JOHANN LOSERTH, Professor der Geschichte in Graz. Stuttgart: Verlag der J. G. Cotta'schen Buchhandlung Nachfolger, 1898. Pp. viii + 614. M. 12.

DR. LOSERTH has gained a world-wide reputation as a historical investigator and as a historiographer, through his long-continued researches in connection with the Wiclifite movement in England, the Hussite movement in Bohemia and Moravia, and the Anabaptist movement in Austria and its dependencies. For several years he has devoted a large part of his leisure to the editing of Wiclif's works for the Wiclif Society of England. The materials on the history of the Anabaptists of Austria, to the collection of which the late Dr. J. von Beck, the famous jurist, devoted many years of research and a large amount of money, came into Loserth's hands, and he has already published, on the basis of this thesaurus, several volumes of exceeding value, besides a number of articles in reviews and in the proceedings of historical societies. He has gathered and arranged the materials for a history of the Anabaptists of Austria; but other literary engagements, he informs the reviewer, that it will require ten years to fulfil, have compelled him to lay aside for the present this very important undertaking.

The present work, the author explains in his preface, is an outgrowth of several years' studies on the constitutional and administrative history of Styria under the archduke Karl II. The important place occupied by ecclesiastical questions during this reign is well known. The work is divided into two books, of fifteen and sixteen chapters respectively. Book I treats of "The Reformation in Inner Austria;" Book II, of "The Counter-Reformation under Karl II. (1578-1590)."

The author begins by describing the religious and ecclesiastical condition of Inner Austria (a term used to designate Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, and Görz) during the later mediæval time. In few parts of Europe had the Waldenses and related parties rooted themselves more firmly. The contiguity of this region to Bohemia and Moravia caused its inhabitants to come under the influence of the Hussite movement and its derivatives. Nowhere, it is probable, were the clergy more shamelessly corrupt. They lived in open concubinage and intemperance, and their financial administration was in the highest degree oppressive and dishonest. The higher ecclesiastical authorities made

frequent but ineffective efforts at outward reform, and the complaints of the common people and the nobles were unceasing. Licentiousness seems to have been well-nigh universal, tavern-haunting was a common vice, and the keeping of public resorts for drinking and its accompaniments was by no means an uncommon clerical occupation. In some cases the clergy put aside their priestly attire and used civilians' clothes as more in keeping with their secular and vicious pursuits. The traffic in benefices and ecclesiastical goods was most scandalous. Many parishes were left entirely destitute of preaching, and even of priestly ceremonies, and were thus an easy prey for wandering preachers, monkish or heretical.

By 1522 the influence of the Protestant revolution had begun to make itself felt in Inner Austria, and numerous popular writings calculated to bring the clergy into contempt were widely circulated. The Peasants' War of 1524-5 greatly increased the popular discontent with existing ecclesiastical conditions, and from this time onward Lutheranism made rapid strides. The demand for the preaching of the "pure and unfalsified gospel" became almost universal. The inroads of the Turks on the Austrian possessions were regarded by Lutherans as well as by Anabaptists as a scourge of God. For more than fifty years the Habsburg princes were handicapped in their efforts to suppress Protestantism by the pressure of the Turks and the necessity of conciliating the provinces in which the Augsburg Confession had secured the mastery.

An official visitation of the church communities of Inner Austria in 1528 made manifest a wide-spread defection from the Roman Catholic faith, and a general disposition to let the Turks administer the scourging for which God had raised them up. Lutherans joined heartily with King Ferdinand in exterminating measures against the Anabaptists, who at about this time spread with great rapidity in Upper and Inner Austria, the Tyrol, etc.

By 1542 the nobles of Inner Austria, including lords and knights, and a very large proportion of the citizens of the towns and villages, were Lutherans of a very pronounced type. The Habsburgers were utterly helpless. It was their hope, and that of many of the Lutheran nobles, that a general council would bring about a harmonizing of creeds and heal the schism. Little effort was made in the meantime to check the Protestant movement in Austria.

The defeat of the Protestants of Germany by the emperor and his allies in the Schmalkald War (1548) seemed a favorable occasion for

beginning the process of restoring Catholicism in Inner and Upper Austria. A provincial synod for Salzburg was held in 1549 to take measures for extirpating Protestantism. But even now the nobles were uncompromising, and the Habsburg princes were not in a position to employ coercive measures.

The Augsburg Peace of 1555, which represented a great Protestant victory, was so interpreted by the Inner Austrian nobles as to justify their demand for the exclusive toleration of Lutheranism within their domains; while the Habsburg rulers interpreted it as a warrant for the exclusion of Protestantism from the territory over which their suzerainty extended. From this time onward until the Pacification of Bruck (1578) the relations between the Habsburg rulers and the nobles were strained to the last degree. Ferdinand, emperor from 1556 to 1564, though intensely Catholic, felt obliged to compromise with the Lutherans of Austria. The archduke Karl II. was constantly seeking for means to suppress the aggressive Lutheran movement. For years every request made upon the estates for financial assistance was met by a stern demand for the formal recognition of the right of the Lutheran nobles to their religion, and the right of the third estate (cities and villages) to Protestant worship. Ferdinand and Charles both felt obliged to grant freedom of conscience to the nobles; but claimed that the cities and towns were directly under their own rule, and that as Catholics they could not with a good conscience tolerate heresy therein. With the utmost reluctance the Habsburgers were obliged to yield point by point, by reason of the persistent refusal of the nobles to grant financial aid until their religious rights were guaranteed. A certain degree of toleration was at last extended to the principal cities. In 1578 the archduke felt constrained to grant in a somewhat ambiguous way the religious privileges demanded by the nobles.

It must be admitted that the concession (Pacification of Bruck) was extorted from Karl, and that he despised himself from the first for having so far compromised himself and the Catholic cause. He was already under the influence of the Jesuits, who some years before had been invited to labor in Inner Austria, and whose presence made the nobles all the more determined to secure a guarantee of their rights before it was too late. From this time onward, Jesuit, papal, Bavarian, and imperial influence coöperated with that of Karl's Bavarian wife, a fanatical Catholic, and his own strong inclinations, in devising means for the utter extirpation of Lutheranism from his domains.

The author has fully utilized the correspondence of the times, the careful records of public and private conferences, and all the exceedingly full and well-preserved archival materials, for giving us an inside view of the process by which the Counter-Reformation was inaugurated and carried out to its bitter end. The emperor Maximilian II. (1564-76) had pursued and counseled a course of compromise and conciliation; but his advice was Jesuitical in a high degree and looked forward to the ultimate destruction of Lutheranism. After his death all the influences brought to bear upon Karl were uncompromisingly in favor of the re-Catholization of his territory. He was led to believe that the salvation of his soul and the permanent holding of his hereditary possessions depended on his remorseless persecution of heretics. At a conference of Catholic princes at Munich (October, 1579) Karl was urged to enter with vigor upon the work, and the princes bound themselves mutually to give each other all needful assistance in suppressing rebellion among their subjects. Protestant court officials and military commanders were at once to be displaced, competent Catholics from other provinces being supplied when needful. The dangers of Turkish invasion were now somewhat remote, and the Counter-Reformation could be undertaken with a good will. The Jesuits were already present in force, and they were ready to be the chief instruments in the destruction of Protestantism. One by one all the rights of the Protestants were withdrawn. The Lutheran cause was from this time doomed. The process was well-nigh completed by the death of Charles, in 1590.

The Protestants struggled heroically, as long as successful resistance seemed possible. Nowhere do we find a nobler type of Lutheranism than in this region. No country in Europe was readier to throw off the papal yoke and to adopt evangelical Christianity. Apart from Habsburg rulers, Romanism would have been swept away almost without resistance. Habsburg conservatism and Jesuit zeal were more than a match for the sturdy Lutheran nobles. Loserth has done for the Lutherans of Inner Austria what Dr. Henry M. Baird has done for the Huguenots of France. We feel that we are in the hands of a master, on the accuracy, fulness, and fairness of whose narrative we can place implicit reliance.

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HISTORY OF THE REFORMED CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES, 1725-1792. By PROFESSOR JAMES I. GOOD, D.D. Reading, Pa.: Daniel Miller, 1899. Pp. viii + 701. \$3.

MATERIAL for a history of the Reformed church in this country, covering the period included in Dr. Good's book, has been scarce, and it may be this accounts for the fact that the church historians have written so little concerning the early history of the denomination. The sources of the history are almost exclusively written, consisting of correspondence between the church here and the mother-church in the Old World, and also the "Minutes of Coetus." These precious documents had been stored away in old libraries, neglected, and almost forgotten. Their existence was suspected, and yet the idea prevailed that they were lost. In bringing these documents to light Dr. Good has done the church great service, and has given us the most satisfactory history of the Reformed church in this country we have had up to this time. The future historian will find little more material than that which Dr. Good has furnished; he therefore deserves great credit for the indefatigable labor he bestowed upon it, as well as the great expense connected with the search after the missing manuscripts.

Dr. Good informs us that he has been searching many years for the material of which this volume is composed, and that in the search other valuable material came to light, which has been embodied in his *Origin of the Reformed Church in Germany* and his *History of the Reformed Church of Germany*. In order that he might properly set forth the early history of the denomination, it was necessary to examine the "Minutes of Coetus." These were stowed away in the archives of Amsterdam and The Hague. After several journeys to Europe these documents were found, copied, and translated for his use. Out of this material he has evolved a history which is all that could be wished for.

A careful perusal of the work will convince the reader that the author follows the natural course of events in narrating the trials of the founders of the church, not only in their own land, but more especially in the new home which they found on this side of the Atlantic.

As to the question of doctrine and cultus, there are many who will not agree with Dr. Good, and yet the line of investigation which he has conducted cannot help but strengthen the views which the Reformed people have held for years. Dr. Good says: "The church during the period of the Coetus was evidently strongly Calvinistic and predestinarian. . . . In many of the title-deeds of her properties

she is called the German Calvinistic church. . . . The first creed she adopted was the Heidelberg catechism and the canons of Dort, the latter especially committing her to a strict predestinarian position, although we believe that Calvinism is also the historic interpretation of the Heidelberg catechism. At the Coetus of 1752 she reaffirmed her adherence to the canons of Dort and the Heidelberg catechism, as all the ministers submitted to them." The Coetus of 1765 also refers to the canons of Dort as the creed of the church. Dr. Good is undoubtedly right so far as that early period was concerned, but after relations with Holland were broken off, and the church grew, the strictly Calvinistic doctrine began to lose ground.

In the matter of worship the author touches upon a much-discussed question in the Reformed church. It is a well-known fact that there is in this denomination a high-church party, which claims that the church has always been liturgical in an extreme way. Dr. Good's investigations have convinced him otherwise. That a liturgy was used he does not deny. He says: "The early church was non-liturgical. It used a free service in the regular sabbath worship, although it used forms for special occasions, as the sacraments, marriage, and ordination."

One might criticise the book as to its mechanism, and the arrangement of the matter, which has the appearance of having been done hurriedly. But these are only minor defects, when we have in view the many excellencies of the work. It is a mine of information, as it clears up many points of interest in the early history of the Reformed church in the United States.

E. HERBRUCK.

TIFFIN, O.

A HISTORY OF METHODISTS IN THE UNITED STATES. By J. M. BUCKLEY. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1899. 2 vols. Pp. xx + 472; viii + 481. \$5.

THIS is a reissue of a book first published in 1896, in the "American Church History Series." The only alteration discoverable is the expansion of the text into two volumes, partly by the use of thicker paper than that of the original edition, partly by the insertion of numerous portraits. These include nearly all the men famous in the annals of American Methodism down to the present time. The portraits are chiefly notable for their historic interest, and their artistic value is slight; they really illustrate, not embellish, the text.

The book itself one has no hesitation in pronouncing the best history of American Methodism ever written. This is not to forget the excellent service done by the author's predecessors, notably Dr. Stevens. Dr. Buckley's history is, indeed, almost ideally good, and the more critically it is examined, the more one's appreciation of it grows. The author's diligence in investigation has suffered nothing of value to escape him, and his accuracy is well-nigh unimpeachable. This is true, at least, so long as he is treating his main theme. In his preliminary sketch of Christianity in England he makes several slips, of no great consequence, indeed, but quite in contrast to his careful precision elsewhere. As, for example, when he says that the Ten Articles of Henry VIII. taught transubstantiation (p. 5), whereas the doctrine of the eucharist set forth in them is unmistakably Lutheran. And when he says (p. 12) that after the accession of Elizabeth "the second Prayer-Book of Edward VI. was restored," without any indication of the important modifications made, he would certainly mislead a reader who had no other source of information at hand. But after he grapples with his real subject, one notes nothing more serious than venial faults like a superfluous *l* in the name of Dr. Calamy (p. 34), and an occasional lapse into newspaper English, like the use of "companion" for wife (p. 113).

That the author occasionally writes journalese is only to say that he has the defects of his qualities. The whole book bears the stamp of the practiced journalist, in the power of condensation, of vivid statement, of skilful selection—above all, of knowing what to omit—that distinguish it. Dr. Buckley has been able to pack his pages with fact without making them tedious. He has written a book to which the scholar may go for information, and the "general reader" for entertainment, and from which neither will go empty away. If anybody thinks the production of such a book an easy task, hardly worth the best effort of a serious historian, let him make the attempt.

The most admirable quality, perhaps, that one finds in the book is its candor. Denominational histories, for the most part, do not belong to historical literature, but should be classed as apologetics, or possibly as polemics. The temptations to indulge in this style of writing must be unusually strong when an enthusiastic Methodist undertakes to tell the story of his own denomination. For the early history of Methodism is peculiarly the biography of a few men, of rare character and endowments, and to fall into hero-worship is easy. And the later history is a story of growth so unexampled, of achievements so

marvelous, that the mere recounting of the facts might be misconstrued as sectarian boasting. The candor and sobriety of Dr. Buckley are admirable. There is not only no concealment of facts, but the utmost pains have been taken to present all essential facts, so that their significance cannot be misunderstood.

For example, take the episode of John Wesley's attitude toward the American colonies during their struggle for liberty. Other Methodists have attempted to explain away the facts; Dr. Buckley proceeds to establish them beyond question, and shows that this was a serious error of judgment on Wesley's part (pp. 158-67). Take, again, his treatment of the ordination of Coke (pp. 234 f.); in its statement of facts this leaves nothing to be desired, and it does full justice to the motives of Wesley. Dr. Buckley, in this case, adds a justification of Wesley's consistency that is not quite convincing, for he seems to miss the real point of the accusation. He shows, indeed, that Wesley had for many years believed in the rightfulness of presbyterial ordination, so that there was no inconsistency between his ordination of Coke and his long-held belief. But the point of the charge of inconsistency brought against Wesley is that this ordination was at variance, not with his private beliefs, but with his position in the Church of England, to which he clung, to which he professed loyalty, in which he deprecated schism. The ordination, it is charged, was a schismatic act, and here was Wesley's inconsistency. Dr. Buckley does not touch this issue; indeed, one does not see what answer is possible to the charge. John Wesley was warned by his brother Charles, when he first began practicing presbyterial ordination, that this was equivalent to schism, but the elder brother would not see this.

Dr. Buckley's candor is conspicuously shown in his treatment of the controversy over slavery, which divided the Methodist church in 1844. A long chapter—not too long (pp. 407-63)—is given to setting forth the facts, mainly official documents and abstracts of debates in conference. This might easily have been made dry and repulsive; indeed, to make of it anything else demands almost genius. Nowhere does the author's skill in the selection and presentation of his materials appear to better advantage; one reads the story with the breathless interest that only an exciting romance is supposed to rouse or justify. The chapter following, in which "A Calm Survey" is taken of the subject, is a most judicial summing up of the matter.

Perhaps no subject was more difficult for the author to treat impartially than that of the great controversy over the management of the Book



Concern (pp. 529-35). Not only was the dispute hot, not only are the questions of fact complicated, but Dr. Buckley was himself a participant in the struggle, having been counsel for Dr. Lanahan. Yet even this severe test is borne satisfactorily. The narrative shows no trace of passion or prejudice, and sets forth the indisputable facts and official findings.

Perhaps the least satisfactory part of the book is the last two chapters. It is always when the denominational historian comes nearest his own day that his task becomes most difficult, and comparative failure here is to be anticipated—and pardoned.

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MEN, WOMEN AND MANNERS IN COLONIAL TIMES. By SYDNEY GEORGE FISHER. 2 vols. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1898. Pp. iii + 391; 392. \$3.

AFTER the preparation of two earlier volumes on Pennsylvania and a monograph on *The Evolution of the Constitution*, Mr. Fisher has given to the public his most comprehensive contribution to American colonial history. The contents of these volumes are somewhat miscellaneous and fragmentary, yet they contain much reliable and useful information. They are exceptionally racy and readable. Incidentally they give much general information concerning religion and the relation of the church to the state in the different colonies. Yet they do not assume to treat this or any other subject completely or philosophically.

The various colonies are described under such suggestive titles as: "Cavalier and Tobacco," "From Puritans and Witches to Literature and Philosophy," "The Land of Steady Habits," "The Isle of Errors," "The White Mountains and the Green," "Manhattan and the Tappan Zee," "Puritan and Catholic on the Chesapeake," "Landgraves, Pirates, and Caziques," "Bankrupts, Spaniards, and Mulberry Trees."

The modern fashion which exaggerates the defects of the Puritans is usually attended with very slight appreciation of their notable excellencies. It requires no high order of talent to follow this fashion, but when the fashion leads to the statement that the early settlers of Massachusetts and New England were "stiff, solemn individuals, devoted to schools, colleges, and learning, to whom amusement was a

crime, whose lives were completely absorbed in religion, and who were among the most unrelenting fanatics the world has ever seen," the misleading impression produced amounts to a falsification of history.

The author's sympathies are so decidedly with the aristocratic Virginians, to whom slavery and tobacco gave leisure for reading and amusement, that he fails to estimate at their true worth the best qualities of the noblest Puritans in New England. Yet the exact equilibrium of just historical judgments is confessedly difficult to attain, and unfortunately there are dark facts which give color to the author's unsympathetic treatment of the early Puritans of Massachusetts Bay.

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SCHLEIERMACHER : Zum hundertjährigen Gedächtnis der Reden über die Religion an die Gebildeten unter ihren Verächtern. Von M. FISCHER, Pfarrer an St. Marcus in Berlin. Berlin : C. A. Schwetschke & Sohn, 1899. Pp. xvi + 256. M. 3.

TREATISES on Schleiermacher are very popular just now in Germany. A century ago, in the spring of 1799, the fatherland was electrified by the discourses on religion published by Schleiermacher in a critical period of the nation's history and addressed to people who were diametrically opposed to the spirit of the writer. Notwithstanding all this, they made a deep and lasting impression upon the public. Schleiermacher was still a young man when he published these first fruits of his pen, and although they betray occasionally immaturity of thought, his genius shone forth from the beginning of his public career with the brightness of the rising sun. No theologian who desires to know the spirit of his own time can afford to ignore Schleiermacher, and he who wants to understand Schleiermacher thoroughly must make a careful study of the discourses on religion. Pfarrer Fischer, an ardent admirer of Schleiermacher, is among those who, in honor of their hero, remind us of the debt we owe to the theological mastermind of the nineteenth century. He has done his task with consummate ability. His little book is a gem, original in form and compact in its subject-matter. It needs, however, careful study, for, on account of the richness of its contents, it is not easily digested. The title of the book is very brief and rather enigmatical. You are entirely mistaken if you expect a biographical sketch. In the general introduction you find a few meager notices about the chief incidents in

Schleiermacher's life, covering only a few lines. You will feel disappointed if you expect a critico-historical essay on Schleiermacher's place in the history of theology, or a discussion of his principles and system. The title of the book is correct. It does not give anything *on* Schleiermacher; it is the hero himself who is sketched on its pages, although not in the style of a biography. Fischer's aim is to reproduce his hero as he appears to him after a careful study of his works. He gives us a picture of Schleiermacher as he lives in his mind. It is, as it were, a photograph; the author's mind is the camera obscura and his talents the artist's work in retouching the picture. Fischer's book is a masterpiece of art rather than a scientific treatise. In the body of the book you meet with no quotations from Schleiermacher's works or with extracts from other authors about Schleiermacher. It is not marred by any visible lines of beauty. His book is divided into three parts, giving a composite picture of Schleiermacher as prophet, philosopher, and preacher. Every part is prefaced by a prologue, and at the end of the book we find, as we might expect, an epilogue, in order to help the reader to understand the different aspects of the picture.

The author has succeeded to a large extent in producing a striking likeness of his hero. He has redeemed his pledge, given in the preface, where he says: "Sie," *i. e.*, his book, "soll nicht *über* Schleiermacher handeln, nicht etwa eine neue Untersuchung über die 'Reden,' über ihre und des späteren Schleiermacher Theologie, über ihre und seine Bedeutung anstellen u. desgl., sondern sie soll einfach *ihn* darstellen *aus ihm selbst*, soweit der Verfasser ihn in seinen Werken zu erschauen vermochte." Of course, he is himself aware of the fact that his picture of Schleiermacher is at the same time a kind of commentary on his hero's works. He has introduced the subjective element to a certain extent. It is not Schleiermacher pure and simple, but Fischer's Schleiermacher, who looks upon us from the pages of his book. Formally considered, one might call him a modernized Schleiermacher. Fischer introduces "philosophy of religion," which is not found among Schleiermacher's works. Materially considered, it seems to me that Fischer has slightly modified several positions of his hero. What he says about immortality, faith, and kindred subjects is more in harmony with the modern trend of religious thought than with the original theology of Schleiermacher.

Whatever may be said of some of the details, the picture as such is true to life, and cannot but interest the reader and set him a-thinking.

You receive the impression that Schleiermacher is not yet dead. We all have to concede so much, whatever our estimation of his principles and system may be. An unprejudiced mind will also be impressed with the fact that the dualism of the theologian and the philosopher is the weak point in Schleiermacher. He was too much of a dialectician to be a sound theologian. He vanquished the rationalism of the "gesunder Menschenverstand" of the eighteenth century, but he introduced in its stead the emotionalism—*sit venia verbo*—of the "schlechtinniges Abhängigkeitsgefühl." Schleiermacher had a little of Calvin's spirit of dependence upon God, but lacked his Scripture principle; he had a little of Luther's spirit of liberty, without his warm faith in Christ, the crucified Savior. Schleiermacher was a theologian, a philosopher, and a preacher of the first rank; but he lacked many of the elements which make a man a reformer by the grace of God. We esteem him as a great genius, but we do not worship him as a hero.

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SPIRITUAL LETTERS OF EDWARD BOUVERIE PUSEY. Edited and published by REV. J. O. JOHNSTON, M.A., and REV. W. C. E. NEWBOLT, M.A. London, New York, and Bombay: Longmans, Green & Co., 1898. Pp. 344. \$4.

IN the preface to the fourth volume of Dr. Pusey's *Life*<sup>1</sup> the two surviving editors of the four who contributed to the preparation of that voluminous biography expressed their intention of publishing a volume of Dr. Pusey's "Spiritual Letters." The present volume is the fulfilment of that purpose, and is designed to present a phase of Dr. Pusey's life not otherwise easily understood.

The editors discreetly say that Dr. Pusey "spent a considerable portion of his life in dealing, whether by word of mouth or by letter, with the difficulties of individual souls." The fact, plainly stated, is that Dr. Pusey believed himself to be a priest with distinctively priestly or sacramental functions, and as such he magnified his office and encouraged both the belief and the practice of confession and absolution for the forgiveness of sin.

During many years Pusey went at regular intervals to Keble as his own confessor, and during these years he undertook to act in a similar

<sup>1</sup>See the AMERICAN JOURNAL OF THEOLOGY, Vol. III, pp. 191-6.

relation of confessor for many people of varied temperament and condition. Persons at a distance appealed to him in a more or less formal way for spiritual advice, and, like Newman, he was accustomed to give a personal answer to all such serious requests. In this work, chiefly conducted by letters, he was often employed far into the night, and sometimes until the morning.

From the immense amount of material thus furnished, a small portion is published in this volume. "It consists chiefly of letters of advice with regard to the trials of the spiritual life." The contents are necessarily fragmentary, disconnected, and somewhat unsatisfactory. The persons to whom the letters were originally addressed are not named. The letters are reproduced in four sections: (1) "Letters of Counsel and Sympathy;" (2) "Letters on Intellectual Difficulties;" (3) "Letters on Theological and Ecclesiastical Subjects;" (4) "Fragments of Conversations and Letters."

The influence of Dr. Pusey's well-known doctrinal opinions, asceticism, and reverence for external authority constantly appears in every section, and the value of the work will be variously estimated according to the sympathies of readers. Some things of common interest to all reverent Christians, *e. g.*, the representation of God's majesty and the greatness of his claims, may find general appreciation. But much of the book, especially the statement and treatment of "Intellectual Difficulties" and of "Theological and Ecclesiastical Subjects," will not be at all satisfactory to the more robust type of modern Protestant thought. Asceticism, fasting, and the daily observance of the communion do not appeal strongly to the most earnest religious thinkers in England and America as panaceas for prevalent doubt and spiritual ills.

For many readers a disproportionate portion of the book is occupied with the various phases of the Anglican controversy with the Church of Rome, and with advice based upon the efficacy and validity of the Anglican orders and sacraments. If not spiritually edifying to robust Protestants, the book is useful as a reflection of a particular type of doctrine and life.

Dr. Pusey was a doctrinal, not merely a formal, ritualist. He believed in the real bodily presence of Christ after the priestly consecration of the elements. He taught the forgiveness of sins through confession and the absolution of the priest.\* Thus he was in close

\* "We believe," he says, "that God forgives sins upon confession through absolution by his priest. We believe that God consecrates by us, his priests, mere

sympathy with the Roman and the Greek churches. He insisted that the Eastern, the Roman, and the Anglican churches are branches of the one true church. The only two objections to the Roman church which he appears to have considered conclusive were the cultus of Mary and the dogma of papal infallibility. The strength of his interest in the Roman church is shown by words written shortly before his death: "The Vatican council was the greatest sorrow I ever had in a long life" (p. 220).

The value of these *Spiritual Letters* for devotional purposes is not great for those Protestants who cannot accept Dr. Pusey's doctrine. Their contribution to the solution of the present urgent theological questions which press for answers among the most vigorous Protestant thinkers is very slight.

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THE LIFE OF R. W. DALE OF BIRMINGHAM. By his Son, A. W. W. DALE. London: Hodder & Stoughton; New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1899. Pp. x + 771. \$4, net.

DR. DALE in the course of a public life of forty years did the work of at least three men, crowding into them achievements of such varied character and doing everything with such remorseless thoroughness and enthusiasm that our regret at his premature death is tempered by surprise that he stood the strain so long. He was the minister of one of the largest Congregational churches in England, and had only one pastorate, coming to it from the theological seminary and continuing in it until he died; he stood in the foremost rank of citizens in "the best-governed city in the world;" he was an active politician and reformer, a leader in his denomination and elsewhere; and yet he found time to publish a dozen books, some of them demanding for their preparation considerable research.

The variety of interests which engaged Dr. Dale's attention no doubt made it a difficult task to write his memoir. Let us say at once that his son has done his work admirably. He has put himself in an impartial position, not even hesitating to recognize that his father had the defects of his excellencies; and yet he has written as only a son could who was in very close sympathy with the spirit and temper of his elements of the world to be sacramentally, spiritually, supernaturally his body and blood" (p. 218).

father. A good index contributes additional value to a life which really gives us all that we could desire. The special importance of the book lies in the graphic picture which it gives of a very able man, and still more, for American readers, in the careful and appreciative chapters upon public matters of far more than local or national moment.

Robert William Dale was a Londoner by birth, and although he left his native city early and never again made it his home, yet he possessed to the full the assurance, hopefulness, and sense of mastery by which the genuine Londoner is often distinguished. At fourteen he was an usher in a school, and from that time on he made his own way, although from the first his rare promise insured him many good friends. His pastor, Dr. John Campbell, a pugnacious, hard-hitting divine, opposed his early aspirations, but Dale never resented opposition, and certainly this slight barrier failed to impede his progress toward the ministry. He passed successfully through college, and before he graduated was chosen by John Angell James, of Birmingham, to be his assistant. Mr. James was one of the generation that succeeded the evangelical revival of the last century. He retained much of the rhetorical fervor and still more of the masculine faith of that movement. All his life was spent at Birmingham, which he found an ungainly, straggling town, and watched for half a century growing into a huge manufacturing center, full of brawny life and abounding in political power. The Congregationalist ministry at that time was perhaps more refined than strong, but it was really needing a leader, and prepared to respond to the right man should he appear. The right man did appear in Dr. Dale. He took his place at the parting of the ways in theology, in the conception of the Christian ministry, and in the growing conflict for civil and religious liberty. His first work was done as preacher and pastor at Carr's Lane Chapel. His style was a survival from the rich rhetoric made popular by Burke, yet he was scarcely an orator. Dean Alford counted his sermons among "the finest specimens of modern preaching;" but they read even better in the published volumes than when delivered from manuscript in the pulpit. As a theologian his name will be associated with controversy only, or chiefly, as men differed from his convictions when they were expressed in public utterances. His lectures on "The Atonement" were the admiration of his neighbor, Cardinal Newman, and were in advance of other treatises upon the subject in setting in its true light the moral theory, while insisting at the same time that the death of Christ must continue to be preached on the ground of human forgiveness.

His acceptance of the theory of the annihilation of the impenitent, and his conclusions as to the peculiar relation of Christ to the believers in the Lord's Supper, were decisions which failed to command the adherence of all his brethren, while at the same time they never forfeited him their respect.

No better work was done by him than his courses of expository sermons, scholarly and yet practical, which formed a leading feature in his entire ministry. Dr. Dale's public work may be summed up in the one word "education." He was one of a memorable group of men in Birmingham, of whom Mr. Chamberlain is perhaps the last one left, who started the movement for public schools that ultimately (with many modifications) gave to Great Britain the fine school system which has already revolutionized national education. To him, also, Mansfield College, Oxford, owed more in its inception than to any other one man.

A life more rapid in its movement and more affluent in its volume England has rarely seen; but as the end came in view, with it came also a tenderness and a sympathy which his iron manhood had seemed to lack. In one of his last letters he assured the writer of this notice that to live without working would be a poor exchange for "going home;" and so on his desk when he died lay a sheet of an unfinished sermon, with its last sentence broken off in the middle.

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SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY. By ROBERT VERRELL FOSTER, D.D.,  
Professor of Systematic Theology in the Cumberland Pres-  
byterian Theological Seminary, Lebanon, Tenn. Cumber-  
land Presbyterian Publishing House, Nashville, Tenn., 1898.  
Pp. xii + 868. \$3.50.

THIS is a portly volume of nearly nine hundred pages. Its author informs us "it was written primarily as a text-book for undergraduate theological students," but he hopes "it may be useful to intelligent lay-Christians as well." He has sought to cover "the whole domain of doctrinal theology," including introduction, to which he devotes seventy-five pages. His object has been, not to make "discoveries of hitherto unknown truths," but to teach and impress those "which may be safely regarded as already made known." If this aim is modest, it is none the less safe and useful. His whole treatment is more cautious



than adventurous. This feature of his work is more praiseworthy than censurable. Neither must it be concluded that he is necessarily bound in the fetters of traditionalism because his conclusions are the same as those reached by the best thinking of the past. He shows that he has studied patiently the works of the outstanding leaders of thought in other ages, and the statements of the symbols of the church of early times and of the Christian bodies of later days. He has also given earnest thought to the wide range of subjects covered by such a work as his. If, in a number of instances, he hesitates to commit himself to definite conclusions on some of the questions about which theologians who are deemed orthodox differ, it may be from over-caution rather than from lack of sturdy thought. If, in other cases, he relegates questions to the realm of insoluble mystery without giving them the most thorough discussion, which alone can justify this course, it may be because he wishes to devote the chief strength of his work to the elucidation of the phases of truth which have a practical rather than a speculative interest. He makes small reference and less concession to the higher criticism and to the more recent trends of speculative and skeptical thought. His style is clear; yet, as he attempts to combine in one a treatment for students and the general reader, it must be expected that, in some places, the scholarly reader will find elaboration which to him appears superfluous.

The space at our disposal will permit reference to only a few of the positions maintained in this volume.

Religion is "the spirit of worship" with the beliefs involved and the worship in which it finds expression. A supernatural revelation is not irrational. "A living God must be able to reveal himself; a God who is love must wish to do so, where and when he considers it necessary." Neither is the work of redemption inconsistent with the divine immutability. "He who is the unchangeable one is not the unchangeable in his want of adaptation to the new conditions introduced by sin." He is not disposed to discuss the question whether all the wonderful works recorded in the Bible are miracles; but if we deny the miraculous conception and resurrection of our Lord, "Christianity becomes a huge superstructure in the air." He accepts the dynamical theory of inspiration rather than the mechanical or verbal. "The Scripture writers themselves *thought*, of course, and they thought, and therefore wrote, in harmony with their respective individualities." Apostolic authorship was the chief test of canonicity in the early church, which was determined by the common consent of primitive Christians, and not by the action of

councils. He thinks no doubt is cast upon the inspiration of Scripture writers because they embody in their works erroneous statements, provided they quote correctly the sources upon which they depend, or give the views of science, etc., which prevailed at the time. The former part of this statement would seem to require a modification of the strictest view of inspiration. On that profound question of the relation of nature and will to character, the author believes that even God's holiness is due to his willing and choosing to be pure. He accepts the ancient view of the Trinity which holds that each person has an eternal property corresponding to his name. That of the Father is paternity, that of the Son is filiation, that of the Spirit is spiration. In common with many modern thinkers he holds that the doctrine of the Trinity helps us to understand the divine self-consciousness and self-sufficiency before the work of creation was begun.

He rejects the theory of the universe which makes it an evolution from eternally existent matter. "The fact is, if the world is the result of an evolution at all, that very circumstance itself inevitably proves that it is not an eternal one; and if it is not an eternal one, its beginning must be accounted for on some hypothesis which not only does not lie in this theory, but is distinctly excluded by it."

In his treatment of the question of conscience there is some confusion. His definition of conscience as "simply the soul or ego acting, or having ability to act, in the sphere of right and wrong," is anything but clear. He also holds that conscience is not always right in its decisions, and that, still, every man is under moral obligations to obey its decisions. If the sphere of conscience were restricted to the motives and intentions, these contradictory positions need not be held together. He also includes moral inclination and character in the will itself. "It could incline itself away from God, but it could not recreate in itself an inclination back to God." "His will as character is beyond the reach of his will as volition." In this view he may have much learned support, but to the writer of this review it leads to much confusion of thought.

This is his view of the person of Christ: "The one self-consciousness of Christ was that which belonged to his person as the eternal Logos. In consenting to become incarnate he at the same time consented that his self-consciousness, like the other elements of his divine personality, should, in his state of humiliation, act through its limited human channel, at least in so far as to meet the requirements of his mediatorial work." He speaks of the "one person of Christ having two

natures and energizing through them." Did the person energize through the natures, or did the natures energize through the person?

He adopts a modified federal headship theory of original sin. God made a covenant with Adam, which held good for the race as well, because Adam was the natural head of the race, including it in himself in germ. The atonement of Christ is to reconcile God to the world, because "it introduced a condition on the basis of which God could, consistently with his holiness, exercise his love in forgiveness." God's predestination to salvation is conditional upon foreseen faith; but the Arminian view is not accepted in all its features. The atonement is an absolute satisfaction "as a universal provision and as a universal protection against the penalty of original sin. . . . But it is conditional in its application to those who are capable of making use of the means which lead to repentance and faith." On the other hand, God preserves all who are once saved. His view of regeneration, faith, repentance, and sanctification does not call for remark. His idea of the church commits him to the view that the Jewish people were the church before Christ. He also states that the Jews at the time of our Lord regarded the Old Testament sprinklings as baptisms, which, of course, is not the view of the most authoritative scholarship, even of those who practice sprinkling. He thinks infant baptism is justified, because "the will of infants is represented by the will of their believing parents and of the church." However, he does not give us any Scripture for this view. He makes one blunder which is inexcusable, especially by one living on this continent. He classes Baptists with Romanists, Lutherans, and Episcopalians in believing water baptism to be "essential to salvation." His views on eschatology are in harmony with those which have generally prevailed in Christendom. He does not favor pre-millennialism, and does not believe there is any probation after death.

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THE CHRISTIAN CREED AND THE CREEDS OF CHRISTENDOM. By  
SAMUEL G. GREEN, B.A., D.D. New York: The Mac-  
millan Co., 1898. Pp. 374. \$1.75.

OURS is an age of general and deep-seated revolt against dogmas, creeds, and confessions in religion. In the rebound we have gone so

far that we are in danger of overlooking an important side of historical and profitable truth, as it is expressed in the creeds of Christendom. Writers of true historical sense and sound judgment, who can keep to the *via media*, and do it with largeness and sweetness of spirit, have an important mission to fulfil. They, more than any others, are likely to get a hearing from the two prejudiced extremes, and bring them toward the truth, which is never found entire in either extreme. It is only thus that normal progress and the consequent growth of a well-rounded and healthy spiritual life become possible.

Dr. Green seems admirably to meet this requirement. His book consists of seven lectures delivered on the Angus foundation at Regent's Park College, London.

He begins with a very discriminating discussion of the nature and relations of faith and dogma. Both are necessary; they do not conflict; they are mutually helpful. But at the last everyone must interpret the oracles of God for himself, for he is personally responsible.

Then follow naturally lectures on the evolution of creeds. Creeds are a psychological necessity. In their development we have the Bible creeds, and the three great creeds of the ancient church—the apostles', the Nicene, and the Athanasian.

The period of the Reformation was prolific in confessions, showing forth all the great divisions of belief, from the Puritans' to the deliverances of the council of Trent. This work is excellently done in two lectures, which are followed by a very convincing lecture on the value and limitations of creeds.

The sixth lecture treats of "Subscription to Articles of Faith." The subject is discussed in the light of its history. Many questions of casuistry arise, and the conclusion is reached that subscription has not, in fact, been a safeguard of orthodoxy, but rather that there has been the closest agreement where subscription has not been imposed.

The case of Professor Jowett is in point. He had been accused of having denied the Catholic faith. He was summoned to appear before the vice-chancellor and sign the Thirty-nine Articles anew. "He appeared in answer to the summons, and the vice-chancellor Cotton began to address him solemnly on the awfulness of his situation. Jowett cut him short with the words: 'Mr. Vice-Chancellor, I have come to sign the articles.' Dr. Cotton recommenced his harangue. In reply, as tradition has it, Jowett simply asked for a new pen, and wrote his signature without another word."

The closing lecture is on "The Certainties of Faith: the Catholic Church of the Future." The author ardently longs for church unity, but it cannot come through unity of organization or unity of opinion, but only through unity of heart.

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LEHRBUCH DER DOGMENGESCHICHTE. VON DR. REINHOLD SEE-  
BERG, ord. Professor der systematischen Theologie in Erlan-  
gen. Zweite Hälfte: Die Dogmengeschichte des Mittelalters  
und der Neuzeit. Erlangen und Leipzig: A. Deichert'sche  
Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1898. Pp. xiv + 472. M. 8; com-  
plete, M. 13.40.

THIS volume completes the author's work on the *History of Christian Dogmas*. It is written in clear and easily intelligible German, differing favorably in this respect, like modern German works generally, from those which were written a quarter of a century and more ago. Hence anyone fairly familiar with the German language, and with the Latin, in which most of the quotations are given, will find no difficulty in the reading of it. It is, however, not a work intended for mere cursory reading. Its compactness and brevity make it a book for close and careful study rather than for rapid reading. The theologian will find it convenient, also, as a book of reference in his daily theological pursuits.

Professor Seeberg's work is, however, not a history of theological thought. With German theologians generally, he distinguishes carefully between theological doctrines and Christian dogmas. The dogma is a Christian doctrine clothed with the authority of the church. It is a biblical or revealed truth, discovered and defined, indeed, by the theologian, but afterward formally acknowledged, and accepted by the Christian community as an authoritative expression of its faith. Such expression may be given to it through the voice of a general council, as in the history of the early church; or by official action on the part of the hierarchy, as during the Middle Ages; or through the agency of Christian princes representing the church in a certain territory, as in the time of the Reformation. The dogma in any case is a revealed truth formally authorized and confessed by the church, or at least some part of it.

By means of this distinction the field of the history of dogmas is narrowed very much; for the views and speculations of individual

theologians come into consideration only in so far as they affected the development of publicly accepted dogmas. And the number of these is not very large. From the seventh century, the period with which this volume opens, to the beginning of the age of scholasticism, Gregory the Great is the overshadowing authority, by whom the Augustinian theology of the former period is transplanted, though in a seriously modified form, and made to be the faith of the western mediæval church. The controversies of this period, as Professor Seeberg shows, like those relating to predestination and the Lord's Supper, had their origin in the efforts to modify the Augustinian system.

During the first period of the scholastic age we have the great names of St. Bernard, Anselm, Abélard, and Peter Lombard, whose views are given with considerable fulness, and, as we believe, with entire accuracy, in this volume. In regard to Anselm's famous theory of the atonement the author makes the remark (p. 184), which is, indeed, contrary to popular theological opinion, but which we believe to be thoroughly justified by the fact, that "it is not correct to say that the fundamental thoughts of Anselm's theory have become the common property of the church." They were vigorously opposed by Abélard and others, and were never widely accepted in the mediæval church; and in the Reformation period they were transformed into the vicarious-punishment doctrine which is now, too, giving place to better views. In the second period of the scholastic age Thomas Aquinas is the great figure, and the volume before us gives an admirable exposition of the *summa theologiae*, as well as of the works of other great thinkers, in as far as they affected the faith of the time. It would be interesting here to refer to our author's discussion of the origin and development of some of the peculiar dogmas of the mediæval church, like those relating to grace (*gratia infusa*), merit, good works, indulgence, and the like; but our space forbids. One of the most interesting chapters of the book under notice treats of the decline of the scholastic theology, and of the religious and social crisis during the closing period of the Middle Ages, in which we meet with such keen and independent thinkers as Duns Scotus and William of Accam, and the "reformers before the Reformation;" and in which it is shown that the Reformation, when it came, was due no less to social than to religious conditions.

More than half of the volume under notice treats of the development of dogmas during and subsequent to the time of the Protestant

Reformation. In regard to this part of the volume there will probably be the most difference of opinion among Protestant theologians. They will not all agree with the author when he maintains that the Lutheran dogma is the most typical expression of genuine Christianity ; although few may care to dispute with him in regard to the commanding position which he assigns to Luther in the development of Christian doctrine. But when he holds that Lutheran dogma came to its relative completion in the Form of Concord, which by some has been declared to have been a *form of discord*, we imagine that even some Lutherans will shake their heads.

In giving the account of the rise and development of dogma in the Reformed church, our author asserts that Zwingli, contrary to his own express declaration, was in the beginning dependent upon Luther, and received his reformatory impulse from the latter, though he afterward diverged from him in a number of points, not to the improvement of his faith. This, according to Seeberg, is true also of Calvin and other reformers. There was one point, however, in regard to which all the reformers were agreed, and that was the doctrine of predestination, or of divine determinism. They were all determinists. What made them such was the fear of Pelagianism, or of the doctrines of work-righteousness and of salvation by *merit* in the Catholic system. But it has usually been said that Luther and Zwingli held to the theory of determinism only as a single conception by the side of other conceptions, which made it harmless, while Calvin made it the central principle of his theological system. This view, however, Professor Seeberg rejects. He maintains that the doctrine of determinism became central in Calvinistic theology only at the synod of Dort, and that the teaching of Dort and of Westminster is no more truly Calvinistic than it is Pauline.

The dogmatic development of Roman Catholicism, as Professor Seeberg shows, came to its conclusion in the Vatican council which declared the infallibility of the pope. There is a difference, however, in the sense in which Roman Catholic and Protestant dogmas may be said to be complete. The former are absolutely finished and incapable of further development, because of the quality of infallibility which is claimed for the church ; while the latter are only *relatively* complete, and hence must await further development in the future. The development of dogmas is a work that can never be absolutely completed, but can only be ever approaching completion. And as this work is the result of theological activity, the "evangelical church must ever

prize very highly a free theology, knowing that such a theology is called to the exercise of a vital function in the church of pure doctrine."

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THE GOSPEL OF THE ATONEMENT. *The Hulsean Lectures for 1898-99.* By JAMES M. WILSON, A.M., Vicar of Rochdale. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1899. Pp. 165. \$1.

THESE lectures are the result of their author's conviction that "in the theory of the atonement, in the thought of Christ's work for us, which ought to be the foundation of Christian faith and its greatest charm, lies at the present time the greatest obstacle to that faith."

He means that the traditional, orthodox view of a substitutionary expiatory power in the cross to propitiate divine justice and thus reconcile God and man is so repugnant to the modern mind, and so inconsistent with the spirit of the gospel as now recognized by the church, that it must be abandoned if the world is to be reached by Christianity in these times.

He admits that the terms and figures used to describe the modus of the atonement favor the objective transactual view. But "it is vain to quote texts." The "altar imagery" of the Jews was necessary at the time to convey the ideas of redemption, but our present point of view forces us to new interpretations. The New Testament writers spoke the language of their day; but the Greek school of theologians who followed the apostles confined themselves to the spirit of the word rather than the letter. It was what Christ does in us, rather than what he has done for us, which they apprehended and formulated.

With Augustine the western mind, trained in the forensic school of Roman law, entered the arena, and thenceforth constructive theology became the rule. To this formalistic method we owe the severities of the faith which are now at last being outgrown. The subjective tone and trend of modern thought, the habit of looking at truth through the medium of life and its processes, has irresistibly moved Christian thinkers to a corresponding treatment of the mysteries of the cross.



That the sufferings of Christ were not penal, but sympathetic; that he saves from sin by exhibiting to the sinner the awful nature of moral evil and inspiring him with the ability to abjure and avoid it; that redemption and regeneration are but terms describing different phases of the one divine-human process of converting the sinful into the holy; that this process is but a manifestation of the love of God working on the world and in it, and by means of this operation sure at last to overcome all evil and displace it with good—this is the gospel of the atonement.

We need not say that it is but a new publication of the "moral influence theory" which has been current with many for a long time in this country. The book will add little to the literature of that department of theology, but it is one of the best of its kind. Frank and fearless in expression, reverent in mood, spiritual in motive, and practical in aim, it is a well-deserving treatment of the central mystery of our faith. Horace Bushnell would have welcomed it heartily.

We may do as much, with the understanding that the atonement is a doctrine so many-sided as to permit an indefinite number and variety of views to be taken of it. Doubtless there is a sense in which each of the theories of the cross—the substitutionary, commercial, governmental, sympathetic, ethical, vital—may subtend some arc of the infinite circle of truth. The last word has not yet been said about the atonement. It never will be said by finite thought and language.

One grave objection to this work is on account of the fact that the writer does not recognize this principle. He treats every other theory of the atonement with a severity due only to positive error. This is unphilosophical. It does not allow for the variation of points of view which the historic process necessitates. In the evolution of truth a place can be found for the substitutionary theory as well as for the vital.

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**MORALITY AS A RELIGION.** An Exposition of Some First Principles. By W. R. WASHINGTON SULLIVAN. London: Swan, Sonnenschein & Co., Lim.; New York: The Macmillan Co., 1898. Pp. vi + 296. \$2.

THIS volume is made up of addresses given by the author before the Ethical Religion Society, in Steinway Hall, Portman Square, London. Two sentences from its preface will indicate sufficiently its

purport: "The present volume is a plea for a reconsideration of the religious question, and an inquiry as to the possibility of reconstructing religion by shifting its basis from inscrutable dogmas to the unquestionable facts of man's moral nature;" "Religion is morality recognized as a divine command; morality is the foundation; religion only adds the new and commanding point of view" (Kant). Among the topics dealt with are religion, science, and theism, as related to ethics; the conscience, compensation, prayer ("the prayer of petition ought instantly to cease as infantine, irrational, and irreverent"), war ("the last and crowning infamy of wholesale and systematized manslaughter"), marriage ("nature's great sacrament"), death, and the writings of Kant, Comte, Emerson, Tennyson, William Watson, and Mrs. Humphry Ward. Of these, Kant is described as "the only true commentator on Jesus and his religion," and as "the morning star of the new Reformation," Comte as "an apostle of true religion," and Emerson as "the last of the ethical prophets." Theology has set before us as God "the magnified copy of a fiend," has brought the world under the sway of "foul superstition," with "results deplorably, indescribably wicked;" the "church of Emerson" will change all that.

With much in this work we find ourselves in sympathy—with its strenuous ethical tone; with its insistence, often eloquent, on the moral law as underived, authoritative, and eternal; with its idealistic interpretation of the world. Nevertheless, we cannot regard it as of great significance. The author is not always self-consistent, nor fully aware of the necessary implications of his thesis. The impression is of one dealing with themes too large either for his powers or else for the limits set by a popular address.

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NEW TESTAMENT CHURCHMANSHIP, and the Principles upon which it was Founded. By HENRY YATES SATTERLEE, Bishop of Washington. London, New York, and Bombay: Longmans, Green & Co., 1899. Pp. xxx + 280. \$1.50.

Books written as this book has been are greatly to be desired. The New Testament is the record of the purest and deepest religious feeling. It cannot be fully interpreted by the men of the chair by themselves, for in them, too often, the keen analytic processes of modern

criticism weaken the capacity for deep and fervid religious feeling. Like to like, is a fundamental rule in interpretation. The men of the chair need to be corrected and supplemented by men who do most of their thinking in the pulpit, or under the pressure of the problems and questions that go with the motives of masses of men acting together in religion. Bishop Satterlee's book is just such a book as was to be expected from him. It is thoroughly conservative. Its methods of argument are emotional and traditional in places where a sober critical judgment is called for. It disposes of certain great difficulties in short and easy order. But the book is deeply devout. It never calls names. And its vigor and simplicity are fine and refreshing.

The preface gives the purpose of the book. It is "a humble attempt to differentiate between church principles as set forth in the New Testament itself and church principles as they appeared at the time of the Reformation, in the mediæval setting and interpretation of the Church of Rome" (p. xii). The author's thesis is a restatement of the Anglican theory of the *via media*. The Church of Rome is "objective" to excess, emphasizing the institutional side of the church to the injury of faith and personality. Protestantism is excessively "subjective," emphasizing the personal element to the injury of the collective and institutional aspect of our religion. The Anglican communion mediates between Romanism and Protestantism. It brings forward the objective factor in the process of salvation, the real presence of the Head of the church in the sacraments, and the divine elements in church government. At the same time it is more "subjective" than the Roman church, giving full rights to individual faith, and making the priesthood, not vicarious, but representative. This is the theory.

The terms "subjective" and "objective" are slippery terms to use. And Bishop Satterlee, like the rest of us, sometimes covers gaps in thought by using them. The deepest fault in the book is that it makes no attempt seriously to think through the relation between the church and the Bible.

HENRY S. NASH.

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CHURCH IDEAS IN SCRIPTURE AND SCOTLAND. By JAMES RANKIN, D.D., Minister of Muthill. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons, 1898. Pp. 290. 6s.

DR. RANKIN, in an introduction of fifty-five pages, endeavors briefly to set forth the "elements" of the constitution of the Christian church. He traces the growth of church polity in history and marks its basis in Scripture. In determining the formative principles of church government we cannot, in his view, safely rely on Scripture alone. He declares that "before the usual appeal to Scripture can be made at all, we need to use the conciliar decisions of the church in the fourth century as to what is and what is not Scripture." Appealing to both the Bible and history conjointly, he finds pervading Christian history five distinctive "features" of the church: "set forms of public prayer; the Christian year; a lectionary for Holy Scripture; dedication of churches; and distinctive ecclesiastical architecture."

Following the introduction, we have thirteen discourses pertaining to the church, its mission, its offices, its sacred seasons and customs, and its unity. These discourses, though called sermons, are rather essays. They lack the direct address that characterizes the genuine sermon, but they are clear in style and suggestive in thought.

But our author is not irenical in spirit. He evidently has a horror of dissenters. He speaks of them with sarcasm and scorn. Those refusing to acknowledge the authority of the Nicene creed and the apostles' creed are guilty of "one of the greatest impertinences" and show "a lamentable amount of ignorance, want of historic judgment, or excessive self-will and presumption." He calls some of his brethren "Presbyterian zealots who rant in Protestant conventions." He speaks of "the jejune monotony of revivalism, preaching for collections, and beating the drum of dissenting politics." He calls "dissenting meeting-houses" "booths for receipt of custom, electioneering offices for low revolutionary politics." He denounces dissenters as "pretentious religionists," "fanatics and humbugs who affect the pietistic line," and "many thousands in Scotland" as "ecclesiastical Hottentots who think themselves very pious." Speaking of the Congregational Union of Great Britain, he says: "The dreadfully one-sided political character of the sect may be inferred from their own report that 98 per cent. of their students are total abstainers, and that 2,364 of their ministers occupy the same rabid position." Such a shot as that is more destructive in its recoil than in its discharge.

But let no one suppose that the entire book of which we write is given up to such mediæval ecclesiastical belligerency. There is in it, taken as a whole, more honey than gall, more fragrant flowers than pungent wormwood. Any discriminating reader will be benefited by perusing its pages.

GALUSHA ANDERSON.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

FUNDAMENTAL IDEAS OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH. By FRANK HUGH FOSTER, Theological Seminary (Congregational), Oakland, Cal. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication and Sabbath-School Work, 1899. Pp. vii + 366. \$1.50.

MOST readers of the AMERICAN JOURNAL OF THEOLOGY are familiar with the attractive volume of Cardinal Gibbons on *The Faith of Our Fathers*. It has had an enormous circulation, being now in its forty-seventh edition. Protestants are convinced that, despite its charm, it is thoroughly one-sided and misleading. In the interests of fairness, therefore, the need for a presentation of the other side was most urgent. Professor Foster was well equipped for just such a work. He had read sympathetically the leading Roman Catholic writers, and earnestly sought to understand them. And, while not having it for his sole purpose, he has written a very complete rejoinder to *The Faith of Our Fathers*. Now, as Roman Catholics and Protestants have read Cardinal Gibbons' book, the same Roman Catholics and Protestants should consider the other side as presented by Professor Foster.

He starts out by recognizing the great fundamental ideas in which both sides agree. With these he has nothing to do. He simply confines himself to the points of difference, omitting all present-day issues, such, for instance, as the public-school question.

Having thus limited his subject, he proceeds to a critical examination of the fundamental ideas of the Roman Catholic church. His method is in the treatment of each idea to make a clear and honest statement of it as gathered from the best Roman Catholic authorities. He then shows the weak points in the idea, saving always what is valuable to be incorporated into the corresponding Protestant idea—where such an idea exists.

In Part I he takes up the Romanist idea of the church. Beginning with its definition he runs through all its phases, such as visibility, apostolicity, holiness, catholicity, unity, infallibility, and so on. He

raises again the question as to whether Peter was ever at Rome. At best it is doubtful, and, if he were at Rome, it is not probable that he was ever bishop of the Roman church, and his martyrdom is equally improbable.

In Part II he discusses the doctrine of salvation. He finds in the entire system a vast organization of external means of salvation, which is "unnecessary, unwarranted, and injurious." This system stands in striking and most unfavorable contrast with Protestantism, which "relies upon one Mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus."

J. W. MONCRIEF.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

DER KATHOLICISMUS ALS PRINCIP DES FORTSCHRITTS. Von DR. HERMANN SCHELL, Professor der Apologetik und vergleichenden Religionswissenschaft an der Universität Würzburg. Siebente Auflage. Würzburg: Andreas Göbel's Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1899. Pp. 136. M. 1.20.

THE author is one of the ablest of the progressive Catholic theologians of Germany, and the present work is indicative of the strength and boldness of the German liberal Catholic movement. He belongs to that section of the Roman Catholic church, represented in America by Archbishop Ireland, which believes that if the Roman church is to justify her claim to catholicity she must keep fully abreast of the science of the age, allow and encourage the utmost freedom of thought and of research, and give place to the employment of whatever modes of life and methods of Christian work may seem best adapted to the time and place. He begins by freely admitting that in science (in the broad sense of the term) the Roman Catholic church has been left lamentably behind by Protestantism. He calls attention to a recent exposure by Taxil of the depths of pagan superstition in which the Catholic masses are still involved and which marks the inferiority of current Catholicism to current Protestantism. It is not, therefore, actual Catholicism that the author declares to be the principle of progress, but it is ideal Catholicism as apprehended by himself and a considerable body of educated Catholics in Germany and elsewhere. Starting out with the idea that the true church of Christ should be universal, and that catholicity can be attributed to no other organization than that which centers at Rome and has the pope at its head, he insists that this great organization should not only appropriate all the results

of scientific research and thought—including of course natural science, philosophy, economics, civil polity, history, etc.—but should lead the world in its progress toward the goal of civilization. He shows by statistics the superiority of Protestants to Catholics in education, and insists that, so far from having been injured by the infusion of Protestant ideas, German Catholics have thereby become imbued with the spirit of progress. He attributes the backwardness of Catholics to the fact that individual reason and personality have been hampered by ecclesiastical authority, and insists, on the ground of numerous New Testament texts, upon the fact that the believer is inwardly taught by the Spirit of God. Personal experience of divine truth, and not priestly authority, is the condition of individual religious progress. It would be difficult to find even in evangelical literature a more vigorous and well-reasoned plea for individualism and liberty. The author devotes a long chapter to "Freedom of Thought and Ecclesiastical Authority." It would be interesting to give a summary of the author's performance of the difficult task of reconciling these two elements. Of course, ideally, the Catholic church would not wish to exercise any authority that would interfere with any proper freedom of thought and research. The headings of other chapters are: "Conservatism and Progress," "The Ideal of Catholicism," "Cardinal Manning on Our Question," and some concluding remarks by way of warning against misunderstandings. If such a book as this does not promptly find a place in the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*, it may be inferred that in Germany at least the policy of the Roman curia is to allow freedom of thought and research to an almost unlimited extent.

Since the above was written Schell's works have been censured by the congregation of the *Index*, and he has humbly submitted to the authority of the pope.

ALBERT HENRY NEWMAN.

McMASTER UNIVERSITY,  
Toronto, Canada.

DER REFORMKATHOLIZISMUS DIE RELIGION DER ZUKUNFT. Für die Gebildeten aller Bekenntnisse dargestellt. Von JOSEF MÜLLER, Doctor der Philosophie. Würzburg: Andreas Göbel's Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1899. Pp. viii + 102. M. 1.50.

MÜLLER'S brochure represents the same type of Catholic thought as that of Schell. He refers with great respect to Schell as "the celebrated Würzburg apologist," who has in preparation a large work along the same lines. He refers to Archbishop Ireland as an eminent

prelate who stands at the head of the movement represented in America. He claims to write with irenic intent, and to allow himself to show indignation only when the eighth commandment (against false witness) is violated by his opponents. The brochure is divided into two parts: (1) "Fundamental Apologetical Questions" and (2) "Catholicism and Protestantism of the Present." The first part is divided into nine sections: "Religion," "Christ the God-Man," "Modern Biblical Criticism," "The Old Testament," "The New Testament," "The Apostolic Confession of Faith," "The Church," "Ecclesiastical Infallibility," "Necessity of the Infallible Teaching Office and Relation of the Same to Scripture and Tradition." Religion is defined as "the striving after an understanding of the world and enfranchisement of the mind (*Geisteserlösung*)."<sup>1</sup> Its universality and vast importance in human life are recognized. The necessity and the reality of divine revelation to a right understanding of the world and a true emancipation of the mind are insisted upon. While recognizing the necessity and the propriety of biblical criticism, the author has no sympathy with the current negative criticism, and with considerable ability seeks to set aside its supposed results and to vindicate for the Old and New Testament books their authenticity and their inerrancy. He puts more emphasis than does Schell on the Roman Catholic church as the great, divinely constituted instrument for the realization of God's purposes on earth. He seeks to prove historically the primacy of the Roman see as the *Cathedra Petri* and of the bishop of Rome as the successor of Peter, the rock upon which Christ was to build his church. The necessity of an infallible teaching office is argued from the fallibility of theological science and of biblical exegesis. If there is to be true catholicity, there must be an infallible teacher and an authoritative guide. Yet, notwithstanding the possession of these advantages, Catholicism is being sadly outstripped by Protestantism. Statistics are given to show that Catholicism is rapidly losing ground in Germany. In Baden within a few years Protestants have gained 44,000 as compared with Catholics; in Alsace the accession of Catholics to Protestantism has been double that of Protestants to Catholicism. In 1896 in Prussia 18,000 Catholics became Protestants, against 2,000 Protestant converts to Catholicism. Protestant influence is everywhere dominant, and Protestant modes of thought are permeating Catholic communities. The author seeks to account for this "Catholic inferiority." He finds the chief reason in the neglect of thorough education for the Catholic people and the repression of freedom of thought and of



research by the Catholic leaders. He thinks the scholastic methods of philosophical and theological thinking and teaching unsuited to the age, and, like Schell, he insists that Catholics shall avail themselves freely of modern science and encourage liberty of thought and research.

ALBERT HENRY NEWMAN.

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Toronto, Canada.

NOTES ON MEDIAEVAL SERVICES IN ENGLAND. With an Index of Lincoln Ceremonies. By CHR. WORDSWORTH, M.A., Rector of St. Peter and St. Paul's, Marlborough, etc. London: Thomas Baker, 1898. Pp. xiii + 313. 7s. 6d., *net*.

THE author of this book has been led, from the practical spiritual needs of his own life and the life of his times, to the conviction that the great English cathedrals are not fulfilling their mission so completely as they did in days long gone. This has led him to inquire as well as he can into "what use was made in earlier ages of those side chapels and other nooks and corners which at least at no distant date were kept sedulously locked and were only to be visited under a pretext of historical or antiquarian interest or curiosity."

He has found that there is a wide-spread ignorance concerning many of the simplest details of these parts of church fabric. He has thus been led further to inquire as to the hours of divine service in the English churches during the Middle Ages, and as to the customs and ceremonies, and the titles of the altars and chapels in the minster of old Lincoln.

The cathedral churches of Exeter, Lincoln, Salisbury, and Wells, where the records of service are more or less accessible, have been chosen for special study.

The result is a mass of incomplete, but very interesting "notes;" and notes they are, not narrative. The student of the mediæval church history of England will be able from this material to form a very good conception of the services as they were carried on. Indeed, he can almost get back and live them over again.

The work was evidently a labor of love, as the author was "born under the shadow of Westminster Abbey and had the privilege of being christened in the southwest chapel," and the fruits of the labor amply justify the undertaking.

J. W. MONCRIEF.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

THE WORLD'S UNREST AND ITS REMEDY. By JAMES FIELD SPALDING. New York, London, and Bombay: Longmans, Green & Co., 1898. Pp. 229. \$1.25.

THE author of this book alleges that men in our day are in a state of unusual unrest, which can be allayed by uniting with the Roman Catholic church. This ecclesiastical body is "the haven of peace." But in characterizing his church he never uses the epithet "Roman," but exclusively appropriates to that purpose the term "Catholic." But there is not even a statistical basis for such a claim. All, of whatever name or of no name, that truly follow Christ constitute the catholic church.

Still our author is irenic in utterance. He calls all Christians outside the Romish church "separated brethren." He evidently longs to conduct them into his ecclesiastical "haven of peace." To effect this he sets forth and defends all papal claims and doctrines. He is evidently conscious of the extreme difficulty of his task. To show that the Romish church by preëminence is "holy;" that the claim of the pope's infallibility, which, he says, "may be called astounding," has, nevertheless, "eminent reasonableness;" that transubstantiation, the immaculate conception, and the mass are rational dogmas, is a work so formidable that before it even a brave man would be readily excused for faltering. But our author never flinches, and for the encouragement of his "separated brethren" he assures them that they would have no difficulty in accepting these "astounding" dogmas, if they would only take the Roman Catholic point of view. But how can they do that without violence to their reason and conscience?

In his earnest advocacy of papal infallibility he says: "How can the pope act as supreme teacher of the church if his decisions upon questions of faith and morals are not final? And how can they be final if not infallible?" So say we all. There is only one defect in the argument: the premises are not proved.

The book is full of unproved assumptions like the following: the world now has unusual unrest; this unrest is only evil; it can be met by uniting with the papal church; the quietude of soul that comes from submitting reason and conscience to ecclesiastical superiors is a good to be desired; etc., etc.

But true rest of soul is never found in dogmas or sacraments or in ecclesiastical establishments, but alone in Christ, who has said: "Come unto me . . . I will give you rest." So Augustine in his

Confessions said: "Thou, O Lord, hast made us for thyself, and our heart is unquiet until it find rest in Thee."

GALUSHA ANDERSON.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

THE GOSPEL FOR A WORLD OF SIN. By HENRY VAN DYKE, D.D., Pastor of the Brick Church in New York. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1899. Pp. x + 278. \$1.25.

It was almost inevitable that Dr. van Dyke should complement his volume of lectures on *The Gospel for an Age of Doubt* by a book of this nature. In common with other continuations, this series challenges comparison with its predecessor, and, on the whole, it does no discredit to it. Dr. van Dyke is a literary man even more than a theologian. He attracts and holds us by his grace of style, and if we say, therefore, that the present volume shows more signs of haste than the one which preceded it, we only do so by way of warning a most facile and charming writer that there is a risk in publishing so much and so fast. When Dr. van Dyke says that sin is not a thing to be defined, but only to be felt, he sets a very wise limitation to his treatise. Throughout his book deals with our feelings rather than with any definitions of them. So he declares as to forgiveness through Christ that "the attempt to transform any of the glowing words which the apostles use to describe it into a cool, abstract, scientific definition inevitably results in a misrepresentation." Yet no one can read these graphic pages without carrying away a clear conception of the heinousness of sin and "the inward peace and secret joy, and newness of life," which come with forgiveness. The author's book is essentially Christocentric. The true sense of sin is possible only when we accept theism, and theism leads to Christianity. In a powerful and elaborate chapter Dr. van Dyke shows that without Christ the Bible is a message of despair, whereas, if he be restored to his place in it, it becomes the book of hope and joy. His vigorous realization of the personality of Christ influences his whole treatment of the subject of sin. Christ comes into the inner life, and it is his presence there which strikes a blow at the malign power that "poisons the streams of human existence at the fountain head." Had there been no sin, yet he would have come as the revealer of the divine love, and now any imitation of him on our part is impossible without first accepting the merits of his atonement. Today three great ethical ideas are swaying the human race with increasing power. These are, the unity and solidarity of mankind, the true

notion of law, and the just conception of sin. Our interpretation of the message of the cross will be influenced by our interpretation of these. Dr. van Dyke's treatise shows how true it is to say also that our interpretation of each of these is immensely influenced by our interpretation of the cross. It is to the literary rather than to the theological mind that this book addresses itself, and for this very reason it is likely to find many readers and do excellent service to the cause of reasonable Christianity.

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SERMONS PREACHED IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY. By BASIL WILBERFORCE, D.D., Canon of Westminster. New York: E. & J. B. Young & Co., 1899. Pp. viii + 244. 5s.

CANON WILBERFORCE shares with Canon Gore the greatest popularity of the present stated preachers in Westminster Abbey. Whenever they appear in its pulpit crowded congregations are in attendance. This volume contains eighteen sermons. They treat of great subjects and belong to what Canon Wilberforce calls the "theological-forwards' school of thought," and he acknowledges his deep indebtedness to Dean Farrar, the late Dr. Samuel Cox, and others of their way of thinking. The burden of the volume is, in the terms of the author, "the larger, the eternal hope." Future punishment is but the "æonian remedial process." All human souls shall be ultimately restored to God. This is assured on the ground of the "responsible Father," "the irresistible all-Fatherhood of God," to whose urgency all human wills, either in this world or in the next, must inevitably yield. No hyper-Calvinist ever more tenaciously insisted upon the election to salvation of certain ones than Canon Wilberforce insists upon the final salvation of all. No matter how fixed character may become, or how stubbornly rebellious the human will, the divine will must at last prevail. He even seeks to explain away the unpardonable sin. There is, there can be, no such thing.

The sermons are mainly addressed to those who are baffled and disheartened in the presence of the dark mystery of life, of its tangled experiences and keen pain. The canon's hearers are encouraged cheerfully and bravely to endure, to keep sweet and true in the midst of the terrible struggle, since final victory is sure. He stoutly contends for the inherent immortality of man, and valiantly

battles against the materialism so prevalent in our day. He also fully recognizes the social ills of the time, and is bold to charge upon England its dereliction concerning them. These sermons are not sensational, but they are popular in the best meaning of the term. Though they are not to be put in the same class with Robertson's, Bushnell's, and Brooks' discourses, yet they are thoughtful, fresh, interesting, stimulating, and contain many practical, wholesome spiritual lessons. The treatment is never elaborate, always informal, sometimes fragmentary. The scientific exegete would dissent from some of the author's interpretations. The theologian would not always agree with him.

The sermons contain considerable repetition of both material and phraseology. The same quotations of prose and of poetry, and favorite words and phrases, frequently recur. The author speaks again and again of the "Jesus-aspect" of God, of God as the "Parent-Source," the "Parent-Spirit," of "another dimension of space." "Closer than breathing, nearer than hands and feet" occurs in nearly every sermon. These were serious blemishes in the delivery of the discourses, especially if substantially the same hearers listened to them. In the printed volume they are inexcusable.

JOHN M. ENGLISH.

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CHRISTIAN MISSIONS AND SOCIAL PROGRESS: A Sociological Study of Foreign Missions. Vol. II. By REV. JAMES S. DENNIS, D.D. New York, Chicago, and Toronto: The Fleming H. Revell Co., 1899. Pp. xxv + 486. \$2.50.

IN a large sense this great work of Dr. Dennis is a commentary upon the Christ's own title which he chose for himself—the Son of Man. In this title Jesus crowned his own doctrine of the worth of man. Christian missions in the past, but more especially in their present trend, follow closely the Master's spirit, teachings, and example. No other literary work, we imagine, has so clearly set forth this fact as the trio of volumes of which this is the second.<sup>1</sup> It is a sociological study of foreign missions, and one very rich in encouragement to all who take seriously the command of Jesus to disciple all the nations.

<sup>1</sup> For a review of the first volume see this JOURNAL, Vol. II, pp. 707-10.

This portly volume opens with a frontispiece showing in one group ten of the translators of the Bible into Japanese. Their work was finished and the Book of books issued in Nihonese in 1888. Three are native and consummate masters of the tongue of mikados and of poets whose verses a millennium old still delight scholars. Of the seven aliens—all Americans except one—four “have crossed the flood.” It is a picture to thrill the soul of one who remembers the time when to Japan’s millions Christianity meant sorcery, government edicts banned the faith under penalty of limb and life, prisons were filled with believers about to be sent to those already in exile, and when to have a scrap of Scripture put the owner in jeopardy of life. Yet these were the days also of infanticide, unspeakable disease, cruelty, beggary; the period with no hospitals, orphanages, or blind asylums. Now, with the Bible and churches, have come manifold and elaborate applications of Christianity to all the needs of man. Verily Japan nobly illustrates that “dawn of a sociological era in missions” and “the contributions of Christian missions to social progress” with which this volume is concerned and which themes it so ably treats. In it are scores of reproductions of photographs of many men, women, and children of many lands, in varied garb, of manifold methods of life, but with one hope illuminating their faces. As effective as arguments as they are pleasing to the eye are these illustrations. Dr. Dennis deserves high praise for the originality of his method as well as for his indomitable patience and perseverance in collecting so many rich and varied proofs of the power of the gospel over the whole man.

In the elaboration of his thesis Dr. Dennis draws from a wide range of testimony, and gives copious references to authorities who have been workers or witnesses in the wide field. Christianity is distinctly creative of new types of individual character and of a new public opinion. It establishes and promotes education, stimulates the intellectual life of nations, awakens the philanthropic spirit, introduces new national aspirations and higher conceptions of government, and lays the foundations of a new social order. It thus proves itself a civilizer of the first grade of value. It thus commends itself to every lover of his kind and race, without regard to one’s subjective beliefs or dogmatic prepossessions. It is no longer possible for men conversant with the facts to hold the attention of the thoughtful with the old puerile nonsense about “the cost of a convert.” Even in lands like Japan, where, in the impotence of despair at the impossibility of resisting Christianity, native scholars, as

able as they are crafty, studiously misrepresent the causes of national renaissance, the proofs of the social amelioration through the religion of Jesus are too patent for suppression or concealment. The critically sifted testimony of scrutinizing visitors, of veteran missionaries who have perspective as well as breadth of view, and the confirmatory testimony of natives demonstrate the unique power of Christianity in its missionary form as the renewer of national life and Jesus the Savior of man in this visible world as well as in that unseen. If it be true, as has been well said, that "if Christ's religion cannot save a man for this world, it cannot save him for any other," Dr. Dennis' array of facts makes it certain that wherever the life of the Son of Man is reproduced men are saved for both worlds.

The bulk of this second volume is devoted to showing the results of Christian missions as manifest in individual character, as affecting family life, and as shown in the humane and philanthropic tendencies which are engendered and directed. Not only are many nations and peoples called on as witnesses to furnish proofs, but the literature and authorities are so cited and arrayed that this work thus becomes an invaluable handbook to the student of the grandest force now working for the spiritual unity of the race. Even the bare catalogue of the themes discussed, each of which is also an index of victory already in great part attained, is eloquent: the elevation of woman, the restraining of polygamy and concubinage, the checking of adultery and divorce, the abolition of child marriage, the alleviation of the social miseries of widowhood, mitigating the enforced seclusion of women, improvement of domestic life and family training, diminishing infanticide, etc.

The humanitarian value of missions in the world at large, in suppressing slavery and the slave trade, cannibalism, human sacrifices, cruel ordeals, and in organizing practical charities, famine relief, hospitals and dispensaries, leper asylums and colonies, promoting cleanliness and health, and mitigating war, are clearly shown in text and with picture. We close this volume with the conviction that no more important work on the practical side of missions has yet been written, nor one more likely to appeal to all lovers of humanity, without regard to their creeds or subjective prepossessions. Yet Dr. Dennis' gospel is the old and the tried. It has been his happy part to show its worldwide sociological value. A third volume will complete his great and noble task.

WM. ELLIOT GRIFFIS.

ITHACA, N. Y.

THE REDEMPTION OF AFRICA. By FREDERIC PERRY NOBLE, PH.D., Secretary of the Chicago Congress on Africa, Columbian Exposition. Chicago, New York, and Toronto: The Fleming H. Revell Co., 1899. Pp. xxv + 856. \$4.

THIS is a work which will give its author an assured place among the authorities on African history, explorations, and missions. It is a work of vast research and is well-nigh encyclopædic in character. It has occupied more than five years of diligent research, and indicates on every page the breadth of Dr. Noble's reading, his complete mastery of the facts bearing on his theme, and the soundness of his judgment. He has sought information from every conceivable source. He has examined original authorities and spared no pains to secure complete accuracy. He has addressed hundreds of letters to missionaries and missionary secretaries, and has studied with the utmost pains, not only their reports, but the reports of traders and explorers. The maps prepared for these volumes are models of neatness and beauty. They represent the latest discoveries and are entirely trustworthy. Statistical tables, a select bibliography of the literature of African missions, and the indexes fill eighty-seven pages and constitute one of the most valuable sections of the work. Students will appreciate the immense amount of labor bestowed on these indexes and tables.

Although the knowledge the author has acquired is presented in a condensed form, it is presented so clearly and so philosophically as to attract and hold the reader's attention to the end of each chapter. An account of the forces by which Africa has been opened to the world during the present century, a description of the conditions of the millions who live in Africa, and a statement of the effect which Christianity has already had, and is likely to have, upon them in the near future, could not fail to be of interest, by whomsoever given. They are doubly interesting as coming from an enthusiastic lover of Africa like Dr. Noble. What he has written will surely command attention. His conclusions must be carefully weighed by those who desire to know the facts about the Dark Continent. His work will be of special value to ministers, and to students of geography and ethnology. Missionary societies and public libraries will be compelled to purchase it. Those who are so fortunate as to own the volumes will find it profitable to read them as soon as possible, and then refer to them as often as there is need. They contain material for scores of essays and for hundreds of missionary concerts.



The work is divided into three books, entitled "The Ancient and Mediæval Preparation," "The Religious Partition," and "The Expansion of Missions." It will thus be seen that Dr. Noble proposes to furnish his readers with a comprehensive history of all that has been done for Africa from the earliest times. The titles of the chapters in the first book are: "In the Beginning: Africa in Religious Thought;" "The Ancient Missions;" "Islam as an African Missionary;" "The Rise of Protestant Missions." The chapter on Islam will bear reading several times. It is full and fair. While it shows that Islam has not been an unmixed evil in Africa, it shows also that it has not been an unmixed good. It makes it very clear that its power and progress have been greatly overestimated, and that it by no means has the promise of the future. It would be difficult to find anywhere else so good an account, in so brief a compass, of the principles of the "false prophet," and the hold these principles have on African peoples.

In tracing the religious partition of Africa from Loyola and Zinzendorf to Livingstone and Lavigerie, or from 1520 to 1898, Dr. Noble treats of the Anglican communion in its African apostolate, doing it complete justice and entering into sympathy with its noble representatives; describes the wonderful work which the Baptist churches of Great Britain and America have wrought, and gives a sufficiently full, though rapid, account, in separate chapters, of the nature and results of Congregational, Lutheran, Methodist, and Presbyterian missions in Africa. Ample space is taken to recount the work of Rome, to describe her methods, and to do justice to her heroic servants. Unusual interest attaches to what is said of "The Unity of Brethren" (Moravians) in their missions to the negroes, and of "Unity" as a missionary society. One cannot peruse these chapters without being impressed with the earnestness and self-sacrifice of nearly all African missionaries, and with the wisdom with which Protestants have proceeded in their attempts to evangelize Africa. There will be less satisfaction with the outcome of Roman Catholic missions.

In speaking of the "Expansion of Missions," the author connects America with Africa by describing the religious condition of the negro in the United States, while in slavery and since his emancipation. There are references, also, to missionary work among the blacks of the West Indies, and suggestions as to the part the colored people of this continent are to have in the evangelization of Africa. In another chapter we have the facts about undenominational missions, and the difficulties which attend an enterprise like that inaugurated and pushed

forward by Bishop Taylor. The author gives us an entertaining and an instructive description of the new missionary as represented by Alexander Mackay, of Uganda, who employs industrial methods for the sake of the spiritual results they secure. Under the heading of "Old Friends and New Methods" is an account of the work of Robert and Mary Moffat. The steps necessary for the founding of a mission are traced for us with such vividness that we cannot escape a sense of weariness in following the missionary day by day. As representatives of the Protestant and the Romanist methods of giving the gospel to the heathen, Livingstone and Lavigerie are selected, and the contrasts between them in race, temperament, religion, aims, and results secured, sharply defined. The cardinal receives the honor which is his due, but no one can fail to see that the untitled minister has a truer knowledge of men and a better appreciation of the means by which to reach their hearts than his brother of the Roman church.

In the review of what has been done for Africa and in a forecast of what she is to become, Dr. Noble exhibits his strong conviction that Christianity will ultimately control the continent. Already more than three hundred different agencies, employing more than fifteen thousand persons, are striving to give the gospel to the people who live within its borders. Rome is directly influencing not less than four hundred thousand, Protestantism twice as many. Protestantism has established schools for the training of native pastors and teachers, has translated the Bible into many languages and dialects, has made a beginning of religious literature for Africa; while Romanism, for the most part, seems to rely on the work of European missionaries and fears to give the Bible or religious books, to any great extent, to her converts. In 1890, our author tells us, Protestantism had twice as many agencies at work in Africa as Rome. The permanent results will doubtless be more than twice as great as those of Rome.

We congratulate Dr. Noble upon the work he has done for Africa, and thank him for the knowledge of her needs which he has given our English-speaking people. No man with a conscience can read these volumes without feeling an increased responsibility for improving the moral and spiritual condition of the millions who dwell in Africa. We commend the book heartily. The publisher has done his part well. The page is open, the paper is good, the margin is wide, the print easy to read. Errors in proof-reading, while not altogether absent, are surprisingly few.

EDWARD F. WILLIAMS.

CHICAGO, ILL.

THE MESSAGE OF CHRIST TO MANHOOD. Being the *William Belden Noble* Lectures for 1898. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1899. Pp. ix+209, with an Appendix. \$1.25.

THE six lectures that constitute this volume were delivered in Harvard University in 1898, on the "William Belden Noble foundation." Mr. Noble was a member of the class of 1885 at Harvard. Though in poor health, he took high rank in his class. From 1888 he studied for two years in the Episcopal theological school in Cambridge, intending to devote his life to the work of the Christian ministry. Owing to increasing physical weakness, he was compelled to leave the seminary, and traveled "in a hopeless search for health." He died July 27, 1896. Mr. Noble was a young man of rare personality, of broad sympathy, and of high spiritual aims. The prefatory note states: "By his untimely death the work which he had at heart to perform in this world was to human vision left unfinished. These lectures are intended to carry on that work in accordance with the comprehensive spiritual ideal he had set before him."

In common with a multitude of Harvard students, young Noble was powerfully influenced by the personality and ministry of Phillips Brooks, concerning whom Mrs. Noble says: "In accordance with the large interpretation of the influence of Jesus by the late Phillips Brooks, with whose religious teaching he in whose memory the lectures are established, and also the founder of the lectures, were in deep sympathy, it is intended that the scope of the lectures shall be as wide as the highest interests of humanity." "With this end in view," the lectures are to promote "the perfection of the spiritual man and the consecration by the spirit of Jesus of every department of human character, thought, and activity."

The lectures contained in the present volume admirably realize the purpose of their founder. They were delivered to Harvard students, and in both contents and expression befit their hearers. Space does not permit the characterization of each lecture. Suffice it to say that in all of them Christ is boldly, strongly set forth as the central need of every man. The culture that would presume to ignore him is plainly and severely rebuked. Though the lectures are concerned with the varied aspects of Christ's message to manhood, the most of them, at least, are joined in vital unity by the insistence of each preacher that Christ's ministry is fundamentally to the inner world of man's immortal spirit, and that his ultimate and mightiest appeal is to the

human will, the true source of character. If man is controlled by Christ, the lectures teach, he will be true to himself, to the family, and to society. All the lectures glorify the ministry of Phillips Brooks, which was directed to the best in every man, and called it forth in loving fealty to Jesus Christ as the Savior and Master of all men. Even Dr. Peabody's address, which is upon Christ's social message, declares that social regeneration waits upon the regeneration of the individual. The last lecture of the volume, "The Message of Christ to the Family," is meager and inadequate in the treatment of its theme, and contains an unfortunate misprint of the title of Dr. Bushnell's book from which a quotation is made, making it *Christian Nature* instead of *Christian Nurture*. These lectures should be carefully read by every minister of the gospel for their scope, for the high quality of their material, and for their clear, vigorous, finished style.

JOHN M. ENGLISH.

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THE MAKING OF HAWAII. A Study in Social Evolution. By  
WILLIAM FREMONT BLACKMAN, Professor in Yale University.  
New York: The Macmillan Co., 1899. Pp. ix + 266. \$2.

THE annexation of Hawaii gives a national, political, and economic interest to this timely and valuable volume. Data are furnished for a fair and impartial judgment of the value of American missions. The author's testimony to the actual civilizing service of these agencies of culture is rendered all the more impressive because he honestly recognizes the rigidity, austerity, and narrow Puritanism which injured the work of the worthy and devoted early missionaries. The explanation of the gradual disappearance of the native population, one of the most pathetic incidents of contact with stronger races, is very satisfactory, and it should put an end to the malicious and ignorant assertion, sometimes heard, that it is due to the teachings of the best friends the poor creatures have ever had.

The sociological analysis of materials is a searching instrument for the discovery and interpretation of the significant facts in the situation, and it suggests a fruitful method for study of other fields. The author gives a picture of domestic, economic, governmental, and religious institutions in the pagan, transition, and recent periods of Hawaiian history. The merely ecclesiastical factor gains in significance by finding its setting in the social complex of which it forms a vital part.

The optimistic conclusion as to the ability of white men to live and rear families in the tropics does not agree with the less hopeful view of Professor Ripley's recent work on *The Races of Europe*. Until we have the costly experience of several generations of adventurers, with heavy sacrifice of pioneers, somewhat mitigated by sanitary science, we must be content with speculation.

The dark side of commercialism is shown (p. 202) in the practical enslavement of the laborers imported by sugar planters under contract. The extension of our immigration laws promises a correction of this iniquity.

At certain points the omission of historical details leaves the explanation of events incomplete. The absence of a map is felt.

C. R. HENDERSON.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

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*A Brief Introduction to Modern Philosophy.* By Arthur Kenyon Rogers, Ph.D. (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1899; pp. 360; \$1.25.) This volume, like Professor Hibben's *Problems of Philosophy*, attempts to develop in brief compass the essential points of view in modern philosophy, and the problems and schools of thought growing out of them. The author endeavors to state the issues in untechnical language, and with constant reference to their origin in, and application to, concrete experience, and hopes thus to bring home to the student the practical significance of philosophic inquiry. Three chapters are devoted to the typical aspects of ontology and epistemology, and these are followed by a critical estimate of the Kantian, Hegelian, and agnostic attempts at solving the epistemological problem. In the closing chapter the author attempts a positive formulation of results by outlining a system of theistic idealism, and indicating the limits and criteria of philosophic inquiry. The treatment is by no means without interest for the trained reader. The criticism of Hegel and the attempt to justify the theistic conception of the relation of God to finite individuals are especially worthy of notice. Both are grounded upon the epistemological doctrine of a reference in knowledge to a reality, which transcends in its being the experience through which it is known. Hegel, ignoring this reference, identifies, according to the author, his Absolute with conscious processes, and thus is logically forced to a pure solipsism, or the alternative of a pantheism, which swallows up all finite, human individuality. The problem of theism is, starting

with the finite self as in some sense separate in the conscious experience, though not in the meaning, of its life from the rest of the universe, to find a real unity of such selves with one another and with the Absolute Self. The author finds the solution in the conception of a social whole or unity, which brings the separate conscious experience of the social elements into the unity of a common end and purpose. This attempt at construction is suggestive, but is far from being either clear or adequate, and can hardly fail to be baffling to the student. The book is much too ambitious for an introduction. The beginner will do well if with patient guidance over the metaphysical and epistemological road he shall succeed in really entering the idealistic country. He must at least become acclimated before he can follow our author in the rapidity and sweep of his exploration.—GEO. M. FORBES.

*Ethik.* Von Dr. Thomas Achelis. (Leipzig: G. J. Göschen'sche Verlagshandlung, 1898; pp. 159; M. 0.80.) This book contains an outline of ethics in a very compact and readable form. It falls into three divisions: the first contains a brief history of the subject, from Socrates to Herbart; the second treats such phenomena of morality as language, mythology, religion, social life, property, and art; the third takes up the fundamental principles of ethical science. The book is rather difficult reading for beginners, but will be very serviceable for purposes of reviewing the subject of which it treats.—ALBERT J. RAMAKER.

*A Hand-Book of Comparative Religion.* By Rev. S. H. Kellogg, D.D., LL.D. (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1899; pp. viii + 179; \$0.75.) This was probably the last work undertaken by the lamented Dr. Kellogg, whose contributions to the study of Indian religions have been characterized by scholarship and earnest, though honorable, partisanship. Comparative religion, as understood by Dr. Kellogg, is a comparison of all other religions with Christianity for the purpose of showing their manifest inferiority in doctrine; or, more exactly, a comparison of these religions with Dr. Kellogg's conception of true Christian theology. This is a piece of work which cannot be done without bringing out some very important and significant truths, but it is not to be regarded as a scientific contribution to the study of religions, because the whole matter is distorted by the point of view taken. While respecting the earnestness and evident intention to be just which characterize the volume, one cannot help feeling that the questions involved are not to be settled in such a way as this.—*Religion and Conscience in*

*Ancient Egypt.* Lectures delivered at the University College, London. By W. M. F. Petrie, D.C.L., LL.D., Ph.D. (London: Methuen & Co.; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1898; pp. 179; 2s. 6d.) It is a new rôle in which Professor Petrie here appears, and one in which his peculiar characteristics and special work are both an advantage and a disadvantage. To give a historical presentation of the religion and morals of ancient Egypt in the same way in which one measures a pyramid or unearths an ancient temple is certainly to throw upon the subject light from an unexpected point of view, but it savors a little of the mechanical. While the attitude makes the lectures interesting reading, they must be regarded rather as the views of a brilliant archæologist upon certain points in Egyptian religion than anything like an organized body of material respecting it. The salient points which are emphasized are such as the following: the tracing back of the various religious elements to the four chief races which, one after the other, entered Egypt in prehistoric times—first negro, then Libyan, then Mesopotamian, and then Punite; the exploitation of popular tales for religious material, and the use of graphic representations to describe the moral development of the Egyptians. In other words, Professor Petrie's little book is stimulating and suggestive, but cannot be relied upon for a complete and well-rounded presentation of the subject.—*The Book of the Master, or the Egyptian Doctrine of the Light Born of the Virgin Mother.* By W. Marsham Adams. Illustrated. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1898; pp. xxii + 204; \$1.25.) Mr. Adams was formerly a fellow of New College, Oxford. He is author of *The House of the Hidden Places, the Clue to the Creed of Early Egypt from Egyptian Sources*, and the motto which he prefixes to his book is the following: "In Nature's infinite book of secrecy a little I can read." It seems to us that his motto, at least, is too modest; for the enthusiasm of the author in his investigations into the secrets of the Egyptians has revealed to him marvels hitherto undreamed of. Mr. Adams is affected with the disease that from time to time attacks certain selected persons, known as Egyptomania, the symptoms of which are to regard Egypt as the source of all knowledge and wisdom, and to consider that all this wisdom and knowledge were marvelously concealed by the knowers of it, and that to us of the present, by intuition and investigation, have been disclosed these sources of hitherto mysterious wisdom. Objects and centers of this mania are the pyramids, the Book of the Dead, and the temple of Denderah. The special achievement of Mr. Adams is the discovery that the Book of the Dead is a carefully prepared manual of initiation

to the mysteries of truth to be used in connection with the passage of the initiate through the chambers and corridors of the Great Pyramid. The final proof of this astounding discovery is that Mr. Adams has gone through the passages both of the pyramid and the Book of the Dead and verified the references. Henceforth Egyptologists and students of Egyptian religion will have a new key to unlock the secrets of their studies. The author writes with much pious enthusiasm and real learning. It is but just to him to cite the testimony of Professor Maspero, viz.: "The pyramids and the Book of the Dead reproduce the same original—one in words, the other in stone." However, we should desire Professor Maspero's interpretation of these somewhat enigmatical words before we accept them as testimony to the author's thesis. It is a pity that so much ability should be so thoroughly misdirected.—*The Message of the World's Religions*. Reprinted from the *Outlook*. (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1898; pp. iv + 125; \$0.50.) The volume is made up of brief characterizations of leading religions by Jewish and Christian scholars. They are in all cases well done. Nowhere in brief compass can one get better and more trustworthy material. Of course, the demands of brevity require the omission of all detail, and yet the writers pack into the few pages given them the gist of many large volumes. Rabbi Gottheil's apology for Judaism is eloquent, but scientifically not so valuable as the contributions of the other writers. He stands too near his subject to appreciate critically. The same may perhaps be said of Dr. Abbott's chapter on Christianity. It is written from Dr. Abbott's point of view. Rhys Davids writes on Buddhism; Arthur Smith, on Confucianism; Dr. Washburn, on Mohammedanism; Professor Lanman, on Brahmanism.—*The Story of Religions*. By Rev. E. D. Price, F.G.S. (London: Newnes; New York: M. F. Mansfield, 1898; pp. iii + 227; \$0.75.) The author has aimed "to indicate the leading principles which underlie the great religions of the world," and "to show how these beliefs have arisen, and how they have developed in the history of mankind." In pursuing this purpose he has collected some useful material, but the whole has been so ill-assorted, and the presentation is so dry, that the result is a very unattractive piece of work. One hundred pages are given to the non-Christian religions; 115 to Christianity, in which every sect known to the writer is described. No one would be particularly attracted to the study of the subject by this tedious, poorly arranged, though well-meaning, book.—*Buddha, Mohammed, Christus*. Ein Vergleich der drei Persönlichkeiten und ihrer Religionen. Von Robert Falke.



(Gütersloh : C. Bertelsmann, 1896, 1897 ; pp. 211, 252 ; M. 6.) This work belongs to the domain of Christian apologetics, not to that of the history of religion. It is not an endeavor to grasp and delineate the meaning and worth of each of these three great manifestations of the religious spirit. The author starts with a thesis which he proceeds to prove, viz., the superiority of Christ and Christianity, the finality of the Christian revelation. He is on the right side, without doubt ; but he is an advocate, not a judge.—*The Gods of Our Fathers*. A Study of Saxon Mythology. By Herman I. Stern. (New York and London : Harper & Brothers, 1898 ; pp. xxix + 269 ; \$1.50.) The author of this book is conscious of a mission. Such a consciousness in a writer makes for and against the success of his book — for it, if he is able to conceal his purpose to convince the reader ; against it, if it is constantly, even though with enthusiastic insistence, forced upon him. It cannot be said that the book escapes the dangers associated with its strenuous advocacy of the thesis that the religious literature of the Teutonic race is fully as interesting reading and as profitable for instruction in righteousness as the mythology of Greece and Rome. In the fulfilment of his mission for the propagation of this faith the author has written a glowing account of what he calls Saxon mythology, reproducing in a vivid and sometimes tumid style the fine old legends that stir our blood and melt our hearts, and interposing from time to time interpretation and application in a way to remind one of Carlyle's Odin lecture in his *Heroes*. The design of the book acts as a limitation upon its value in one respect. It is not a scientific "study," and its author does not seem to be thoroughly grounded in the best that has been done in this field. In one point especially does his treatment seem defective, a point which is vital to his cause. He strenuously denies the presence of any Christian elements in the mythology. This cannot be successfully maintained in the field of Teutonic scholarship today. Apart from these defects of treatment, the book may be commended to all who would read an agreeable account of Teutonic mythology. There is, unfortunately, no index, which in a book so full of details, names, and events is a serious defect.—*Creation Myths of Primitive America* ; in relation to the Religious History and Mental Development of Mankind. By Jeremiah Curtin. (Boston : Little, Brown & Co., 1898 ; pp. xxxix + 532 ; \$2.50.) These weird and fantastic tales of spirits, animals, and heroes were gathered by the author from the Wintus and Yassas, Indian tribes of central California. To the uninitiated they read like nonsense stories. But the trained student of

folk-lore finds in them a veritable storehouse of information upon primitive philosophy and religion. In his introduction, full of enthusiastic and luminous exposition of this philosophy, Mr. Curtin claims for the body of myth and legend to be gathered from the aborigines of North America, as it appears in a wide area among various tribes, the fullest and most original presentation of early human thought to be obtained anywhere in the world, and argues that from it is to be obtained the clue to the interpretation of the less intelligible remains of primitive philosophy and religion among other peoples. His industry and enthusiasm are admirable, and his conclusions worthy of earnest consideration. Others might question his assertion of the primitive character and originality of these myths. He nowhere feels it necessary to defend them from the suspicion of having been contaminated by higher ideas derived from without. Still, others might claim that myths are always secondary, not primary; and hence a deeper search must be made for that which the myths explain, viz., the rites and institutions. The problems are difficult and complex, but all material like this, gathered with patient care and preserved, helps on the final solution.—GEORGE STEPHEN GOODSPEED.

*Vorträge über kritische Fragen des Alten Testaments.* Von Dr. theol. Adolph Zahn. (Leipzig: Verlag von E. Ungleich, 1898; pp. xv + 163; M. 2.20.) Dr. Zahn's lectures are undoubtedly interesting reading. The author is a staunch supporter of the orthodox view of the Scriptures. He is vigorous in the presentation of his case, and uncompromising in the statement of his beliefs. His polemic is rather sharp and sometimes too personal. After a general introduction the author gives us in his first lecture a criticism of the methods of the higher critics. The second series of lectures is an application of his own method to the book of Joshua, the books of the Kings, the Psalms, and the Law. There is nothing new in these lectures, and it is doubtful whether modern critics, either of a naturalistic or an evangelical tendency, will concede their defeat, which our author proclaims.—*Die Aussagen des Neuen Testaments über den Pentateuch.* Von Dr. C. F. Nösgen, Professor in Rostock. (Berlin: Verlag von Wiegand & Grieben, 1898; pp. 68; M. 0.80.) Certain radical critics take no interest in the subject of this monograph. What Jesus and his apostles say about the Pentateuch is treated by them with indifference. Christ shared the views of his contemporaries. It could not be otherwise. For such men Nösgen has written in vain. Others, however, will read

this able and well-written pamphlet with profit. The author first emphasizes Jesus' relation to the law; then he proceeds to show the use Jesus makes of the beginnings of the history of redemption; and at last he speaks of Jesus' appeal to the testimony of Moses to himself. The sayings of the apostles are merely touched upon, when necessary for the completion of the Savior's teachings.—NICHOLAS M. STEFFENS.

*Die sozialen Verhältnisse der Israeliten.* Von D. Frants Buhl. (Berlin: Reuther & Reichard, 1899; pp. 130; M. 2.) To all students of sociology in its historical forms and manifestations this unpretending book of Professor Buhl will be very helpful. It is prepared by a scholar of the first rank, who is intent, not on spinning theories, but on giving facts. After two introductory chapters, one on the land of Israel as a basis for its economic life, and one sketching the social and economical development, the author takes up in detail the various branches and elements of social activity among the Israelites, as the family, clan, and tribe, the political constitution, citizenship, property, occupations, money, taxes, etc. In the many points on which light is dim and conclusions uncertain, and therefore disputed, the discussion is as far as possible objective, and the results which can be regarded as fairly certain are put forward. Such topics are those of the matriarchate, the population, and the year of jubilee. Every thorough-going student of the history of Israel will give this book an important place among those frequently consulted by him.—*Untersuchungen über die Erzväter bei den Propheten bis zum Beginn des babylonischen Exils.* Von Rudolf Hollmann. (Dorpat: Karow, 1897; pp. iv + 84; M. 1.) Hollmann writes with good sense and scholarly ability on the problems connected with the passages in the pre-exilic prophets dealing with the patriarchs. It is striking that there is very little reference to the patriarchs in these writings, a fact which seems to indicate that these heroes were not prominent in the prophetic religious consciousness. Isaac is mentioned only once, and that in a late Jeremiah passage. Abraham first appears in Ezekiel, though he is probably meant, but not mentioned, in Jer. 11:5. Of the three patriarchs Jacob is the most popular figure among the prophets, while among the later prophets Abraham is beginning to come forward. There is some evidence that different traditions from those in Genesis were employed by the prophets, but this may be due solely to the prophetic purpose and point of view. Hollmann gives a good deal of attention to the

critical discussion of the details of the passages brought forward, and while the net result of the whole investigation is only negatively instructive, yet it is useful to have the facts gathered in so handy a form and treated with such candor and evident ability.—*Lehrbuch der alttestamentlichen Religionsgeschichte*. Von Dr. Rudolph Smend, Professor an der Universität Göttingen. Zweite umgearbeitete Auflage. (Freiburg i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1899; pp. x + 579; M. 18.) This is a thoroughly revised edition of Smend's admirable handbook and is in many respects a great improvement upon the first edition. No user of the book in its original form could help being annoyed at the author's evident failure to make his divisions and order of thought prominent or even clear. In the new edition a careful analytic table of contents is given and followed in the treatment. The important points in the paragraphs are indicated by spacing the emphatic words. Sections and paragraphs are rearranged in better order. In contents also, as well as in form, the book is carefully revised. Almost every page discloses some alterations. In footnotes the contributions of recent literature are discussed. Thus Gunkel's *Schöpfung und Chaos*, Hackmann's and Volz' discussions of Isaianic thought, and a score of other important works receive attention. We have not discovered any important changes in Smend's point of view or opinions. It is to be hoped that this new edition will lead many who have not yet read the work to do so, as it is one of the most stimulating and attractive books on the subject of Israel's religion.—GEORGE STEPHEN GOODSPEED.

*Erklärung der Propheten Micha und Joel*, nebst einer Einleitung in die Prophetie. Von Dr. J. T. Beck, weil. o. Professor der Theologie in Tübingen. Herausgegeben von Jul. Lindenmeyer. (Gütersloh: Druck und Verlag von C. Bertelsmann, 1898; pp. vii + 246; M. 3.60.) Johann Tobias Beck must be classed with the older school of orthodox interpreters, although he professed to have departed from their errors. He published several works in the sphere of the doctrinal and practical, and he left a number of exegetical notes which have been prepared for publication since his death by appreciative friends. The book here noticed has fifty-five pages of introduction to prophecy as a whole, eight of introduction to Micah, 134 of notes on Micah, and forty-four of notes on Joel. In the general introduction our author makes his opinion clear throughout that the prophet was so enfolded in the spirit of God that he considers all events and conditions in

their bearing upon the development of the kingdom of God, and that all the institutions of the older dispensation contain the kernel of the future. To discern the significance for the future one must have the tuition of the Spirit and large exercise in the study of the New Testament, and in this way secure what Beck calls the *pneumatic* interpretation. Into the details of his positions we must not enter. The lengths to which his theory leads him may be seen from his interpretation of Mic. 4:2 and of Mic. 5:5, the fulfilments of which he finds in the life of Christ and his church at the cost of giving to Assyria the meaning of "powers opposed to the kingdom of God," and leaving no room for the historic nations or for the grand ideals of Israelitish influence which most interpreters find in these prophecies.—CHARLES RUFUS BROWN.

*Das Buch der Sprüche Salomons*, mit erläuternden Anmerkungen, von P. Bernhard Schmid (Regensburg: Nationale Verlagsanstalt, 1899; pp. iv + 157; M. 2.80), is a modern representative of the commentaries of a century ago. All scientific, exegetical methods and results are avowedly and strenuously excluded. The author is apparently unfamiliar with the Hebrew language, and follows the church fathers almost entirely in his interpretations. The value of the work, even for the general student, is exceedingly questionable, while the evil of inculcating doctrines long since abandoned is great.—C. F. KENT.

*Vergleichende Studien zur Stellung der Frau im Altertum*. Bd. I: Die Frau im Talmud. Von Dr. N. Klugmann. (Wien: Moriz Waizner & Sohn, 1898; pp. 87; M. 2.) In this little volume the author has brought together a most interesting mass of material from the Talmud concerning women, chiefly under the heads of "Childhood," "Instruction," "Marriage;" the latter naturally being by far the most fully treated. A somewhat curious chapter also contains a large number of opinions passed by the rabbis upon women. The volume not only contains information of much archæological importance, but throws considerable light upon the gospels. In this connection it is especially interesting to note the difference between the marriage customs of Judea and Galilee.—SHAILER MATHEWS.

*La Secte des Esséniens*. Essai critique sur son organization, sa doctrine, son origine. Par l'Abbé A. Regeffe. (Lyon: Emmanuel

Vitte, 1898; pp. 104; fr. 2.) This doctor's thesis seeks not only to trace the history of the Essenes, but to show that between their doctrines and those of Christianity there is "toute la distance qui sépare le divin de l'humain." The author has handled all the original material at his disposal, together with the most important literature. In his opinion the origin of the sect is purely Jewish, and he therefore excludes all foreign influence. The essay as a whole is a valuable contribution to the literature of its subject.—SHAILER MATHEWS.

*Grecismer i 1883 års öfversättning af Nya Testamentet.* Af Wilhelm Knös. (Upsala: W. Schultz, 1898; pp. iv + 79.) Though the Swedish version of the New Testament of 1883 is generally considered the best of the several Swedish translations made during the four last centuries, the author undertakes to prove that it contains a number of Grecisms which ought to be avoided. He advocates the principle that a translation must be equally true to the modern tongue and to the original. He makes numerous quotations, especially from the gospels, which he discusses from the grammatical point of view, comparing often with other Swedish as well as English, German, French, and Danish versions. Lexical Grecisms are barely touched. Dr. Knös is an eminent scholar, who has made the Greek grammar his life-study.—O. HEDEEN.

*Die Pastoralbriefe Pauli übersetzt und erklärt.* Von Dr. F. W. Stellhorn, Professor der Theologie an der Capitol Universität zu Columbus, Ohio. I. Der erste Brief Pauli an Timotheum. (Gütersloh: Druck und Verlag von C. Bertelsmann, 1899; pp. vi + 145; M. 2.) This first part of Dr. Stellhorn's translation of, and commentary on, the pastoral epistles contains a few introductory remarks on the three writings. The brevity of this introduction is hardly justified by the author's point of view of a resolute exclusion of all consideration of the grounds on which the critical school denies the Pauline authorship of these epistles. He does not appear to take account, moreover, of the fact that many eminent scholars who are not in general adherents of this school have expressed doubts of their genuineness, or taken a decided position against it. He declares in his preface that his work does not occupy itself with "the critical questions and hypotheses so unfruitful for the Christian life," as if the Christian life were to be promoted by a quiet belief in the genuineness of these epistles, or prejudiced by a knowledge of the grounds on which it is rejected! From this point of view one is not surprised to find the author declaring

that the teachers of doctrines which are "false," from his point of view, are "human instruments and children of the father of lies, whose infernal false teaching is suggested to them by the demons"! The book may serve the purpose of edification to a certain class of Christians, but will not be helpful to seekers after knowledge.—*Kirchliche Fälschungen. II: Der Brief an die Hebräer.* Von Friedrich Thudichum, Professor des Kirchenrechts an der Universität Tübingen. (Berlin: C. A. Schwetschke & Sohn, 1899; pp. 78; M. 1.)<sup>\*</sup> Professor Thudichum has undertaken the hazardous task of maintaining that the epistle to the Hebrews was written in the fourth century. He bases his contention upon the mention in chap. 7 of Abraham's paying tithes to Melchisedek. The author, he thinks, wished to prove that the Christian priests were justified in tithing the people, and, finding no support for this practice in Jesus or the apostles, he seeks to establish it from the Old Testament. The right to demand the payment of tithes accrues to Christ as a high priest after the order of Melchisedek, and since Christ is in heaven, and does not need the tithes for himself, the authority to demand them, which continues to exist, accrues to his representatives, the bishops and priests. Since tithing was not enforced in the church prior to the fourth century, the epistle must be assigned to about this period. The question may well be raised whether the writer of Hebrews made tithing essential or incidental in his argument, and whether his real purpose is not apparent in vs. 22: "By so much was Jesus made a surety of a better covenant." The history of the canon of the New Testament would appear to present insuperable difficulties in the way of Thudichum's hypothesis, and his manner of disposing of them is certainly very arbitrary. All the references to Hebrews in Eusebius are "later falsifications," and although Tertullian mentions a letter of Barnabas "to the Hebrews," we do not know that he meant our Hebrews. The quotations in Eusebius of passages from Origen's sermons, in which there is a critical discussion of the authorship of Hebrews, are dismissed with the remark that, since the sermons have not been preserved, we cannot

<sup>\*</sup>Part III of the *Kirchliche Fälschungen*, just out (Berlin: C. A. Schwetschke & Sohn, 1899; pp. vi + 114; M. 1), treats of "Die Vergötterung der Apostel, insbesondere des Petrus." The author takes up successively the deification of all the apostles (*μαθηταί*), especially that of Peter. The so-called church fathers of the third to the sixth centuries declared falsifications in the interest of such deification permissible. From the fifth century on Peter and Paul were proclaimed preëminently *principes apostolorum*; in later times finally Peter was considered the *vicarius Christi* and superior to Paul.

test the correctness of Eusebius' statements. A hypothesis which must be supported by such assumptions can hardly be regarded as tenable.—ORELLO CONE.

*Die Kirche Jerusalems vom Jahre 70-130.* Von Dr. A. Schlatter. (= "Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie," II, 3a.) (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann; pp. 98; M. 1.60.) This pamphlet makes a satisfactory contribution to the history of the apostolic age, in that it brings together in a series of brief essays nearly, if not quite, all the material at one's disposal concerning the church at Jerusalem from the time of Titus to that of Bar Cochbar. The author makes clear the existence, during these years, of Christians outside of Jerusalem, as at Capernaum and other Galilean cities, and discusses critically the evidence bearing upon Symeon, the son of Klopas, bishop of Jerusalem, according to Hegesippus. Other chapters deal with Jude, Mattathias of Jerusalem, John of Jerusalem, Ariston of Pella. As important as any is his treatment of the canon of the Jewish Christian church. It is impossible to discuss this matter as fully as it deserves, but the following positions of the author deserve attention: The Palestinian church used freely the contemporaneous Jewish literature; the gospels were the standard of doctrine, especially Matthew and Luke; other evangelical literature was used, notably the Gospel according to the Hebrews. Because of the evidence adduced to support these views the pamphlet deserves careful consideration. — *La Pensée de Jésus sur le Royaume de Dieu*, d'après les évangiles synoptiques, avec un appendice sur la question du "Fils de l'homme." Par Frédéric Krop. (Paris: Librairie Fischbacher, Société anonyme, 1897; pp. 146; fr. 3.) Taken altogether, this volume is the most satisfactory summary of discussion upon the important theme of which it treats that has appeared within the last few years. It is marked by broad scholarship and sanity in judgment. And this can be said wholly irrespective of the question whether or not one can agree with each one of the positions taken by the author.—SHAILER MATHEWS.

*Saint Jean Chrysostome (Antioche).* Par l'Abbé G. Marchal. (Paris: Poussielgue, 1898; pp. viii + 232; fr. 2.50.) This account of the Antiochian period of Chrysostom's life aims to verify the well-known facts by reproducing the environment. It succeeds in this admirably, thanks to a charming style, added to no mean scholarship. It is manifestly written from the sources, and is more free from historical errors than from typographical ones.—ERNEST C. RICHARDSON.



*A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church.* Second Series. Translated into English with Prolegomena and Explanatory Notes. Vols. I to VIII, under the editorial supervision of Philip Schaff, D.D., LL.D., and Henry Wace, D.D., in connection with a number of patristic scholars of Europe and America. Vol. IX: *St. Hilary of Poitiers; John of Damascus.* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons; Oxford and London: Parker & Co., 1899; pp. xcvi+258; v+106; 34.) Dr. Sanday, of Oxford, is the editor-in-chief of this latest volume in the Nicene Library. Of St Hilary's select works, "De Synodis" is translated by Rev. L. Pullan, the most of "De Trinitate" by Rev. E. W. Watson, the specimens of "The Commentary on the Psalms" by Rev. H. F. Stewart. A very long, elaborate, and profound introduction on the life, writings, and theology of Hilary is from the pen of Mr. Watson. The second part of the volume, devoted to the masterpiece of John of Damascus, "De Fide Orthodoxa," contains only the translation by Rev. S. D. F. Salmond, D.D. A prologue from Migne's *Patrology* is given, but all introductory matter is omitted. This constitutes a serious defect. The care and thoroughness with which Hilary is treated makes the blank in the case of John all the more painful. The editors and publishers of this most valuable series must know that their task is only half completed when they have reproduced the meaning of the original in an idiomatic English rendering, and that subscribers will not patiently forego the biographical, historical, critical, and other introductory and explanatory notices to which they are justly entitled.—ERI B. HULBERT.

*Die Einführung des Christentums in den deutschen Ländern.* Von Johann Bapt. Berger. (Klagenfurt: Verlag der St. Joseph-Bücherbruderschaft, 1898; pp. viii+264; M. 1.) The missionary period of the mediæval church, when the Germanic and Slavic tribes of central and southern Europe were Christianized, is one of the most interesting periods of church history, but, as students of history know, reliable sources for a detailed study of this epoch are not very abundant. Later centuries, notably the twelfth and thirteenth, feeling this lack of historical material, reduced to writing the many legends that had gathered about the early German missionaries. Roman Catholic writers, especially when producing a book calculated to please the Catholic masses, are in great temptation to make a too free use of these legends. Not infrequently they read into this early missionary period the later developments of church government and papal

authority, thereby wholly ignoring the independence of some of the most successful of the early continental missionaries from Rome. In such books the early German missionaries appear like the priests, bishops, and saints of the later centuries in their methods of work and their subserviency to the bishop of Rome. The book under review is written after this fashion. There are certain indications which lead the careful reader to suspect that the real motive of the author, for writing as he has done, was to counteract the Protestant tendencies among the German Catholics of Austria, which are causing the Roman clergy some uneasiness at present. The only chapters which have any historic value are those in which the author describes the social and religious conditions of the Germanic tribes before their acceptance of Christianity.—ALBERT J. RAMAKER.

*Christliche Männer und Frauen aus alter und neuer Zeit.* Von Dr. Wilhelm Baur. (Bremen: C. Ed. Müllers Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1898; pp. vi + 510; M. 7.) This volume contains a collection of twelve biographical essays which have already appeared in various German periodicals during the past years, and are now, after the author's death, brought together into one volume. The following are the subjects of these sketches: Berthold von Regensburg, Johann Balthasar Schupp, Hans Joachim von Zieten, Baron von Kottwitz, Julius von Gemmingen, Karl Sieveking, Princess Wilhelm von Preussen, Princess Karl von Hessen, Johann H. von Schroeder, Gustav Baur, Leopold Schultze, and Alexander Mackay. So far as the reviewer is able to judge, the only biography in this collection that shows independent investigation is the last one. Alexander Mackay, though a Scotchman, lived for a time in the family of Dr. Baur in Berlin, and it was through Baur that Mr. Mackay secured the appointment with the Church Missionary Society to go to the Victoria Nyanza as a missionary. The essay in question makes considerable use of the personal letters of Mr. Mackay, and it is this fact which gives it special value.—ALBERT J. RAMAKER.

*Beiträge zur Reformationsgeschichte der Reichsstadt Worms.* Zwei Flugschriften aus den Jahren 1523 und 1524, herausgegeben und eingeleitet von Dr. Hermann Haupt, Oberbibliothekar der Universität Giessen. (Giessen: J. Ricker'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1897; pp. xxvi + 31; M. 2.) The two pamphlets here republished by Dr. Hermann Haupt bear the following titles: the first: "Trost brieff der Christlichen kirchendiener zu Wormbs an die frommen Aposteln

und bekennen Jesu Christi, so itzt zu Meintz, Ringau unnd allenthalben im Bistum gefangen liegenn, iren lieben brüderñ;" the second: "Ein getreue vermanung eins liebhabers der Evangelischen warheyth an gemeyne Pfaffheit, nit zu widderfechten den Ehelichen standt, so ein Erssamer Priester zu Wormbs (im von got im neuen unnd Alten Testament zugelassen) an sich genommen hat." The first is prose, the second verse. Both exhibit the crude constructions of a language not yet reduced to literary forms. The work of the editor relates chiefly to the letter of condolence. Some have attributed this pamphlet to one of the dissenting sects which existed in Worms shortly before the Reformation; but the editor shows that it is undoubtedly from a Lutheran congregation. His argument takes the form of a study of the social and religious history of Worms from the fourteenth century to the sixteenth. He makes a very interesting contribution to our knowledge of the condition of the city immediately before the appearance of Luther in it to stand before the diet.—FRANKLIN JOHNSON.

*Kyrklig sönndring i ljuset af lag och evangelium.* Teologisk studie af Berh. Bohlin, V.D.M. (Göteborg: H. L. Bolinders boktryckeri, 1898; pp. 98; Kr. 1.20.) This pamphlet, the aim of which is to explain the schism among the Christian denominations, especially among the Protestants, treats its subject under four heads: (1) Israel and the covenant of law; (2) the Christian church, the mother of the children of the New Covenant; (3) the law of Christ or the law of love; (4) the law of freedom and the free church.

The different denominations all accept the Bible, and appeal to it for their doctrine and practice. Are, then, the Holy Scriptures really the cause of the split? Many, thinking so, have turned away from both the Bible and the church. Not the Scriptures, however, but a false exegesis is the cause of the schism, which to a great extent originates in a defective distinction between the Old and New Testaments, between law and gospel. This lack of discrimination is particularly apparent in the Reformed church, which conceives the gospel in a legal way, laying great stress on the literal fulfilment of the word. In the Lutheran church a more free and evangelical spirit prevails.

The free-church movement in Sweden seems to the author a very serious thing that ought to be restrained. The best way to counteract this "sectarian" movement, emanating from the Reformed church, a mother of all kinds of "sects," is to cultivate and propagate the evangelical conception of the word of God, as this conception is displayed

in the Lutheran Symbola, especially in Formula Concordiæ, where the law and gospel are put in right relations to each other, and the gospel is given its due value.

The pamphlet is characterized by strong conviction, by thorough study of the subject, and by a liberal Christian spirit. The author's endeavor to "defend" the state church, "opening its arms to the whole nation," as "ideally and in reality more evangelical than any independent church organization," cannot alter the plain New Testament doctrine of the church. It is characteristic of the Swedish Lutheran theologians to deal partially with the Reformed sister-church. Mr. Bohlin's treatise is not free from this narrowness.—CARL G. LAGERGREN.

*Kelchspendung und Kelchversagung in der abendländischen Kirche.* Ein Beitrag zur Kultusgeschichte. Von Dr. Julius Smend. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1898; pp. 104; M. 2.80.) The question which prompted the writing of this book, as the author tells us, was, whether there were any Roman Catholic churches on the continent of Europe in which it was still a custom, as late as the sixteenth century, to give the sacramental cup to the laity. This had been affirmed as a fact by Hillmann in a monograph entitled *Die evangelische Gemeinde Wesel und ihre Willibrords Kirche* (1896), and considerable documentary evidence had been brought forth by Hillmann for the correctness of his contention. To satisfy himself of the soundness of this position Dr. Smend began researches of his own, and these he publishes in the volume before us. The volume does not contain so much the proof of isolated cases where the withdrawal of the consecrated cup from the laity had not become complete as late as the sixteenth century, although new evidence for this position is not entirely lacking; the author rather has broadened out his subject and has given us an outline history of the steps which gradually led to the *communio sub una* in the mediæval church. The task the author set out to do was no easy one, and, although the book is, in outward appearance, a slight one, this is no criterion of the vast labor spent in the search for material which was stowed away largely in somewhat inaccessible places.—ALBERT J. RAMAKER.

*What Shall We Think of Christianity?* By Wm. Newton Clarke, D.D. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1899; pp. 149; \$1.) Since the publication of his *Outline of Theology* Dr. Clarke has been

universally recognized as a singularly clear and reasonable thinker upon the problems of Christian doctrine. It is a matter of general interest to know what such a man thinks of present-day Christianity, with all its limitations and imperfections, and how he would present these convictions to those not necessarily in sympathy with himself. In this little volume, made up of three lectures delivered before an audience of students at the Johns Hopkins University, Dr. Clarke meets just such an inquiry. Under three heads—"The Christian People," "The Christian Doctrine," and "The Christian Power"—he sets forth his conception of the divine realities that, spite of all human misapprehension, gave to Christianity its dignity and worth and power. The discussion is no polemic. One needs to read but a few pages to appreciate the atmosphere of gentleness, goodness, and truth in which his thought proceeds; and no less marked is that same freshness and vigor which made his theology so notable a contribution to religious literature. Familiar truisms, under his treatment, become full of fresh suggestion. In days of much confused thinking, and of a muddy or over-laden style of expression, his simple, limpid English is a delight to the reader. The force of the argument and the winsomeness of its spirit will make the book helpful and persuasive to a wide circle of readers.—HENRY KINGMAN.

*Die Rettung des Menschen durch Christum, in neuer Weise aus der Schrift entwickelt.* Von Paul Johannes. Erster Theil: Die objektive Seite. (Meissen: Verlag von H. W. Schlimpert, 1898; pp. iv + 402; M. 3.60.) This book is a defense of the orthodox Lutheran statement of the doctrine of justification by faith against the teachings of Beck and Ritschl. So far as we can see, there is nothing in it which can be called new, unless it be the entire absence of the usual "rabies theologorum," and the fact that the author does not rest his conclusions on the statements of other theologians with which he happens to agree. There is an entire absence of corroborative citations from other theological works, while, on the other hand, the Scriptures are made the basis of his proofs. This latter fact probably accounts for the somewhat pretentious title: "in neuer Weise aus der Schrift entwickelt." The chief merit of the book is the emphasis the author lays on sin and its consequent punishment, on the necessity of an atonement, and on the fact that a complete and satisfactory atonement has been made by Christ. The book needs a concluding part in which the human or subjective side of salvation is treated.—ALBERT J. RAMAKER.

*Thoughts on the Present Position of Protestantism.* By Adolf Harnack. Translated, with the author's sanction, by Thomas Bailey Saunders. (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1899; New York: imported by The Macmillan Co.; pp. 64; \$1.) This booklet contains the lecture delivered a year ago at Eisenach. An ecclesiastical press characterized it as a radical repudiation of Christianity and of the Christian belief founded on the historical fact of the revelation of God in Christ. Being thus the object of a bitter attack, and at the same time unwilling to enter into controversy with his accusers, Harnack had no other course than to give his address to the public, which he did in the *Christliche Welt*.

The translation gives the lecture in clear English, venturing, however, upon a few departures from the exact words of the original, with the author's full authority and approval. The substance of the address describes what the author calls the progressive Catholicization or "politicization" of the state church of Germany (and of England indirectly), laments the threatened danger, points out counter-balancing considerations, and insists upon faithfulness to the duty of the hour.

It would be difficult to say too much in praise of the historical insight, theological interpretation, spiritual sympathy, intellectual honesty, and keen timeliness of this book. It closes as follows:

If, having broken with the intellectualism of the old Protestant system, our national churches are in danger of going over to a sham Catholicism, in what light are we to regard our position in the church? . . . We must build and have patience. We can neither lead the churches as they exist, nor destroy them, nor can we wish to set up new ones. We are members of a national church, where we have received our vocation. We know that in the chief articles of evangelical belief we are one with it, and in it, too. We have plenty of room, plenty of freedom, to live and work as our consciences dictate. Struggles there will be; they will wax hotter, but even the highest and the mightiest will never make us weary, and never make us other than cheerful. *Impossibile est ut non latatur qui sperat in Domino!*

GEORGE B. FOSTER.

# THEOLOGICAL AND SEMITIC LITERATURE

## A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SUPPLEMENT

TO THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF THEOLOGY, AND THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SEMITIC LANGUAGES  
AND LITERATURES

BY W. MUSS-ARNOLT

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[REMARKS AND LISTS OF ABBREVIATIONS, SEE P. XXXII OF JULY, 1899]

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## THE SIGNIFICANCE OF SACRIFICE IN THE OLD TESTAMENT.

By HERMANN SCHULTZ,  
Göttingen.

SACRIFICE did not originate in Israel, least of all in the religion known as the Old Testament preparatory stage of our Christian faith. It is as old as religious life in man, as the history of man. Its origin lies beyond the period in which the religions of primitive peoples developed into distinct types—even as the Old Testament narrative begins its history of mankind outside of Paradise with the dual sacrifice of the first brothers. Far back as the historian can look into the past, childish and barbaric as the religious life often discloses itself to him, sacrifice is never missing. In fact, in most cases it may be said, "sacrifice is religion"—sacrifice in its widest sense meaning "performances and gifts rendered in honor of the deity," and sacrifice in the narrower sense, as exclusively employed in this article, "the offering of gifts upon the altar for the use of the deity."

At the very outset, therefore, we must reject the idea that revealed religion by its own genius produced the forms of sacrifice found in the Old Testament. When the peculiar life of religion which developed into Christianity began in Israel, sacrifice had been the obvious center of religious life for ages immemorial, and the thoughts expressed therein were nowhere doubted and needed no explanation. Israel simply took the

sacrificial usages from more ancient culture and more childlike forms of religious life. Our task consists solely in understanding how the sacrificial idea developed in the religion of the Old Testament. A study of the history of sacrifice in primitive periods of mankind naturally cannot be undertaken here. We simply presume the acknowledged and clear results concerning that early history. A grateful reference can be made to the work of Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, the last conclusions of which probably transcend the possibilities of actual proof, but which, concerning all here presupposed, gives reliable and comprehensive information.

Then again we must not forget that the religion of ancient Israel, like all religions before the awakening of a specific theological interest, does not deal with theories or dogmas, but with facts and actions. It does not require a specific meaning to be connected with the act. It enjoins only the act. It asks that the community neglect nothing possible to secure the favor and aid, and to protect against the displeasure and wrath, of the deity. This naturally could not occur among a civilized, cultured people without the formation in religious circles of more or less definite ideas about the effects and purpose of such acts. But there was room for different explanations, and none was looked upon as demanded by religion, and none seemed inadmissible. Fixed dogmas, in our sense of the term, no more existed than did a coherent religious doctrine. The conceptions were fluid and figurative, rooted more in feeling and fancy than in thought. If only the acts were properly performed, and nothing in the performer's habit of life directly contradicted them, then the religions of antiquity left to the individual all accompanying feelings and thoughts. Thus with the same people the same religious acts may frequently have received different explanations, and the conceptions connected therewith may have changed with altered religious conditions, and without any clear perception of such changes or transposition into a specifically new doctrine. And the earliest and most potent sentiments—such as, for instance, that of the sacredness of sacrificial blood—can, in the nature of the case, be least reproduced in clear statements.



The character of the "mysterion," which cannot be fully dissolved with thought, will always adhere to them. Like acts do not prove like conceptions. And commonly recognized usages do not presuppose a clearly defined doctrine.

Before the religion of Israel was elevated to its loftier development by the spiritual energy of the great prophets from the eighth century on, the cult centering in sacrifice was undoubtedly the real essence of popular religious life. Sacrifice appears in manifold forms and vivid representations. From the simple sacrifices of Gideon and Manoah, the expression of their personal religious life (Judg., chaps. 6; 13; 14), to the splendid royal sacrifices described in 1 Kings 19:21; from the sacrifices offered to express personal gratitude or to perform a vow, to the sacrificial feasts of the tribes in their family seats (1 Sam. 20:6) or the anniversaries at popular sanctuaries (1 Sam. 1:1); from the joyous harvest festivals (Judg. 9:21) and coronation offerings (1 Sam., chap. 11), to the terrible sacrificial tributes in calamities of war (Judg., chap. 11), we see the popular life of early Israel permeated by sacrifice. And the denunciations and exhortations of the prophets plainly enough show that the people naïvely expected to secure or regain the favor of their God by means of sacrificial gifts. How were sacrifices rendered in Israel in those times, and what expectations entered into their performance?

We find, first, sacrificial acts which in Israel's religion appear to be half-understood and partly transformed survivals of a past in other respects outgrown by the people, rites immediately leading us into the religious life of related Semitic tribes, especially of the Arabs. They naturally cannot teach anything about the Old Testament conception of sacrifice. But they usher us into a circle of ideas explanative of the popular attitude of Israel toward sacrifice.

In this particular I think primarily of sacrifices which appear as the basis of covenants. In the early narrative, Gen. 15:9 f., and in the presentation of the prophet Jeremiah (34:18 f.) we are met by the practice of covenanters passing between the halves of victims, placed opposite to each other, and thus by

an oath-like act pledging themselves sacredly to keep the covenant.<sup>1</sup> The complete form of the rite is intelligible from the narrative Exod. 24:4-8. Here one-half of the sacrificial blood is sprinkled upon the altar of God, thus dedicated to him, and the other upon the congregation as "blood of the covenant." Thereby the covenant is considered solemnly sanctioned on the basis of "obligations." The "blood of the covenant" (Zech. 9:11) unites God with his people. This transaction can only be explained by the conviction, manifest in all of the earliest sacrificial customs, that the blood of the victim, as the life of the animal, establishes a *communion of life*. As in other places the covenant is consummated by a common meal (salt), by exchange of dress (1 Sam. 18:3), or by mixture of the blood of the participants—both parties always symbolically combining in one life—so here the sacrificial blood effects a like communion between God and man. As hospitality is regarded sacred, since by partaking of the common meal the guest, as it were, has become a member of the kin, so are the covenanters "holy one to the other." Thus Saul's house is forfeited to the curse of God, because he broke the covenant of Israel with the Gibeonites (2 Sam., chap. 21). Israel and its God have made the covenant by sacrifice (Ps. 50:5). We here see the primitive conception of the effect of sacrificial blood. It binds together, makes one life out of two persons. The victim dies, not as one punished, nor as an expiation for sin, but that its life may become a sacred sacramental covenant uniting God with the congregation of his people. The question whether the earliest races of man regarded the blood of domestic animals as directly a part of the life-blood common to the clan and its deity, to be protected by the clan through blood-revenge, does not enter into consideration as touching Israel's religious conceptions. It cannot be regarded proven, even after Robertson Smith's brilliant presentation. But that this blood is looked upon as the life of the animal, and therefore withheld from profane use and reserved solely for sacred service at the altar of God, is from the beginning for Israel a self-evident assumption receiving no further thought. This

<sup>1</sup> Compare victims as witnesses of the oath (7, אֲשֶׁר), Gen. 21:28 ff.

appears as the condition for the use of animal's flesh right after the great flood (Gen. 9: 1-6), and is emphasized in connection with the absolute sanctity of human blood, from which follows the command of blood-revenge.\* And in Deuteronomy (12: 16 f.), as well as in the Priestly Law (Lev. 17: 10 ff.), the self-evident basis of sacrificial law is: "The blood is the life."

This conception appears as a primitive possession of humanity widely spread among the nations. The savage drinks the enemy's blood in order to absorb his vigor, as the shades in Homer again speak after partaking blood. The Arabs at their holiest sacrifice, that of the sacred camel, ate the flesh with the sacrificial blood in order to unite with each other and with the deity. In "blood-brotherhood" two persons become one—as already the common food makes them "one body" for a given period. The priests and mystagogues of Canaanitish cults in their rites by the shedding of blood unite with their god or with the dead (1 Kings 18: 28; cf. Lev. 19: 28; 21: 5; Deut. 14: 1; Jer. 16: 6). Likewise the hair, being a living growth, is widely regarded as an article of consecration to the deity, among Romans and Greeks as among oriental nations (Amos 8: 10; Lev. 19: 27; Deut. 14: 1; Jer. 16: 6; 25: 23; Ezek. 7: 18; 44: 20). Tattooing also belongs under this head (Lev. 19: 28; 21: 5). And upon the same basis surely rests the primitive Hebrew custom of the Nazarite, in which the hair is consecrated to the deity, and therefore until the termination of the vow must remain inviolate (Numb., chap. 6). Likewise circumcision, by means of which, according to the strange ancient narrative, Exod. 4: 24, the one circumcised (?) becomes a "bridegroom of blood" (תִּתְּנֵנִי לְדָם).

The Passover custom leads us into the same category of ideas. True, in the Levitical law, the Passover is but a sacred meal commemorative of the delivery out of Egypt. The sacrifices connected therewith pertain only to the Feast of Unleavened Bread. The ancient sacred usages of the festive meal are

\* Blood-revenge (Gen. 9: 27, 45; 1 Sam. 2: 27; 14: 7) is fundamental law. "Crying of the blood unto God" (Gen. 4: 10; Job 16: 18) is a religious application of this view. It must also be noted that flesh food is regarded as originally in consonant with nature (Gen. 1: 28; 2: 16).

appended in a purely historical manner to "the passing over of the destroyer" (פֶּסַח) and the restless haste of the exodus. Yet in Deuteronomy (16:2) all the sacrifices of the entire festal period are still called פֶּסַח. And a comparison with the Arabic sacrifices in the month of *Rajab*, and with the usages of Haran, Cyprus, and "Hierapolis,"<sup>3</sup> shows that the rite itself goes back to old Hebrew customs and to a period when Israel as a nation of herdsmen offered the firstlings of its flocks to God and besought his favor for the coming year. Sin, in its proper sense, was never thought of in the Passover, nor even according to the later conception. It was originally a sacred consecration designed to secure the gracious forbearance of God. And, according to the rigorous perception of primitive times, this consecration must have possessed the character of an immolatory offering.

In the Passover the kin, the members of the household, still unite in the old manner for sacramental action. That fact alone relegates this celebration to the earliest ages, before the thought of the nation or of the religious community had supplanted the sense of the natural unity of kindred. The members of the household unite with each other and with the deity at a festive meal. The sacrificial blood consecrates the household as one united with God. It is thereby protected against the wrath of the deity. The "blood of forbearance" secures unto the kindred the protection of their god and his favor for the coming year. Therefore the meal is "holy." The victim must remain inviolate. No part thereof may pass into decay (Exod. 12:8 ff., 43-46). Only "the circumcised," the ones united with God through the consecrating blood, may sit at the sacred table (vs. 43). Thus the Passover is in a sense a miniature of the covenant meal at which the union of the community with God is always newly strengthened for the commencing year for protection against his wrath.

Blood, by its capacity of uniting with God, has a consecrative and cleansing power. The particular ethical conception of sin was in earliest times undoubtedly foreign to Israel as to other ancient nations. They had not yet abandoned the

<sup>3</sup> Cf. W. ROBERTSON SMITH, *Religion of the Semites*, p. 387.

natural thought of "uncleanness." And uncleanness on its part has still a strange connection with the conception of "holiness." That is *holy* which has entered into so close a union with the deity, and is so permeated by his majesty, that it may no longer serve the purposes of ordinary life. That which divine powers have touched is unto the unconsecrated person fatal and terrible, "as if charged with electric forces" (W. Robertson Smith). Whosoever touches it becomes "holy," *i. e.*, falls under the ban. Whosoever sees God must die. Whosoever touches his holy ark, even if actuated by good and benevolent intentions, is smitten by a "breaking forth of God." Therefore David is afraid to receive it into his house. He does so only after becoming assured that God's will directs him to do it, and then accomplishes its entry with extreme ritualistic precaution (2 Sam. 6: 4-18; *cf.* 1 Sam. 6: 3 ff.). On the other hand, that is *unclean* which has been infected by coming into contact with death, sickness, decomposition, and pollution, or with strange gods and their service, and has thus, as it were, contracted infection through something repugnant to the deity. The laws concerning forbidden food, and also the injunctions against touching dead bodies and against participation in "superstitious" usages and enjoyments, are finally reducible to the above. Thus both, indeed, are fundamentally different: things in contact with God are holy, whereas those in contact with something contradictory to God are unclean. Yet neither deals with ethical considerations,<sup>4</sup> but both refer to purely "physical" conditions. And both disqualify man for participation in the normal social life and subject him to the ban in case of oversight. Thus there is naturally a frequent transition between both. Whosoever enters into contact with something consecrated becomes holy. But at the same time he is unclean for daily life. Legalistic Judaism of the very latest period still says that "the canonical writings defile the hands," *i. e.*, entail washings before other things may be touched, while scriptures not holy do not have that effect. That which

<sup>4</sup> It is not easy to decide under which head to classify the uncleanness of sexual companionship and of child-birth (Exod. 19: 15; 2 Sam. 21: 5; Lev., chap. 12). Totemistic conceptions may originally have been at the bottom of "flesh torn by beasts" or of "unclean beasts" unfit for "holy men" (Exod. 22: 28 ff.).

is holy and unclean demands acts of "consecration" and "purification" (*piacula*) before the person can resume his place in the congregation of worshipers.

In this circle of ideas early ages also included sin, as far as it was related to sacrifice. The world of the inner life was not yet recognized. Likewise that which in mutual intercourse is left to the individual good will. Only what the ordinances of custom and tradition concerning the worship of God and regard for his sacred possessions, and what the inviolability of life and property, secured by religious obligations and by unity of blood, demanded of the normal citizen, formed the sphere in which men "sin." Whosoever has committed such things intentionally and maliciously (*בְּיָד רָמָה*, *e. g.*, Exod. 14:8) is unfit to be a member of the sacred community. Such sin brings divine wrath upon the entire solidary kinship, for God guards his rights and the order sanctioned by him. Therefore the community must put such offenders under the ban. They may not, according to the juridical usage of various other nations, buy themselves off with a ransom. The members of the clan must with their own hands "cut off the offense from among them." Thus only can they preserve the favorable communion of their god. Whether one has profaned God's sanctuaries, *e. g.*, his "devoted things" (Josh. 7:1 ff.; 6:21; 8:26; 10:1); whether one has broken the oath (2 Sam. 21:1-8; *cf.* Josh. 9:24), or maliciously shed the blood of a kinsman (Numb. 35:31); whether one has shamelessly violated the sacred custom (Lev. 20:9 ff.; 24:15 ff.), or worshiped strange gods (Deut. 7:26; Lev. 18:21, 25; 20:2), always "that man shall be cut off from among his people" in order that the land be not defiled and the community be not subjected to the wrath of its God (Lev. 17:3 ff., 27, 28; Numb. 35:31). It is otherwise where no intentional offense obtains, but only a sin done unwittingly (*שִׁגְגָּה*, Lev. 4:2, 22; 5:15). If the offender is unknown to the community (Deut. 21:1-12), or if the blood is not shed maliciously (Deut. 19:10), or the like, there still exists a defilement, similar to where holiness and uncleanness have infected a person. It cannot be allowed to remain. But it can be purged away by propitiation and purification.

As the former case does not deal with punishment of the sinner in our sense of the word, but with the ban, *i. e.*, the extermination from its midst of that which hinders the consecration and endangers the permanence of the community, so the latter case does not deal with forgiveness of sin in our sense, but with purification, in which the physical point of view entirely obscures the ethical. In the first case, by reason of the solidarity of the community, even the family can be exterminated with the offender (Josh. 7:24-26), or even fall under the ban for the guilty person, if he can no longer be found (2 Sam. 21:7); and *vice versa* the ban of an individual representing the community is regarded as the execution of the ban upon the entire guilty community (Numb. 16:22 ff.; 25:7). The second case deals with sacramental symbolical lustrations, for which there can be no logical explanation.

For purification "water" is commonly employed, which, according to self-evident symbolism, is the stain-purging element.<sup>5</sup> Naturally elements serving for sacrifice, and thus conveying the union of the community with its god, are in a still higher sense qualified to "cleanses." Thus the ashes of the victim burned as a sin-offering for the community (Numb. 19:11 ff.). Thus the sacred ointment and the frankincense in the priest's hand (Numb. 17:11 ff.; 33:3). Thus, above all, the sacrificial blood in which the real sacrificial consecration rests. This blood reconsecrates the sanctuaries which have lost their sanctity through contact with profane things (Lev. 14:10 ff.; 16:4 ff.). This blood brought before God gives man the consecration necessary for immunity in God's holy presence (כֹּהֵן).<sup>6</sup> Into the reason for this Israel undoubtedly never inquired. As water cleanses articles and persons, who have become too holy or

<sup>5</sup> See Exod. 19:14 (שִׁטָּה); 40:12, 31; Lev. 13:34, 54, 58; Numb. 19:7 ff.

<sup>6</sup> The blood shed cries unto heaven (Gen. 4:10; Job 16:18); and there is a predilection to avoid the curse of this blood by killing without shedding it (Gen. 38:24; Lev. 20:14; 21:9; Josh. 7:15). Thus also beasts which have killed a man must die (Exod. 21:28 ff.). The "clan" demands revenge for "its" blood which has been shed, even in war (2 Sam. 3:27; 14:7; Judg. 8:18). Ezekiel (24:7, 8) still finds it particularly aggravating that the blood spilt upon the bare rock is not covered with dust and thus concealed.

unclean, from their dangerous "infection;" as, in singular cases, fire more effectively consummates this purification (Numb. 31:22 ff.; Lev. 13:52 ff.); so sacrificial blood cleanses, or sacrificial ashes mixed with water and sacred oil (Lev. 14:14; Numb. 19:11 ff.). In this sense, Israel, like all other nations, from time immemorial has known lustrations. And they have continued to the latest legislation. The old conceptions of purification and consecration, although in a changed form, are apparent, where, as we shall see later, the impurity of a leprous house or person is taken away by sacrificial blood and then symbolically carried out "into the open field" by the bird brought as a second victim (Lev. 14:4 ff., 44 f.); and on the great Day of Atonement (Lev., chap. 16), where the defilement arising from neglect of cult is washed from the holy things by sacrificial blood, so that, as a thing removed, it can, thereupon, be carried into the unclean wilderness unto Azazel by the second sacrificial he-goat (*cf.* Zech. 5:8 ff.). Ezekiel, still more primitively, thinks of a semi-annual consecration of the sanctuary defiled by the *unsanctification* of the worshipers (45:18-20).

Thus the old sacred usages of Israel reveal manifold traces of a connection with times in which the Hebrews, like their brethren, regarded the relation to their God as essentially physical, sin and natural impurity on the whole as synonymous, and blood, the life-vehicle, as the means of actually establishing a unity of life of men among themselves and between the community and their God. On the whole, however, the religion of the Old Testament, even prior to the prophetic period, has already reached a stage at which the conceptions of primitive times are no longer a matter of definite consciousness. The undisputed documents of this age plainly reveal worship of two cults. Religion essentially consists in sacrifice, which would render to the deity a gratifying reverence and gift. And sacrifice, according to its most significant phenomenon, is a *sacrificial meal* at which the worshipers rejoice around the table of their God.

At this period Israel also brought agricultural gifts (Mic. 6:7) to the sanctuaries of the national God. The first-fruits



came to the sanctuary, carried to the altar in a basket (Deut. 26:1 ff.), and through such consecration the harvest was regarded as "clean" and blessed for food (Hos. 9:3; cf. Exod. 23:14, 19; 34:26). The tithe of the produce belonged to the deity as lord and king of the land (Amos 7:1). Sheep-shearing had to render a tribute of wool (Hos. 2:5 ff.; Deut. 18:4; 1 Sam. 25:2 f.). And to each sacrificial meal belonged an oblation of flour, oil, and wine (Judg. 9:13), which was assigned to the priest and therefore holy (Lev. 7:14), and given in addition to the bread which the participants themselves ate (Amos 4:5). There was also in the sanctuary the continually renewed holy bread (shewbread), preserved there as "a bread before God" (1 Sam. 21:5 ff.). Salt (Lev. 2:13) went with every flour-offering. To this day the Arabs use the expression for hospitable relations: "There is salt between us." The law reads: "A covenant of salt before the Lord unto thee." But the proper sacrifice is that of the animal, i. e., the slaughter of a domestic animal serving for the feast (זֶבֶחַ). Unbloody sacrifice so little has an independent place beside it that the name designating it in the later Law (מִנְחָה) is in the earlier literature still used also for animal sacrifice (Gen. 4:3; Judg. 6:18; 1 Sam. 26:19; (2:17)). Milk, fruit, bread, and sometimes venison formed the daily meal. It became a feast by the slaughter of a domestic animal (Isa. 22:13; Gen. 18:7). Kine, sheep, and goats figured as victims for the Hebrews. Doves and, in cases of need, flour-offerings were perhaps later symbolical substitutes. The altar is the place of slaughter (מִזְבֵּחַ). And enough of the naïve view of antiquity undoubtedly survived in Israel to maintain the thought of God's actual partaking with enjoyment of the things offered. To be sure, the mere presentation of the sacrifice to God, which has remained the prevailing mode of sacrifice among the Arabs, is presupposed only in ancient narratives, in which God himself in a flame from heaven accepts the offered gift. Thus presumably at Abel's sacrifice (Gen., chap. 4), and at the sacrifices of Gideon and Manoah (Judg., chaps. 6 and 13). So it is with the shewbread. In ordinary cases the burning of the portions assigned to God is very early

customary, because the more spiritual conception of a "celestial" God permitted only a spiritualized partaking. Yet as fire-food of God (אֵשׁ), as his bread (לֶחֶם), as a sweet savor (רִיחַ; נִיחֹחַ), sacrifice everywhere appears, even in the Law, in which the conception of God has long since become supersensuous (*e. g.*, Lev. 1:9, 13, 17; 2:2-11; 3:5).

Sacrificial meals appear partly as voluntary feasts, mostly called forth by vows (2 Sam. 15:7 ff.), which were usually paid on feast days, as, for instance, the annual sacrifice of Elkanah (1 Sam., chap. 1); partly as feasts of aristocratic families at their ancestral seats, as seen in the case of David, Absalom, and Adoniah (1 Sam. 20:6, זָבַח הַיָּמִים; 2 Sam. 13:23; 1 Kings 1:9); partly as public festivities, at which the most esteemed men occupied the place of honor, like Samuel in Ramah (1 Sam. 9:12 ff.; *cf.* 16:2 ff.), or which were ostentatiously prepared by kings (1 Kings 8:5; 2 Kings 16:15). These meals, however, as is evident from the castigatory words of the prophets, were often taken from the tithes and gifts of the common people (Gen. 28:22) and abused as welcome occasions for riotous banquets by the rulers (Amos 2:7; 5:11; 6:4). According to the custom of all festive meals, the whole community—including the poor and the strangers—had a natural right to participate at such meals (Gen. 31:35; *cf.* 1 Sam. 9:13; 2 Sam. 6:19; 1 Kings 19:21). They "rejoiced before God." And in many instances we must think of noisy jubilees, with music and song, aye, orgiastic excess of enjoyment. Not only Amos (5:6) and Isaiah (28:8) describe such banquets. In Hannah's case the priest presumes not grief but drunkenness after the sacrificial meal (1 Sam. 1:13). And the harlot in Prov. 7:14 invites the simple youth to a feast on payment of vows.

At these meals the blood and fat, being holy (Lev. 3:17), are directly offered to God. His former due seems to have fallen to the priests or ministrants. At least the sons of Eli are gravely rebuked for taking arbitrarily, and in violation of reverence to God, more than their customary portion of the flesh (1 Sam. 2:12 ff.). Yet the early customs were very different from later traditions. The flesh is boiled, not roasted, and the

priest first gets his due from the boiled flesh (1 Sam. 2:13 f.). Thus in Judg. 6:18 ff. the boiling of sacrificial flesh appears to be the rule. According to the narrative, 1 Sam. 9:19 f.; 16:2 f., Samuel, as honorary presider at the sacrifice, had to claim the honorary portion. The actual meal was eaten by the guests at the holy place, probably in specially prepared apartments (לְשֹׁכָה, 1 Sam. 9:19). Propitiation or penitency was in no way connected with these meals. They were intended to honor and gratify the deity. The guests were conscious of being participants at God's table, and thus reunited with him and protected. The common meal unites (1 Kings 13:22). "If God were pleased to kill us, he would not have received such hospitality at our hands," is the conclusion of Manoah's wife, wholly in the spirit of ancient piety (Judg. 13:23). Not repentance and forgiveness of sin, but purity and abolition of every defiling thing were the prerequisites of blessed participation at these meals. Thus abstinence from sexual intercourse is a prime condition for the eating of shewbread (1 Sam. 21:5 f.). Thus certainly all contact with dead bodies or unclean things was an impediment to the enjoyment of the sacrifice. Ablutions and lustrations always must have preceded such acts to avoid the provocation of divine wrath and the danger of the ban (*e. g.*, Gen. 35:2; Exod. 19:10, 14; 22:28; 29:4 f., and often). But in other respects a spirit of joyfulness prevailed at the sacrificial meal. The people could think of no greater sorrow than a cessation of such feasts (Hos. 3:4; 2:13). The significance of these sacrifices was thus no other than a desire (1) to offer God the honor and gratification which such offerings, according to the universal presumption, effected—whether gratitude or petition was to be expressed, or vows made in time of need were to be paid; and (2) by table-fellowship with God, united with him through the sacred life-blood of the animal, to enjoy and strengthen the assurance of his favor.<sup>7</sup>

Besides these sacrificial meals, although scarcely so prevalent as the Priestly Law presupposes, burnt-offerings (עֹלָה) are

<sup>7</sup> The narratives, Judg., chaps. 6 and 13, still show in the simplest and naivest form the intention of *honoring God by entertaining him*, and thus entering into a hospitable relation with him.

ever found in early Israel. The entire victim, allowing no portion for the offerers, is rendered to God in fire. We are unable to decide whether this originally grew out of the mere portion of God at the great sacrificial feasts.<sup>8</sup> It seems improbable. For along with the conviction that God was pleased to receive such "food," the rendering of the *entire* animal, as a special token of reverence, lay in the nature of religious thought.<sup>9</sup> If the honoring and gratifying of the deity is the evidently prime object of every sacrifice, and the gaining of a secure and steadfast communion with God the final end, then this form of sacrifice seems particularly adapted to gratify God, to make him propitious concerning the wishes of the community, and eventually to regain his forfeited favor.<sup>10</sup>

Burnt-offering in early Israel subserved all these purposes. There was no special sin-offering. For neglect of cult or for pardonable disregard of sacred usages a "fine" was paid to the sanctuary (Hos. 4:8; 2 Kings 12:16);<sup>11</sup> so that self-interested priests rejoiced in the "sins" of the people (Hos. 4:8; Amos 2:8). Yet the people were convinced that the actual wrath of God could be appeased if he would but "smell an offering" (1 Sam. 26:19; 3:14; 13:10); just as among men the gift rendered "smooth the face of the offended" (*e. g.*, Ps. 45:12; *cf.* Gen. 32:21; 2 Kings 13:4). Burnt-offerings were rendered when Israel went to war in order to "sanctify" the host and consecrate it for the work of God (1 Sam. 7:9; 13:10; *cf.* Isa. 13:3). Burnt-offerings were vowed when seeking God's aid in dangerous enterprises (Judg. 11:30). Burnt-offerings were rendered when on festal occasions God was to be specially celebrated and honored (1 Kings 8:5; 2 Sam. 6:13 ff.). But,

<sup>8</sup> Among the classical nations holocausts are rendered only for the inhabitants of the lower regions, with whom the living seek no communion.

<sup>9</sup> The "first" sacrifice, Gen., chap. 4, is a burnt-offering. Likewise Noah's sacrifice, Gen., chap. 9. Likewise the ancient sacrifices are "whole burnt-offerings" (Judg. 7:13; 1 Sam. 7:9, *קָלִיל*). Sacrifices and burnt-offerings appear side by side in Exod. 10:25.

<sup>10</sup> Especially significant is Ps. 20:4: "God, remember all thy offerings and accept as fat thy burnt-sacrifices." ("Serve," 2 Sam. 15:8.)

<sup>11</sup> *Cf.* the *קָלִיל* of the Philistines, 1 Sam. 6:3.

as far as we know, burnt-offerings as a fixed part of the daily cult prior to the Law are attested only in 2 Kings 16: 15, a passage which is not early.

Naturally, in burnt-offering also the blood rendered to the deity is the actual means of consecration (in case of sin the propitiation, *res sacramenti*). Yet surely no longer on account of a clear idea of the union of the life of God with that of his community through this life of the animal. The essential part is lacking: the eating of the animal by the offerers. Still less in the sense of inflicting a punishment upon the animal. For in most cases it is not a question of forgiveness of sin at all. The carnal mind of the people now saw the real efficacy of these sacrifices only in the honoring and gratifying gift. And in seeking forgiveness they hoped to effect a greater impression by the greatness and splendor, eventually by the unprecedented character, of these gifts (Mic. 6: 7, hecatombs, rivers of oil, firstborn). The blood as the life of the animal was regarded as attesting its appropriation to God. Its mysterious, consecrative, God-gratifying, and God-appeasing effect had long since transcended all theoretical doubt. And obviously in burnt-offering, as in every sacred rite, all kinds of means were sought which seemed appropriate against the danger of evoking divine wrath by unsanctioned contact with "holy things." Thus we read of taking off the sandals, that the dust of unclean soil might not come to the sanctuary (Exod. 3: 5; Josh. 5: 15), and of washing and changing the garments (Gen. 35: 2; Exod. 19: 10).<sup>22</sup> Not ethical thoughts of atonement, but sensual ideas of consecration and purification lay at the bottom of such usages.

Burnt-offering, even when intended to conciliate the angry God, only attempted to render him desirable homage by offering up the best, and thus by the gift to make effective the sinner's desire for pardon. By increasing that which would delight and honor the favorable deity it was hoped to make the unfavorable God a favorable one. That is seen especially in human sacrifice, which everywhere among the nations related to Israel constitutes the summit of the mystery of piacular sacrifice. It

<sup>22</sup> Sacred garments, Gen. 27: 15, 27; 35: 2; Exod. 19: 14; 2 Kings 10: 22.

is not a matter of punishment and suffering of the victim. For the cry of the victim was drowned by the clamor of musical joy. The intention was rather to offer as the greatest gift to the deity the best, the firstling blood of the tribe (Exod. 13 : 13 ; 34 : 20 ; Gen. 49 : 3 ; Ezek. 20 : 25). The hardest and greatest gift appeared the most efficacious sacrifice. In Carthage, for instance, it was considered an imposition on the deity to offer purchased slave children in place of the children of noble family. In Israel such sacrifices were never regarded as an exponent of true national piety. But their powerful effect upon the deity was not questioned. Second Kings 3 : 27 unhesitatingly assumes that a divine wrath against the enemy was the result of the sacrifice of his own son by the Moabite king. And in times of distress this dreadful custom ever reappeared in Israel (2 Kings 16 : 3 ; 17 : 17 ; 21 : 6 ; 23 : 10 ; Jer. 7 : 31 ; Ezek. 16 : 20, 21 ; 23 : 36 f.). Aye, at times it was regarded a religious ordinance in Israel, although one "not good" (Mic. 6 : 6, 7 ; Jer. 7 : 30 f. ; 19 : 5 ; Isa. 57 : 5 ; Ezek. 20 : 25). The story in Gen., chap. 22, could only have been told on the supposition that the notion of God desiring a human life for a burnt-offering had no sacrilegious aspect. At the same time, this narrative shows how completely foreign in connection therewith the thought of punishment of the victim was. Abraham appears in full possession of divine favor. God simply demands of him the greatest gift which he is able to offer. Nor is it otherwise when Jephtha's daughter perishes as a holocaust, her father so having vowed in order to purchase God's aid for the great struggle (Judg. chap. 11). The "own son" in Micah (6 : 6 f.) is the climax of religious performances besides hecatombs of animal victims and rivers of oil, and thus is regarded only as the supreme gift. It was certainly not presumed among the people in these times that such a gift was actually appropriated as food by the deity. Yet it is characteristic that still in Ezekiel (16 : 20 ; 23 : 37, "for food") such images and conceptions recur, though they are naturally repudiated.

I deem it highly improbable that the custom ever obtained in Israel of offering animals otherwise regarded "unclean" on

account of their symbolical relation to the deity (rooted in primitive totemism). What mention there is of this kind (sacrifices of dogs, swine, mice, horses, fish) occurs only in very late books (Isa. 65:4; 66:3, 17; Ezek. 8:10; 2 Kings 23:11), and as foreign idolatry which, no more than the baking of cakes for the queen of heaven (Jer. 44:15 ff.) can be attributed to the religion of Israel.<sup>13</sup> He who thinks differently in the matter can see in such sacrifices only the rendering of a gift precious to the deity on account of special physical relations.

Thus sacrifice in early Israel was the actual life of religion. The people candidly expected that the gift ascending to God in fire would be a pleasing and appropriate one, fit to insure his favor where they were conscious of possessing it, and to regain the same when he was wroth. In the latter event burnt-offering was, indeed, a serious celebration surrounded by "dreadful mystery," for which the people prepared and consecrated themselves by fasting and praying, with lustrations and with tears, ready to yield to God anything he might desire, even the most precious, the blood of their own child. But it was neither a matter of vicarious punishment nor of expiatory suffering. The virtue of sacrificial blood uniting with God was no longer felt in the direct and sensual manner of primitive humanity. Still it figured as the indisputable background of all sacrificial acts. The blood passed to God as a vehicle of life, in which the life was accepted and appropriated by him, and not as a symbol of death. And the offered gift itself was the expression of the desire to seek forgiveness, the confession of personal guilt and of divine justice, the active petition for pardon, by means of which it was thought to "smooth the face of God," as in human relations the face of the king.

But where the community felt no wrath of the deity impending—and this was during the greater part of early Israelitish history—neither propitiation nor forgiveness was required; the people approached their God without trembling or evil conscience. Drawing near to the sanctuary from the dust of

<sup>13</sup> In Egypt, Babylon, and Syria such sacrifices of totem animals were very popular, and imagined to have a powerful effect.

daily life, they needed consecration, sacramental purification (1 Sam. 20: 5-26; 21: 5), "sanctification." With sacred awe they approached the sacred shrine, which kills every profane thing coming into touch with it. But they drew near with glad spirits. And when the holocausts, which they had vowed or consecrated in joyful gratitude, ascended to God, they gathered at the sacrificial meal prepared out of the oblations brought along (1 Sam. 1: 4, 24; 10: 3) or the treasures of the sanctuary, and all the participants in the consecrated hall (1 Sam. 9: 12 ff.) had occasion to "rejoice before God." Blood and fat had long since been deemed too "holy" to be eaten by the offerers. The fat ascended from the altar to God. The blood was brought to the sanctuary. The offerers ate and drank "before God" as his guests and table-companions. His honorary share went to the ministrant of the sacrifice. They felt connected and united with God in hospitable communion, the common meal being the seal of hospitality. And at the height of popular life, at the anniversaries (1 Sam. 1: 13), at sheep-shearings (Hos. 2: 5, 9; Deut. 18: 4; Gen. 38: 13; 1 Sam. 25: 3; 2 Sam. 13: 23), and harvest festivals, the merry-making grew boisterous and oftentimes very "unholy" (Amos 5: 11; Isa. 28: 7 f.). There was occasion to render such sacrifices in every city, in every tribe. Originally a simple stone upon which the blood was poured evidently sufficed for the sacrifice (Judg. 6: 20; 13: 19; 1 Sam. 13: 9 f.; 14: 33). Besides the "anointed" stone, which guaranteed the presence of the deity (Gen. 28: 18), there appears the simple altar (Exod. 20: 24). And everywhere in the land where sacred tradition pointed to appearances of God, in Hebron and in Bethel, in Gilgal and in Shiloh, in Ramah and in Gibeah—briefly, in the entire Israelitish territory—were places which by reason of nature or of history were regarded holy, and therefore particularly fit for sanctuaries. Noble families had their family sanctuaries—in Ophra and Bethlehem, in Hebron and Schechem. Yet they no longer sought there a "god of the clan," but the God of Israel. Yahweh's entire possession, the sacred soil, was dotted with sanctuaries where this daily cult could be practiced. The feasts, moreover, gathered greater multitudes to the place where God



was present in a symbol, as in the holy ark at Shiloh or Jerusalem, or the sacred stone of Bethel (Gen, chap. 28). Sacrifice is always a social matter. The kin or local community participate therein (1 Sam. 9:12; 20:6, 29; 2 Sam. 15:7, 12). The individual as a rule arranges his sacrifice to coincide with the sacrifice of the community (1 Sam. 1:3, 21; 9:12). Originally every sacrifice was a feast, and every feast a sacrifice. And while in ancient naturalism the "physical" unity of the god with his "clan" was fundamental to the entire sacrificial rite, in Israel long since the historically founded communion of God with his people composed the background of the cult.

In these sacrificial usages, therefore, the elementary sensuous thought of primitive times is already obscured and forgotten. The offering ascending in fire is an etherealized food. Worship and gifts of reverence have become the center of the celebration, instead of physical union with the deity. And the historic Redeemer, united with his people and throning in heaven, has taken the place of the tribal gods present with their kindred in a physical manner. But the sacrificial cult still had a "pagan" character. By "presents," by "pleasing incense," the people thought to gratify, to purchase, to appease God, who desired to partake of sacrifice and have his honor acknowledged by renderings of unusual character. Thereby they thought to fulfil their duty toward him, and with quiet conscience confided in his help.<sup>4</sup> Thereon they relied when they thought themselves befallen by an exceptional wrath of God. Void of a moral sacrificial temper, aye, frequently in very unholy, excessive, and selfish participation of the sacrificial feast, they rested satisfied and justified before God.

Thus things stood in Israel when the prophets appeared, from whom emanated a new development of the old religion. In sacrifice, and all connected therewith, the religious experience of the people centered. In the main religion was regarded as an affair of good fortune, adding to the entire life of the people an element of splendor and exaltation. In festive communion

<sup>4</sup>2 Sam. 12:16 ff. is significant. David attempts to save the life of his child by fasting and mourning. That proving fruitless, he "eats and drinks."

with God they felt confident of union with him through hospitality, and assured of his aid. Then without penitent mood, devoid of moral exaltation, they met in pure holiday joy, which was capable also of running into sensuous excess (Judg. 9:27; Isa. 22:11-13). Where it was intended to do God a special honor, either on account of vows or in gratitude and worship, the sacrifice became a gift of the entire offering to God. Then the Israelites spared not the most precious offerings; aye, they were ready for the most formidable sacrifices. And that was manifestly so when in their fate they surmised a wrath of their God. But even then it was in no way a question of moral consciousness of sin. The judgment of God upon existing guilt was read in famine or pestilence or misfortune of war. Then they approached the sanctuary not only, as usual, with consecrations befitting any profane person coming in contact with the sacred, but they came with sorrow and weeping, with fasting and rending of garments (1 Sam. 7:9; Isa. 37:1; Joel 2:12). And they came with sacrifices; yet not with distinct sin-offerings. All sacrifices, because pleasing to God, were accounted expiatory. The bond of communion was also the means of renewal of the union. Burnt-offering was the actual expiatory sacrifice (1 Sam. 3:14; 26:19; 2 Sam. 24:18-25; Mic. 6:6, 7; Job 1:5; 42:8). And candidly the people expected to regain the forfeited favor of God by such renderings; if grand and splendid enough, presents would "smooth the face of God."

As the national fortunes of Israel began to turn more tragic and less successful, the endeavor and impulse to seek propitiation of God were naturally enhanced (Mic. 6:6f.; Hos. 10:9f.; Jer. 3:25; Ezra 9:7; Ps. 106:6). The former happy assurance gave place to an anxious concern for the favor of the deity; and obviously there was an enlargement of the "pagan" view of sacrifice among the people. They hoped to be able to purchase and force the aid of the angry God. After Ahaz, human sacrifice, as the most potent means of appeasing the wrath of God, with increasing irresistibility penetrated into Israel.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Cf. the vivid presentation of Isa. 30:33 (57:5).

Not moral penitency, but sacramental offering, seemed the means of succor for the people.

Against this "pagan" feature of piety the preaching of the prophets after Amos directed itself with an entirely new clearness and determination. While, indeed, they regard themselves as opposing a profane and fundamentally blasphemous idea irreconcilable with Israel's religion, yet, in fact, they antagonize the entire primitive notion of man concerning his communion with God, which the religion of Israel had only outgrown. God's union with his people rests on moral righteousness. "This is the supreme end before which, in decisive cases, even the nation and its fortunes must give way. God's grace is in store for those who penitently return to the divine will and with all their heart subject themselves to it. All other performances are incompetent to awaken God's pleasure and to regain his lost favor." With this conception the religion of primitive mankind is, in the main, eradicated, and that religion brought into being of which the "worship of God in spirit and truth" and "reasonable service" form the center.

It is difficult to say how far the religious ideals of these men logically broke away from the sacrificial cult. They speak very often of the intercourse of a divinely favored and righteous nation with its God. And we may assume that, like their contemporaries, they thought this intercourse mediated by sacrificial communion and consecration of gifts rendered in true piety—somewhat according to Ps. 51, which rejects sacrificial performances as undesired by God, and yet in its appended (?) conclusion (vs. 21) points to a sacrificial service of the future acceptable to God. Thus to men like Isaiah the temple at Jerusalem, of which the sacrificial cult was a necessary part, is a self-evident feature of their faith and hope.<sup>16</sup>

The prophets, however, speak of God who is angry with his people on account of their "unrighteousness," and who with fixed determination announces their doom. It is a question as

<sup>16</sup> A prophet like Hosea, speaking so earnestly of the uncleanness of the pagan country and of the bread of mourners (9:3, 4), has hardly freed himself from the antique ideas of cult, as little as Amos, who (4:5) significantly reproves "sacrifice of thanksgiving of that which is leavened."

to the means of averting this judgment. And as to that, the prophets, with perfect logic, wholly and in every form reject sacrifice. Whosoever attempts with gifts to bribe the God of the universe and purchase his favor is not only a fool, forgetting that the whole world belongs to this God, and that he needs nor desires aught; he offends and deforms the God of justice, who represents the moral idea of the world, as if he were a potentate greedy of honor and enjoyments, and devoid of moral earnestness and righteousness. There is but one way to God's forgiving grace: the moral way, a sure way alone for upright and just hearts. To rend the hearts and not the garments, to be convinced of and confess personal guilt (Pss. 32 and 51), to seek judgment, to relieve the oppressed and distressed, to abolish violence and treachery from national life—thus penitentially to leave the wrong way and energetically search God's way—that is the new sacrifice which will bring propitiation; "though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be as white as snow" (Isa. 1: 11 ff.). Thus the antique doctrine of atonement is eradicated. And thus it is certain that the Christian doctrine of atonement cannot draw its actual content from the sacrificial theory, even though the figurative language of Christian piety, since the epistle to the Hebrews, is fond of reclining on ancient sacrificial imagery.

The language of the prophets permits no shadow of a doubt concerning that. God speaks through Amos (5: 21 ff.): "I hate, I despise your feasts. . . . Yea, though ye offer me your burnt-offerings and oblations, I will not accept them; neither will I regard the thank-offerings of your fat beasts. Instead of songs and harps bring judgment and righteousness. Did ye bring unto me sacrifices and offerings in the wilderness?" In Hosea we read: "I desire kindness and not sacrifice, and the knowledge of God more than burnt-offerings" (6: 6). Micah (6: 7), in face of the readiness of the people for anything, even the greatest sacrifices, says: "He hath shewed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth God require of thee but to do justly and to love kindness and to walk humbly with thy God?" Isaiah (1: 11 ff.) speaks: "To what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices unto me? saith God. I am full of the burnt-offerings of rams, and the

fat of fed beasts; and I delight not in the blood of bullocks, or of lambs, or of he-goats;" and he calls the popular cult "a trampling of the courts of God," "vain oblations," "incense of abomination." And in Jeremiah (6:20; 7:21) God asks his people: "To what purpose cometh there to me frankincense from Sheba, and the precious cinnamon cane from a far country? Your burnt-offerings are not acceptable, nor your sacrifices pleasing unto me." He derisively instructs the people, "Add your burnt-offerings unto your sacrifices and eat ye flesh," and emphatically declares: "I spake not unto your fathers nor commanded them in the day that brought them out of Egypt, concerning burnt-offerings or sacrifices; but concerning justice." Likewise he rejects external trust in "Yahweh's temple" (7:4). The post-exilic Zechariah (7:4) is still certain that God did not punish his people on account of performances of cult, but on account of justice and mercy. And Joel, who otherwise is impressed by a quite contrary aspect (1:14, 16), yet exhorts: "Rend your heart and not your garments" (2:12 ff.).

The idealism of the prophets did not achieve its design. When the old national sanctuary, which after Deuteronomy had become the only legitimate place of cult, sank into ashes, and the people for two generations without temple or sacrifice abode in an "unclean country" (Hos. 2:13; 3:4), the temple and cult became an ideal living in the noblest minds and demanding reconstruction. And the more the priestly factors decided and directed that which survived of Israel, the more the sacrificial cult again predominated in pious thought. It suffices to call attention to Ezekiel in distinction from the earlier prophets in order to establish this impression. While the "unclean" is utterly repugnant to his soul (4:13 f.) and the pagan country with its food seems defiled to him, his ideal is a country whose center is the temple, a national life whose supreme content is the sacrificial cult (chaps. 40-48). The "priestly Torah" of Exodus and Leviticus places the regulation of the sanctuary and the technique of sacrifice, which in early Israel had been the affair of rulers and priesthood, into the center of sacred history and makes them the main element of the divinely ordained religion, from its very

beginning (Exod., chaps. 25 ff.; 36 ff.; Lev., chaps. 1-10; 16). In Joel the interruption of sacrifice appears as the greatest national misfortune (1:13; 2:14); in Daniel it is the most formidable persecution which Israel has to endure (8:13; 9:27). In the restored Jerusalem there flourished a sacrificial cult of a nicer and more systematic perfection, and more highly popular, than that in Bethel or in the Solomonic temple. Half a millennium had to elapse, and a higher revelation be given to humanity, before the rise of the religion which knows only the great moral sacrifice of the life of the servant of God and the daily offerings in spirit and truth.

And yet one would only view the surface and not comprehend the real content of the post-exilic religion of Israel by failing to recognize that the prophetic thought has in substance been victorious. Sacrifice after the exile is no longer the real center of the people's religious life. Piety centers around "the law of God." The synagogue is more significant for the majority of the nation than the temple. The scribe is more popular and active than the priest. The temple, with its sacred, minutely arranged, and artistically decorated sacrificial service, is, indeed, the pride of the nation, the mysterious place where God's favorable communion with Israel presents itself and is guaranteed. But for most Israelites in ordinary times it had only the effect of a sacred symbol, accepted by faith and living in the heart. The daily communion of the individual with God is now no more connected with sacrifices. That explains the comparative ease with which the favorable communion of God with his people secured by sacrificial cult was transposed into the faith in divine grace guaranteed by the sacrifice of Christ. For the majority of the pious that was merely the transformation of a lower form of faith into a higher one, not the transition from a sacrificial to a spiritual religion.

In the main this development was decided with the introduction of the deuteronomic law under Josiah. With the achievement of a central sanctuary for the whole nation the antique "sacrificial religion" was made impossible. Sacrifice at this place could only be made *for* the people, no longer itself be the

expression of the people's religious life. It was now impossible that every festive flesh-meal should be a sacrificial act. The blood of the domestic animal could no longer regularly be assigned to God. Being "holy," it could be withheld from profane use, the law directing to "pour it out" (Lev. 3:17; 17:10). But in other respects the sacrificial thought ceased to rule the entire festal life of the people (Deut. 12:15 f.). The sacrificial meal became the exception. It concentrated itself chiefly upon the feasts. And thereby naturally "burnt-offering" enters into the foreground as the fixed gift of honor to God. In daily life prayer and instruction in Scripture were more important than sacrifice. While Judah—which was really nothing but a large city with a small territory of land—still existed as a kingdom, these things were not felt to any marked degree. Deuteronomy presupposes an active participation of the people in the cult.<sup>7</sup> But for a people growing up into millions in different countries it was inevitable.

After the great prophetic men, whose preaching lived on among the people as "God's word," the naïve antique notions of sacrifice were impossible in Israel's religion. Not only the thought of a common life of God and his community, nourished by the common blood, was obsolete, but also the view that God desires sacrifice for food and pleasure or for the gratification of his craving of honor. Old expressions, like "bread of God," "sweet savor," and "fire-food," survived; yet they could only be taken in a spiritualized sense, and never without the obvious intermediary thought that the attitude of the offering congregation was essentially valuable to God. And especially in cases of appeasing God's wrath and effecting his pardon, every sacrificial theory not founded on repentance and earnest decision of a new life was excluded (Pss. 40:4; 50:7 ff.).

Israel for a long time lived without cult and sanctuary in an unconsecrated country. And yet they were confident of the grace of their God, for divine wrath had changed into a

<sup>7</sup> It sanctions the change of tithes and firstlings into money with which to equip the joyous sacrificial feasts at the sanctuary (14:22 f.; cf. 12:12 f.; 14:23; 16:11; 26:11; 27:12). But the tithe must still in every third year be dedicated to benevolent purposes (14:28; 26:12).

Redeemer's love. They, therefore, could no longer regard atonement as bound to sacrifice. The sacrifice of "God's servant" (Isa., chap. 53) has nothing to do with the sacrificial cult. It is a heroic act of faith and of love stronger than death and national guilt. Thus the doctrine of the atonement of the congregation of the second temple is as little to be found in the "sacrificial Torah" of the Law as is the Christian doctrine. Religion has ceased to be "sacrifice." It has been transformed into righteousness and obedience toward divine commandments on the one hand, and faith and repentance on the other. The sacrificial cult of the temple is, in fact, a thing standing behind the daily religion of the individual like a symbol of securely guaranteed communion between the sin-forgiving God and the believing congregation. He alone who unreservedly acknowledges these fundamental conditions can understand the intention of the sacrifices in the Law of Israel and their actual importance for the nation.

The sacrificial laws in the priestly Torah undoubtedly contain very early material. The sacrificial regulations for the priests of the old Jerusalem may lie at the bottom everywhere. Without the assumption of such a given basis the presence of the conception of guilt-offering (חטאת) alongside of that of sin-offering (זבח), in Lev., chap. 14, for instance, is wholly inexplicable. A lawgiver systematically creating anew would have defined the boundaries there in a totally different way. And the collective material of the laws corresponds with traditional regulations. True, instead of the fine payable to the sanctuary, here generally a special sin-offering, or guilt-offering, is entailed. But, as Ezekiel's book shows, that was already customary in the later Jerusalem. For Ezekiel does not institute it as an ideal for the future, but speaks of it as self-evident (40:39; 43:19, 22; 44:26, 29; 45:17, 22; 46:20). And also the Day of Atonement with its peculiar sacrifice (Lev., chap. 16) is nowhere else alluded to. Yet Ezekiel institutes two days in the year for the "consecration of the sanctuary" (45:18, 20), and the Day of Atonement is essentially but a "consecration of the altar" for the purpose of again making the cult of the



people pleasing to God. The new feature in the priestly Torah, on the one hand, is the reception of the technique of sacrifice—which otherwise alone concerned the priesthood and might vary in different sanctuaries—as a constituent part of the national religion; on the other hand, the tendency of the law toward a systematic and artistic unification and perfection of the whole, which in the guilt-offering alone does not stand out entirely clear. The whole makes the impression of a revival in archaic style of early rites which have lost their natural connection with the daily life of the people. They are now no longer sacred usages whose meaning was plain to the pious people without further reflection, but positive divine enactments, about the basis and significance of which no pious person is any longer justified to think for himself.

It is entirely outside of the scope of these laws to unfold the ultimate ground of the effect of sacrifice. They would only secure the fixed order of the cult, not theologically explain its significance. That the life of the animal rendered to God in the sacrificial blood is the most sacred mystery of sacrifice was for those days a self-evident conviction resting on primitive presuppositions, and neither requiring nor admitting a theological explanation. It appears as an ordinance established with the beginnings of the human race that blood, as the "soul" of the animal, is too sacred for any profane participation, and is assigned to man only for the purpose of religious consecration (נֶפֶשׁ, Gen. 9:4; Deut. 12:16; Lev. 17:11). In a like manner the law presupposes that fat—the "blossom" of the flesh—belongs solely to God and must be rendered to him as sacrificial odor (Lev. 3:3, 17; 4:9 f.; 7:22 ff.; 26).<sup>18</sup>

The religion of Israel after the great prophets could surely no longer conceive of an actual partaking of the sacrifice by God. It is, indeed, very striking how near Ezekiel's phraseology approaches the naïve sensual feeling of primitive times. To

<sup>18</sup> Thus, also, the best of fruits is termed "their fat," Numb. 18:12 (the fat of the land). In case of the sons of Eli, disregard of the sanctity of fat seems their real offense against the cult, 1 Sam. 2:13 ff. (Lev. 17:6). The blood of game must be poured out and "covered with dust" (Lev. 17:13), that it cry not for revenge (Lev. 19:26).

him the altar is "a table of God" (40:39, 42; 44:15, שֻׁלְחָן) and the sacrifice "his bread" (44:7, 15, חֶלֶב יָדָם). And without prepossession he at least hypothetically speaks of the "eating" of the gods (16:20; 23:37). The priestly Torah, as already mentioned, is permeated by expressions like "fire bread," "bread of God," "sweet savor" (Lev. 1:9, 13, 17; 2:2, 9, 12; 3:5, 11, 16; 4:31; 6:8; 8:28; 17:6; 21:6, 17, 22; Exod. 29:18, 25, 41; Numb. 28:2-8). But we shall have to assume that this phraseology in those times was but a figurative garb of a more spiritual conception of the appropriation of sacrifice by God. Yet the impression remains all the more that the background of the sacrificial idea is the conviction that the gift of piety really produces a gratifying, propitious, and, in the end, conciliating effect on God. All sacrifices are rendered to God in fire, and thus etherealized. The Passah and the shewbread have lost their real sacrificial character. The community does not approach God empty-handed (Exod. 23:15) and pays its tithes. But these serve as emolument for the priests and no longer are employed for the expenses of the cult.

Unbloody sacrifice in single cases may serve as a symbolical substitute for slaughter-sacrifice (Lev. 2:1; 5:11; Numb. 5:15, 25, meal-offering, מִנְחָה). Otherwise it is an addition to slaughter-sacrifice—the actual sacrifice of cult—in connection with the libation of wine and the offering of frankincense. All "meal-offerings" fall under the head of incense (הַקְטֹרֶת). If the congregation or the priest brings them, they are, in fact, entirely burned (Lev. 6:14 f.). Otherwise only a symbolical fragrance-portion (אֶזְבֶּדָה, Isa. 66:3) is burned with the frankincense, and the rest belongs to the priest as his "most holy" due (Lev. 2:3, 9 f.; 6:9, 12 f.). They are as little employed for the sacrificial meal as is the sin-offering. These unbloody offerings consist of wheat flour, in various forms, with salt (Lev. 2:13), oil, and frankincense. Only in case of a penitential offering oil and frankincense are missing, since the acceptable sacrificial communion with God must first be made possible. Ingredients that bring about dissolution, like honey and leaven, are excluded as vehicles of dismal powers, although as substances

of nature they are good and pure, and may be used at religious meals (Lev., chap. 2) and offered as first-fruits.

The bloody sacrifice appears as sacrifice (זָבַח) in the proper sense. Blood as ever is the sacrificial mystery. And domestic animals alone, which from primeval times were regarded clean in Israel, and connected with man through communion of life—kine, sheep, and goats—are fit for sacrifice. Clean animals roaming through the wilds and becoming the hunters' prey lack that relation to man which at this period naturally was conceived of only under the aspect of property and household (Isa. 1:2 f.). Doves and turtle doves are allowable victims, though rather in the manner of a substitutionary gift (Lev. 5:7; 14; Numb., chap. 6). They probably appeared domestic in a wider sense. These articles and animals constitute the material for the sacrifices of the Law. Along with other dedications to the deity, they are in a general way termed קָרְבָּן (Lev. 1:2; 2:11; 3:1, 6; 5:11; 7:29; 17:4; Numb. 7:3, 12, 19), *i. e.*, a bringing of present to God. The expression תְּרוּמָה likewise comprises both sacrifice and dedicatory gift (*e. g.*, Numb. 18:8; *cf.* Numb. 7:3 ff.).

The sacrificial cult of the Law, like the old sacrificial usages of Israel, embraces the entire circle of the community's relation to its God. Gratitude and petition, vows and adoration, penitence and prayer for forgiveness, are expressed in sacrifice, although no longer with the primitive confidence which saw in sacrifice an effective means for every sin and every wish. Whatever the particular object of a sacrifice, always, and chiefly when sacrificial blood forms the center of the act, we find that the officiating priest, with blood and occasionally with the entire sacrificial rite, is to atone or "cover up" (כָּפַר) the offerer. We must next of all study the meaning of this expression. It can hardly signify an actual purging away of sin. For in thank-offering and burnt-offering the "covering" occurs in just the same way as in expiatory sacrifice. And the blood can hardly be considered here as "penally" shed. For here and there also other parts of the sacrificial rite "cover;" *e. g.*, the eating of the sacrificial flesh by the priest (Lev. 10:16 ff.), or the oil (Lev.

14: 18, 29), or the frankincense (Numb. 8: 19; 17: 11). In the sacrificial process itself (Lev. 5: 11; Numb. 5: 15) must be found the atoning or covering power. Blood, only as it is the sacramental focus of the sacrificial mystery, is the real vehicle of this power.

The term "cover" in religious use has ordinarily a very simple meaning. Guilt or uncleanness is conceived as a taint, the sight of which calls forth the deity's wrath. If God "covers" this sin, he no longer wants to see it; that is, he forgives it. In this turn the phrase is synonymous with many other expressions for God's free and forgiving grace. We elsewhere read: "God lets sin pass over," "he casts it behind his back," "he lifts it away" (נָשָׂא), "he no longer remembers it," "he lets it vanish" (הִסִּיר), "heals it," "washes it away," "pardons it" (סָלַח). Directly synonymous is the term "to conceal" (כָּסָה, Neh. 3: 37). These words do not deal with conditions of justice or cult. God exercises his sovereign right in pardoning. The object of "covering" is primarily sin (לֵזִי or עֲלֵי, or the accusative).<sup>19</sup> Or it is the land and the people defiled by sin that are released of their impurity (Deut. 32: 43; Isa. 27: 9), or accept the promise that a blood-guiltiness—in which they actually had no part—shall not be imputed to them (Deut. 21: 1-9). When man appears as the one who "covers," the thought is that by a compensation, a כֹּפֶר, he moves the injured party to waive his right of revenge (2 Sam. 21: 3; Numb. 35: 31 ff.). כֹּפֶר in that case simply is the weregild inducing the injured party or the judge to consider the guilt no longer in existence (Exod. 21: 30; 1 Sam. 12: 3). But the word can also be used figuratively for the averting of a dreaded evil by some kind of performance (Isa. 43: 3; Prov. 13: 8; 21: 18; Job 33: 23 f.; 36: 18). And consequently all that the person or community does to avert God's possible or actual wrath may be termed "covering;" whether it is a sacrifice (1 Sam. 3: 14; Isa. 47: 11), or a sacred gift like the poll-tax paid as "covering money" in connection with the God-defying census of the people (Exod. 30: 11 ff.), or like the prize

<sup>19</sup> Isa. 6: 7; 22: 14; Jer. 18: 23; Ezek. 16: 63; Pss. 65: 4; 78: 38; 79: 9; Deut. 21: 8.

money in case of unprecedented success (Numb. 31:50). The language of the sacrificial laws is most closely approached by passages like Numb. 25:13, where Phinehas, through his zeal both expressing and satisfying God's wrath, "covers" (כָּפַר עַל) the children of Israel, and thus effects that God no longer considers them doomed; or like Exod. 32:30, where Moses tries by prayer to "cover" (כָּפַר בְּעַד הַטָּאָה) the sin of the people. In all this the meaning of the word is unambiguous. God will no longer look at the sin; or man, by gifts, actions, or petitions, causes offended persons or the offended God to look no longer at the sin as demanding revenge.

The linguistic usage is quite different in the connection of the sacrificial laws, which is already very current with Ezekiel, chaps. 43, 45. Here the subject that "covers" is without exception the priest executing the rite. That which is to be "covered" is not the sin, but the person of him who renders the sacrifice, or else the sanctuary. And the means of "covering," if possible, is the holy sacrificial blood, whether more directly, or more externally brought into the presence of the deity. Only in exceptional cases other substances of the sacrifice are employed. Not a single bloody sacrifice is rendered to God where the proper dedication of the sacrificial food is not preceded by "covering." It must, therefore, be conceived of as a process distinct from the appropriation of the sacrifice by God, and making this possible. Nobody will deny that the cleansing and consecrative effect attributed to sacrificial blood since primeval periods of human history, that for generations was no longer an object of doubt or of direct religious sensation, somehow enters into consideration. Accordingly it appears self-evident in Lev., chaps. 14; 16 that a house defiled by leprosy, or the place of the sanctuary deprived of its consecration by Israel's imperfect cult, should be "cleansed" with sacrificial blood. Sacrificial blood has the power of abolishing uncleanness in a higher measure than either water, the cleansing element, or than the sacred ointment, Exod. 29:21, or than the stain-purging flame. But thereby only the outward circumference of the matter is described.

Why does the priest "cover" the offerers of sacrifice? Surely not, like God, to declare the sin no longer existent; but to restore the consecration of the person or the altar or the house, that a veil may be spread over their uncleanness (Ezek. 43: 18-27); in other words, to "consecrate," "cleanse," the offerer and the holy places. We, it cannot be denied, in this connection naturally think of forgiveness of sin, since to our mind nothing but our unpardoned sin could intervene between God and us in a separating and compromising way. Yet it has previously been pointed out that the Old Testament sacrifices—of which only a small portion has to do with sin, while ordinarily the community united with God merely expresses its gratitude and worship—cannot possibly deal with forgiveness of sin in our sense. We must step out of the circle of ideas of a purely ethical religion into the entirely different trend of thought of pious antiquity.

In Israel, as among all ancient nations, holiness, as we have seen, is chiefly a physical conception. It is dangerous and deadly. And the holier anything is, *i. e.*, the more immediate its contact with the deity, the more its presence threatens ruin to one coming out of the unsanctification of natural life. Whosoever touches God's ark unconsecrated, whatsoever creature of unclean lips sees God, incurs death. Special emphasis is placed upon this ancient conviction in the Levitical law caused by its enhanced supramundane conception of God. The whole institution of the Levites rests on the supposition that they, being consecrated, may touch the holy articles, contact with which would kill the people (Numb. 1: 53; 8: 10-19; 18: 5). The priests bear "the iniquity of holy things" (Exod. 28: 38). They eat the "most holy" parts of sacrifice at the holy place (Lev. 10: 17 ff.; Exod. 29: 38 ff.). Into the closest presence of God the high priest enters only with special consecration and on but one appointed day (Lev., chap. 16). The sanctuary kills anyone approaching it with "strange fire" (Lev. 10: 1). Whosoever without call arrogates to himself the official prerogatives of the priesthood is swallowed up by the earth (Numb. 16: 22 ff.). In this entire circle of ideas the contrast of the creature to God is

not conceived in our sense of consciousness of sin. Both, it is true, are related. Uncleaness was in ancient times as much an ethical as a physical idea. Isaiah's designation of himself and his people as "of unclean lips" undoubtedly contained some consciousness of moral unworthiness. And the Old Testament is aware that "no clean one cometh out of the unclean" (Job 14:4; 13:26), and that man shaped in iniquity (Ps. 51:7) has an evil heart from his youth (Gen. 8:21; Ps. 130). Yet creatural unsanctification and moral imperfection are not clearly separated. The heavens are not clean before God; he findeth fault with his holy ones (Job 4:18 ff.). In the liturgical sphere of worship, indeed, the idea of creatural unsanctification, of distance between Creator and creature, is the prevailing one. This appears in the fact that the priest, who as a moral being is not a whit better, can still "cover" the offerer because on the ground of physical cleanness and faultlessness (Exod., chap. 29; Lev. 21:6 ff., 16 f.) through ceremonial consecrations he is qualified for God's presence and protected against its mortal effects.<sup>20</sup> In this need of "covering" is implied a perceptible feeling of moral insufficiency. Not in the sense, however, of the Christian consciousness of sin, but entirely comprehended in the general consciousness of creatural and natural uncleaness over against the holiness of God. Not a wrath of God already existing is to be revoked by "covering," but care is taken to avoid the provocation of God's wrath and the extermination of the unworthy object by his deadly holiness. Where man draws near with sin-offering and guilt-offering he doubly feels the need of such consecration. Not only as "unclean man," but also as "defiled by sin," he must needs be qualified for God's sight. The need itself every man feels, because he is "but dust and ashes" (Gen. 18:27). The "covering," therefore, is nothing but the concealing of the uncleaness of the creature before the holy presence of God. In given cases it may be synonymous with "purifying" or "purging" of sin (כִּפּוּר).

<sup>20</sup> The Levites represent Israel's "firstborn," i. e., God's holy due (Numb. 3:12; 8:16). They are consecrated, and so perform the ordinary services at the sanctuary, though not the sacrificial rite (18:2, 5), without the wrath of God coming upon Israel (1:53; 8:19).

namely, when the offerer seeks forgiveness in sacrifice (Lev 8:15). But in itself the word is parallel with "sanctify" (קִדֵּשׁ) and with "cleanse" (טָהַר). We correctly render it by "consecrate."

The priest consecrates the offerer. He, the authorized servant at the house of God, ushers others into God's presence. And he gives them "the wedding garment" in which they may come nigh unto God without danger, since it conceals their unsanctification (Numb. 8:19). The means of "covering," according to the primitive sentiments of man, primarily is sacrificial blood, the sacred cement between God and man; only, however, because it contains the life and is appropriated by God as a symbol of the communion into which he enters with the offerer. That it is only meant thus is proven by the circumstance that eventually also other sacred means of consecration serve the same end, provided they attest the communion of God. The eating of the flesh of sin-offering by the priest, in fact the whole sacrificial act, possesses "covering" power (Numb. 10:17; 15:35; cf. Exod. 29:33; Lev. 4:13-21; 5:11). In a like manner the sacred ointment "covers" the person on whom it is sprinkled (Lev. 8:30; 14:10; 10:7). The question, therefore, is not one of blood as a symbol of God's mortal wrath. Among the means of consecration which, like frankincense (Numb. 17:12), through their contact with God gain "covering" power, blood, to be sure, is central and decisive—just as it is most important among the means of purification by the side of water (*e. g.*, Exod. 30:19; Lev. 13:34, 54, 58), or of water with sacrificial ashes (Numb. 19:5 ff.).<sup>22</sup> Consecrated through sacrificial blood man can draw nigh unto the sanctuary without being destroyed, as Levites and priests through higher consecrations are enabled to come into personal touch with holy things. That the community for which the sacrificial law was written entertained any kind of theory about

<sup>22</sup>Isaiah's sin is purged by fire from the heavenly altar (6:5). Compare the washing of garments in the blood of the Lamb. Purificatory means: Lev. 12:8; 14:9-20; 15:5, 29; Numb. 5:15 f.; 6:18; 28:22 ff.; 29:5; 31:22 f. Altar consecration: Exod. 29:37; Lev. 8:15. The sacred ointment sanctifies, Lev. 10:7. Fire cleanses, Numb. 31:22 f. The "covering" occurs before Yahweh's countenance, Lev. 19:22.



the power of sacrificial blood, or felt a need of such a thing, is excluded by the nature of the case.<sup>22</sup> For millenniums human piety had regarded this "power of blood" as self-evident. Yet it was now generally felt not to be a matter of penalty or judgment, nor of purely physical communion with the deity, as the primitive ages had probably considered it. Because God wanted sacrifice, because it was favorably accepted by him, the victim's life presented to him in the blood is a cover concealing the offerer's unsanctification and impurity from God's holy sight.

This "covering" is the immediate preparation for the acceptance of the sacrifice by God. It is always preceded by cleansings of a more symbolical character. The apparel must be clean and festal, the body must be washed before man is admitted to the sacrifice (Exod. 30:20; Lev. 13:34, 54, 58; 14:8 f., 46 f.; 15:5 ff., 17 ff.; 16:4, 23, 26, 28; Numb. 19:7, 8, 20 f.; 31:19 f., 24). And conditions of particular uncleanness, as that called forth by contact with demoniacal powers, by phases of death or sickness, by generation and child-birth, must be made ineffective through purifications and periods of consecration (2 Sam. 11:4; Exod. 19:15; 1 Sam. 21:5). The later Israel, it seems, found lustration necessary before every prayer (Judith 12:7, 9). Hence before ceremonial consecration was possible man must first put away that which in an unusual manner hindered his contact with the sacred. Since time immemorial the custom prevailed, when a sense of particular guilt oppressed the community, by fasting,<sup>23</sup> attitudes of grief, and lamentation to renounce such guilt in penitence and to qualify oneself again for religious intercourse with God (Joel 1:14; 2:12 ff.; Zech. 7:3 ff.; 8:19; cf. Judg. 20:23, 26; 1 Sam. 7:6; 31:13; 2 Sam. 12:16, 22; 1 Kings 21:9, 12, 27; Ps. 35:13).

Presuming the above, there seems no difficulty whatever in explaining the meaning of the sacrifices of the Law not directly pertaining to sin or guilt. Preëminent among these, according

<sup>22</sup> The view is probably to be dismissed that an indemnity for the "killing" of the domestic animal was to be effected by this blood. The post-exilic temple community was no longer "naïve" enough for such a view.

<sup>23</sup> Fasting was perhaps originally a preparation for the sacred partaking of flesh (compare the fasting of Catholics before taking the sacrament).

to its religious importance, is burnt-offering (עֹלָה), now no longer considered a sin-purging sacrifice, but the regular sacrifice of the congregation of worshipers. According to the entire linguistic usage, "whole offering" (כָּלִיל) is to be taken as synonymous with burnt-offering. The apparent exception in Ps. 51: 21 is explainable by poetic juxtaposition of parallel terms (1 Sam. 7: 9; Deut. 33: 10). To contend about the origin of the word "olah" would be of no significance for our task. The rendering "burnt-offering" (עֹלָה) is certainly preferable to the inexpressive term "that which ascends." The offerer consecrates the animal through laying on of hands. Then the priest performs the "covering" by sprinkling the blood, and sets in order the fire-food. Whereupon the entire victim is offered in fire to the deity "for a sweet savor." Such burnt-offerings or holocausts are rendered on all festive occasions, alike at joyful feast and expiatory sacrifice (Exod. 10: 25; 32: 6; Lev., chap. 6; cf. Exod. 29: 10-19; Lev. 9: 2; 12: 6 ff.; 14: 19; 15: 14; Ezek. 45: 23). As Israel's continual sacrifice (תָּמִיד) they ascend on the altar, according to Ezekiel morning by morning (46: 13), according to the Law morning and evening (Lev. 6: 2 ff.; Exod. 29: 38; Numb. 28: 3; cf. 1 Chron. 16: 40), so that all special sacrifices are rendered to God "upon this burnt-offering," which in a sense is the basis of all. It is like an *opus operatum* sustaining the communion of the nation with God (Lev. 6: 6; 7: 2). When strangers to the nation show their reverence for Israel's God, it must be done through this sacrifice (Lev. 17: 8; 22: 18; Josephus, *C. Ap.*, 2: 16; *De bell. jud.*, 2: 17, 2). The animals offered had to be males, and entirely faultless (Lev. 1: 3, 10, 14). Only in case of need was the offering of doves valid.

There is here no question of particular expiation. Where that enters into consideration the burnt-offering cannot be rendered except on the basis of a sin-offering, that is, after the expiatory act (*e. g.*, Numb. 6: 9-15; 15: 22 ff.). Only when Israel or the pious stand in normal intercourse with God is this sacrifice permissible. And, moreover, it is the basis on which rest all special sacrifices of thanks, of prayer, of vows. It is the intrinsic ritual sacrifice, the expression of the worship which

Israel under all circumstances must dedicate to God, and which it can alone dedicate to him when its intercourse with him is uninterrupted. In the nature of the case, the offering congregation itself may not eat a portion of such gifts of worship. They are holy. Even the priest receives no share, as he did of the sin-offerings, or as was the case among the Carthaginians. God appropriates the entire sacrifice in fire.

The Law naturally does not think of blood-enchantment<sup>44</sup> and blood-communion. Remote to it is also the dread realism of early times, which regarded human sacrifice as the most efficient holocaust. Likewise the thought of God's physical partaking of the sacrifice — notwithstanding the previously mentioned metaphors to the contrary — can no longer be presupposed of the religious life of this period (Ps. 50 : 7 ff.). Israel can only have regarded pious and obedient worship, which is the spiritual content of the gift, as that element in fire-food which God accepts with pleasure. Hecatombs and extravagant sacrifices, therefore, are immaterial. The sacrifices prescribed are comparatively trifling, because they are essentially symbolical. Yet they must be rendered without stint and wilfulness, according to precise divine order, and of the best that man can give. Thus the meaning of this kind of sacrifice is *the willing and obedient expression of worship through gifts of reverence*. God accepting it avows communion with the nation, though not in the childlike mode of ancient times that Judg. 13 : 23 presupposes. The conception of ownership plays no important part in connection with these offerings, though man may naturally only make a gift to God of that which is his own (2 Sam. 24 : 23 ff.). The Law nowhere contemplates a present to God in the sense of a bribe. God demands worship, and this is rendered him in burnt-offering — as the gift of the subject is valued by the king, not as an increase of wealth, but as a symbolical expression of subjection and obedience (Exod. 23 : 15 ; Deut. 16 : 16).

Just as readily comprehensible is the numerous class of sacrifices corresponding with the primitive sacrificial meals and

<sup>44</sup> How realistic and magical the Law in other respects regarded the effect of holy things and words is seen in the law, Numb. 5 : 15 ff., that the drinking of water filled with curses shall ruin the guilty one (1 Sam. 14 : 24).

rendered partly of voluntary determination (נִדְבָה, Lev. 7:16), partly to express gratitude (תּוֹדָה, Lev. 7:12; 22:29; Ps. 27:6), partly in fulfilment of vows (נֶדֶר, Lev. 22:18; Numb. 15:3). The Law calls them שְׁלָמִים, whether the word is indicative of the inviolate communion between God and the offerer (peace- and welfare-offerings), or, what seems more probable, of the rendering of something that was vowed or was otherwise to be discharged (שָׁלַם, Amos 5:22). Where simply a slaughter-sacrifice (זֶבַח) is mentioned, this kind of offering is usually meant. It comprises only such sacrificial renderings as are freely determined by the community or the individual without legal regularity. Desiring or having experienced special divine aid, they offered such sacrifices to God in order to please him that he might help, or because he had helped. Here the old form of sacrifice is most faithfully preserved. After the offerer consecrated the animal, after the priest "covered" him and dedicated the blood, the fat alone was rendered to God in fire. Not as the "inner part" of the animal—for the fat tail of sheep also falls to God (Lev. 3:3-9)—but as the blossom of the flesh withdrawn from profane use. The rest of the animal's flesh also belonged to God, and was considered holy. Only the clean as God's guests might participate of the meal at the sanctuary. What was not eaten at the holy feast had to be burnt as "holy" in a clean place (Lev. 19:5). Not in the manner of a sacrifice—for the consumption by fire took place outside of the sanctuary—but in order to withdraw it from decomposition and all unholy use (Lev. 7:15 ff.; 19:5 f.; 22:30). God appropriated nothing further of the meal; the honorary portion due him (1 Sam. 9:24), the breast and right shoulder, was only symbolically offered and heaved or waved before him (תְּנוּפָה, תְּרוּמָה; cf. Exod. 25:2; 29:24; 35:5, 21, 24; 36:3, 6; 38:24, 29; Lev. 7:30; 9:21; 10:14; Numb. 8:10-15; 15:18). It then fell to the lot of his servants, the priests. And the rest of the flesh, with the appurtenances of a joyous meal, was partaken in religious table-fellowship by the offerers, whose guest might be any person standing in communion with them, or God's protégés, the Levite and stranger (Deut. 12:12, 13; 14:26; 16:11,

14). Thus they rejoiced "before God" (Exod. 18:12; Deut. 12:7, 12, 18; 14:24; 27:7). The aspect of the meal here figured so predominantly that even animals with slight faults were admitted as voluntary gifts. (Yet see Lev. 3:1-9; 22:22). From these feasts of joy sacred poetry has drawn its metaphors of religious bliss which enter deeply into the imagery of Christendom (Pss. 16:11; 22:25; 50:14; 56:12; 61:8; 64:10; 65:1-4; 100:2; 116:14, 18; 118:24; *cf.* Prov. 17:1).

Thoughts of penitency were utterly remote from these sacrifices. The offerer in reverential awe felt his need of consecration before he could rejoice in his gift at the sanctuary. Yet he came in the full glad sense of God's grace as a child of the people of the covenant who stood in the splendor of the light of God's countenance. Possible sin or guilt was previously washed away. He feared neither God's displeasure nor his judgment. How could a pious Israelite under the impulse to render his God a gratifying gift of thanks feel himself under divine wrath? True, he felt that he could approach God only when consecrated, like a subject entering the royal hall only when washed and properly attired. In this sense the Israel of that period, more than the early nation, perceived the immeasurable distance between the son of dust involved in the world and its business, and the celestial supramundane God, and reverently prayed the priest for "covering" through sacrificial blood. With our consciousness of sin and guilt, however, that had nothing to do, and it did not make the sacrificial meal an expiatory sacrifice.

Of course, that which had filled the hearts of the early Hebrews at such meals, the consciousness of actual table-fellowship and company with God by which the union with him was perceived and strengthened, was for the congregation of the second temple hardly more than a shadowy reminiscence. They thought of a blood-communion with God least of all. The blood at these meals was strictly excluded from the participation of the guests (Gen. 9:4; Deut. 12:16, 23; Lev. 17:10 ff.). Partaking of blood appeared so abominable to the pious (Ps. 16:4) that David already refuses to drink the water from the well at Bethlehem which was obtained by his friends in jeopardy of

their lives; it seems like "the blood" of his heroes, and he therefore pours it out unto God (2 Sam. 23:14-17). And sprinkling of the guests or the house with sacrificial blood was no longer customary. Israel undoubtedly performed these sacrifices without any theological considerations. What we artificially and by reflection approximate was in those times still the self-evident heritage of the piety of millenniums. That God was gratified with the rendered sacrifice ascending to him as ether seemed so indubitable that it was simply presumed. Therefore it was offered him as we offer him our prayer and holy sentiments. It was not offered as a present which he needed, or of costly material, but as an honorary gift to gratify and, in given cases, to make him favorably disposed to grant requests. The thought was hardly brought to mind whether the effect of this honoring rested only in the intention of the offerer or in the sacrifice as *opus operatum*. In all invitations to festive honoring both elements stand side by side. If Christianity after two millenniums is still but very partially clear as to the relation of both ideas, then surely the Israel of the Law must much less have been so. The compilers of the sacrificial Torah nowhere show that they ever thought upon the matter. And just as unprejudiced and void of reflection the guests must have felt their union with God in the sacrificial meal and the enjoyment of his grace, without inquiring if this glad consciousness rested upon the fact of the common meal itself or upon the communion of the heart with God expressed therein.

Up to this point the sacrifices of the Law are simply the expression of the worship of God and the desire to gratify him through honorary and hospitable gifts. A different meaning of sacrifice could be derived only from the precepts relating to sin-offering (חטאת) and guilt-offering (עולה). They were not customary, it seems, in early Israel. The people simply paid fines to the sanctuary. They first appear in Ezekiel (40:39; 43:19, 25; 44:26; 45:17, 20; 46:20), and Ps. 40:7 mentions them. It is probable that a transformation of the fine into sacrificial form took place in the interest of the cult. The laws concerning sin- and guilt-offering are not kept apart with systematic clearness

They rather leave the impression of compositions from various sacrifice rituals. As our task does not concern the differences of opinion attaching themselves to this question, we base our investigation upon the now prevailing view, according to which **אָנָם** in Lev. 5:1-13 is employed in a wider sense for guilt in general, and what is prescribed in the passage is materially included in sin-offering. For if guilt-offerings were here spoken of, they must be considered in absolute coincidence with sin-offerings both as to their occasion and their execution.

Neither sacrifice deals with what we call sin and guilt in its proper sense. For the entire sphere of the inner life there exists no sacrifice. Nor can a sacrifice be rendered for wilful transgression of divine commandments, in renunciation of obedience to God, as little as in civil life blood-money (**כֶּפֶר**) can be accepted for misdemeanor defiling the land, *e. g.*, for murder (Numb. 35:31-34). If anyone transgresses God's order "with a high hand" (**בְּיָד רָמָה**), "that soul shall be cut off from among his people" (Numb. 15:30). (The term in civil spheres expresses violent disregard of order in contrast with peaceable agreement (Exod. 14:8; Numb. 33:3).) Only "if anyone sins through error" (**בִּשְׁגָגָה**, Lev. 4:2, 22, 27; 5:1, 15, etc.) is there a sacrifice, for sins unconsciously and unintentionally committed through human weakness and short-sightedness, where evil will—the actual center of sin—is missing. Thus also for sins similar to unintentional slaying in civil spheres, for which the law knows cities of refuge, and which do not exclude the possibility of friendly adjustment with the injured kin. The greater portion of the sacrificial laws pertain to mere neglect of the precepts of cult or purification. Thus the law, Lev., chap. 16, deals only with fault remaining unnoticed in the ritual life of Israel during the year, by which the sanctuary and the intercourse of the community with God may have lost the necessary consecration. The case is similar in regard to the laws concerning contact with dead bodies, concerning leprosy, etc. In other respects they deal with possession of consecrated things, with careless vows, with concealing a curse, or sexual intercourse with a bondwoman, nowhere in the Old Testament coming under the head of sin. The Priestly

Law has a juristical and ritual, not an ethico-religious trend. Guilt-offerings, in the restricted sense of the word, **עֹלָת**, form the simplest case. Concerning them the prescriptions are found Lev. 5:14 ff.; 7:1 ff.; 14:12; Numb. 5:5 ff.; 6:12; 18:9 (Ezek. 40:39; 42:13; 44:29; 46:20). Their distinguishing peculiarity lies in the fact that they are rendered for covert, faithless action (**סֵת**),<sup>25</sup> *i. e.*, in event of the violation of the rights of sanctuary or of man. If a Nazarite is interrupted in his vow by contact with some dead thing (Numb. 6:9 f.), or if anybody has profaned the sanctuary (Lev. 5:15; *cf.* 1 Sam. 6:3, 19), or if by curse or vow or oath God's holy name is dishonored, then "guilt" against God is in question, an infringement of the rights of the sanctuary. And guilt against the neighbor is in question if he, according to Lev. 5:14 ff.; 19:20, and Numb. 5:6, is injured in his right of ownership, under which comes the right of the master to his female slave, or if he is injured by denial of a pledge or by the withholding of lost things found. Every other distinction of the two kinds of sacrifice proceeding from "recognition of the offense in the light of God's penalty," or from "gravity of the sin," founders on the simple contents of the laws in Lev., chaps. 4 and 5.

In early Israel, as has been mentioned, a fine had to be paid to the sanctuary in cases of the above character, besides what was demanded by civil order, just as among other nations in addition to the wergild, which the injured party received, a penalty for breach of peace had to be paid into the public treasury. All of that is now ritually regulated. He that is "guilty" must first make amends for the damage done and "add the fifth part more thereto" (Lev. 5:16; 6:5; Numb. 5:7). If there is no person to whom restitution can be made, the sum falls to the sanctuary (Numb. 5:8). Then the offender by way of penalty for the violation of the divine order of the community must furnish to the

<sup>25</sup>Thus in Josh. 7:1 Achan's seizure of goods under the ban is **סֵת**, yet intentional, for which there is no sacrifice, but only extermination. In a like manner the guilt of Eli's sons, who imposed on God's right in the sanctuary, cannot be expiated through sacrifice or gift (1 Sam. 3:14). Guilt-offering in connection with cleansing from leprosy (Lev., chap. 14) can only be artificially included here through the intermediary thought of an obligation to the community.



sanctuary a victim estimated according to a definite money value (Lev. 5:15, 18, two shekels), which plainly represents a fine. In case of violation of holiness, as with the Nazarite, the guilt-offering alone is to be rendered. The victim (אֵיל הַנֶּפֶסִּים, Numb. 5:8; אֵיל הָאָשָׁם, Lev. 5:16) is treated in the same manner as in the sin-offering. It belongs to the sanctuary. The priest must eat it as "most holy" after the blood is assigned to God and the fat is burned (Lev. 7:1 ff.). Here the old fine is simply changed into the less offensive and more symbolical form of a sacrificial gift. The blood and fat must be offered to God, since every victim is so dedicated to him. The body of the animal becomes "most holy;" for it is dedicated to the sanctuary as a penalty. That God does not appropriate it to himself in fire as burnt-offering, but assigns it to his servants, follows, it would seem, from the circumstance that the old fine—which, to the displeasure of the prophets, was a good source of revenue for the priests (Amos 2:7 f.; Hos. 4:8)—at least in this limited way was further to benefit them. "Every man's hallowed things" are theirs (Numb. 5:9 f.). There is as little occasion to think of a "penal death" of the victim or of "substitution" in connection with these guilt-offerings as in connection with the money formerly paid to the sanctuary. It is a fine making amends for the violation of right in accordance with the general custom of ancient humanity. Antiquity very realistically applied the measure of material value to such objects as honor and life.<sup>26</sup> Thus our inquiry is exclusively to be limited to sin-offering, which, according to its sacrificial form, is in fact determinative also for guilt-offering.

Sin-offering does not purport to render satisfaction for injured rights of God or neighbor. Where the gracious communion of God with the nation, or with a single member of the commonwealth, is made impossible through opposition to divine ordinances, sin-offering would restore this communion, effect forgiveness of sin. But only in a small, circumscribed sphere of contradiction to God's will is this offering applicable: in case of sinning through ignorance and weakness, without evil will, where

<sup>26</sup> The קֶסֶם הַנֶּפֶסִּים, Exod. 30:16, intended to avert God's wrath after the census of the people, still very externally expresses the early conception of penalty.

sin and ceremonical uncleanness still indistinguishably blend. Although early Israel expected to purchase pardon with burnt-offerings for religious unfaithfulness and civil misdemeanor, that was no longer to be thought of in Israel's religion after the preaching of the great prophets. The congregation which read the prophetic writings and chanted the psalms knew well enough where the guilty nation, where the disquieted conscience of the sinner, had to look for solace, namely, in the free grace of God ready to forgive penitent sinners, and in subjection to God's will, in spirit and truth, and confession and renunciation of sin (Pss. 32 and 51, טוֹב). God wills, not the sinner's death, but his conversion (Ezek., chap. 18). There is forgiveness with him that he may be feared (Ps. 130:4). In his covenanted love to Israel, his servant and son, lies the inexhaustible fountain of grace. This grace has nothing to do with sacrificial gifts. When Israel thought of mediators, which were capable of regaining God's favor, forfeited through Israel's misdemeanor, they were not the priestly functionaries. They were heroes, like Phinehas, reestablishing God's holy order by zealous acts (Numb. 25:4), or men of prayer, like Moses,<sup>77</sup> who staked their own position of grace with God in love for their people (Exod. 32:11, 32 ff.). Fathers, like King David, stood security that God would not utterly nor forever turn from his people. "God's Servant," who gives up his innocent life in faith and obedience to the divine will and in sacrificing love to God's community, renders the real surety to God, and is the true penalty for Israel (Isa., chap. 53). Israel could not think of the sin-offerings of the Priestly Law. These only applied where God's love indissolubly held fast the communion with his nation, not where misdemeanor had turned him away in anger. They purported only to produce forgiveness for that which human frailty, even with good and legal intentions, ever and anon falls short in concerning the complete fulfilment of divine law. They desired steadily to restore the consecration it needed to the holy place, where God's intercourse with his people was consummated, and which was perennially darkened

<sup>77</sup> Exod. 32:11. Moses seeks to smooth God's face by allusion to his honor involved in Israel's. With gifts the countenance is calmed (Prov. 19:6).

through an earth-born and erring nation's profane manner and unrecognized faults of worship. From the sacrificial laws of the priestly Torah nothing is to be learned concerning the doctrine of the atonement and the comprehension of the significance of Christ's death, natural as it was for the popular devotional language of early Christianity to facilitate for "babes" the perception of the wonder of the cross by allusions to these ordinances.

God in his covenant of grace will pardon and annul separation on Israel's or the Israelite's approach with sin-offering, where they see their religious communion with God—that is, the normal relation between God and his community—interrupted through no intention of their own to dissolve it, but where, through contact with unclean or demoniacal things, through unintentional transgression of the prescriptions of cult and sacred custom, or through sickness (Lev., chap. 15), they feel defiled. It is, therefore, not a matter of violated rights, for which a penalty must be paid. The money value of the victim is not fixed. But the closer the connection of the sinner with God, *i. e.*, the holier he has been, the greater the defilement is accounted, and the greater also must the offering be. Its magnitude is graded from the bullock, which the community or the priest gives, down to the he-goat, which the average Israelite renders (Lev. 4: 13, 22, 27; 16: 3, 5). And as a sign that the symbolical character of the sacrifice prevails over the material value of the gift, the sin-offering of the poor may diminish to a pair of doves (Lev. 4: 28; Numb. 5: 15, 25), aye, a simple flour-offering (Lev. 5: 7–11) without oil or frankincense, in correspondence with the character of penitency. Defilement of a particularly consecrated person requires stronger cleansing. The law, however, in no way distinguishes between physical and ethical defilement.

The victim, as in all kinds of sacrifice, is consecrated by the offerer through imposition of hands (Exod. 29: 10; Lev. 4: 4, 15, 24, 28). The priest performs the "covering" by means of the sacrificial blood, which here most strikingly appears as the center of the act. At the consecration of defiled holy places (Lev. 16: 14, 15, 19; *cf.* 4: 7, 17, 25, 29 *f.*; 8: 15; 9: 9; Exod.

29:12) the blood is brought to the places themselves. The priest dips his finger in the blood and rubs it over the place requiring consecration, either the holy of holies with its place of consecration (כַּפֹּרֶת), or the sacred veil, or the brazen altar (Lev. 4:6, 17, 32). The blood is else simply sprinkled or poured out. The sinner himself receives it only in case of leprosy (Lev. 14:4 ff.), where a direct cleansing takes place. The fat of the victim ascends to God as sacrificial odor (Exod. 29:13; Lev. 4:9, 10, 31; 7:3 ff.). Its body is "most holy" (קֹדֶשׁ קָדָשִׁים). Therefore the "consecrated ones," the priests, must eat it at the holy place. That appears as their privilege (Lev. 6:10, 18, 22; 7:6; 14:13), but it is also their duty. They thereby guard Israel against sacramental danger and so complete the act of sin-offering. Therefore they are diligently urged to overcome the natural horror of such enjoyment of the "most holy" (Lev. 10:16-20; cf. 9:11). But when the priests themselves bring the sin-offering, and thus are temporarily unholy, or when the whole congregation, to which the priests belong, renders it, then the flesh of the victim must be burned at a place outside of the sanctuary (Lev. 4:11, 12, 21; 6:23; 9:11; 16:27; cf. 7:15). Not as a sacrifice, for it does not occur at the place of sacrifice; nor in the manner of burying something dead. Only in very rare instances is the custom of burning the dead known in Israel (1 Sam. 31:12; Amos 2:1). It is simply a matter of withdrawing the "most holy" from every desecration, and at the same time averting the danger concealed therein. That done, the offerer has been forgiven (נָסַלָה לּוֹ, Lev. 4:20, 26, 31; 5:13-18; 10:26). Occasional and faded traces only of the primitive customs of humanity at piacular sacrifices remain. Piacula of strange animals, which rest on totemism, are an abomination to the Law (Isa. 65:3; 66:3, 17; Ezek. 8:10, 12). Dreadful piacular sacrifices where-with the angry deity was to be conciliated are here excluded. Reminiscences of piacular rites elsewhere in vogue appear only in the admittance of female victims (Lev. 4:28, 32; 5:6), in the preference for the he-goat (Lev. 4:23; 16:7), and in the absence of frankincense and oil. The partaking of the sacrifice is

limited to the priests acting as holy representatives of the community. Likewise the touching with sacrificial blood, except where an outward and, as it were, material defilement is washed away. Thus the process and the ultimate end of the sacred performance are plainly visible. It is only a question as to how the Israelites thought to achieve the end by this process. As to that, we are not surprised if the answer cannot be an incontrovertibly definite one, or if it is decisive as to what it excludes, but not in what it affirms. For the sacrificial law does not aim at theological precision. It desires only to fix the exact technique of the performance. And it simply presupposes the views of antiquity developed in millenniums, into which we can transpose ourselves but artificially and imperfectly.

It is manifest, without further proof, that "covering" here means nothing else than in other sacrifice, and yet attains a special enhanced importance. If natural unsanctification and uncleanness must be concealed through sacramental means of consecration, that God "see" them not, then impurity arising from sin, and singularly defiling man, has double need of "covering." Without it man, in approaching the altar, would to attract God's wrath secure his own destruction. Thus it is readily understood why on the Day of Atonement the sanctuary itself is "covered" with the blood of sin-offering.<sup>28</sup> It is defiled in God's sight through errors of cult and through the unconsecrated multitude daily drawing nigh. Similarly the holy blood of sin-offering must conceal the uncleanness of one defiled by leprosy before he can be admitted into the religious community and appear at the sanctuary. It is likewise intelligible why the priest at every sin-offering solemnly performs the "covering." Perhaps remnants of primitive usage no longer intelligible lie in the touching of the leper with blood of the sin-offering, and in the requirement that the priest who represents the community must dip his finger in the blood and eat the flesh of the sin-offering. For formerly the communion of the god with his worshipers was not only strengthened and guaranteed, but, if necessary, established anew by the common meal, especially by joint participation

<sup>28</sup> This appears even stronger in Ezek. 45: 18 ff.

of the blood. But the Law was surely not conscious of such conceptions. Sin-offering has wholly lost the character of a religious meal. The effect of blood, inasmuch as not presumed without further reflection, can be understood only from the entire course of sacrifice. We need but bear in mind that among all nations of antiquity expiatory sacrifices were not qualitatively distinguished from the rest, but merely figured as a particular form of the combined sacrificial performance. The same means by which the ancients desired to preserve and strengthen the favor of the gods also appeared fit to secure and regain their injured or forfeited grace. The same must here have been the case. The sacrificial blood, which the son of earth dedicates that he may come before God's countenance without injury, cleanses from particular defilement of sin, as water, which consecrates for the joyous feast, in the special event of sacrificial danger, also has a purifying effect.

What, according to the faith of the congregation of the second temple, does sin-offering signify, by means of what does it effect forgiveness of sin?

Excluded, because contrary to the entire conception of antiquity and the character of the Priestly Law, appears the view that the victim's death and approximation to God are, as it were, a mystic symbolical representation of the process accomplished with the soul of the sinner, namely, that it dies according to its sinful naturalness and, having now become clean, is received by God into his holy presence. That may have been the object of mysteries like those of the Mithra cult. But touching these sacrifices it is utterly inconceivable. For the victim is offered by the sinner as an expiatory gift, it is to be the means of procuring his forgiveness, its blood "covers" him before God. Thus nobody could be led to think that the victim was intrinsically a symbol of the sinner and its sacrifice merely an exhibition of a transaction between God and the offender, with which, at bottom, it was entirely disconnected. If the victim really represents the offender, its juridically substitutionary death must be considered as the infliction of punishment upon the sinner.

This thought did not seem so strange in ancient times as it would from our ethical point of view. The idea of punishment is originally not very distinct. If the community is defiled by offenses, which incur divine wrath, it puts the evil out of its midst (Lev. 24:13). As a solidarily associated unit it executes the ban upon the offender and his kindred, and thus annuls the curse which the offense might bring down upon it (Numb. 35:33 f.; Deut. 19:10; Josh. 7:24 ff.). Accordingly it seems natural that the curse of an offense should cut off the innocent ones with their kindred (2 Sam. 21:5 ff.), and that in some events the extermination of a single transgressor representing the community should atone for the whole tribe, because the ban has been executed (Numb. 25:4, 7, 13). It likewise seems natural in Gen., chap. 22, that the animal victim should be accepted by God instead of the sacrifice of Abraham's son. It would, to be sure, be a mistake in the historical apprehension of the sacrificial law to reckon with modern ideas of personal punishment and moral responsibility of the individual. Yet the cases just recited in no way admit of comparison with the point in question in sin-offering. The victim (Gen., chap. 22) was not to exempt man from capital punishment. For Abraham had no occasion whatever to think of divine judgment. Instead of the greater gift which God might demand and which piety would not refuse him, God accepts the smaller, because it is agreeable to him.<sup>29</sup> In this sense the animal victim—in some cases symbolically stamped with an image of man—has supplied the place of human sacrifice among most of the civilized nations. In the above quoted examples men do not suffer capital punishment for others. They fall under the ban according to the organic coherence of the kin, because of which the iniquity of the fathers is visited upon the children (Exod. 20:5), and the individual, even if personally innocent, is seized by the guilt of the whole body, and because of which the kindred may be exempt if the threatening curse should burst upon one to whom the guilt particularly adheres. That by imposition of hands the sacrificer, as it were, transfers his sin to the victim,

<sup>29</sup> Thus an animal, forfeited to God and not sacrificeable, can be redeemed by a less costly one. And a human being forfeited to God must be redeemed (Exod. 34:19, 20).

is a presumption in contrast with the general employment of this symbolism in all kinds of sacrifice and consecrations (Numb. 8:10-12; 27:18, 20, 23). By laying on of hands the man or animal is consecrated to purposes of cult. The nature of these purposes is simply the result of given circumstances. Thus imposition of hands occurs for purposes of expiation, even if (like Lev., chap. 16) no special confession of sin is uttered. Consequently the victim becomes but a means of expiation, not the bearer of the sacrificers' sin.

The conception of vicarious suffering of penalty on the part of the victim in sin-offering proves inadmissible in every direction. If the animal were the bearer of the curse of sin, it would have to embody, as it were, the contradiction to God. But its blood comes before God's countenance as "most holy." Its fat is rendered as a "sweet savor." And its body is most holy, similar to the meal-offering (Lev. 2:3, 9 f.; 6:18 ff.), may alone be eaten by the priest in the holy place, and, where that is impossible, must be saved from all desecration through fire in a clean place. A horror indeed adheres to its flesh (Lev. 9:8-15; 10:16-20).<sup>30</sup> But it is that horror connected with paramount holiness threatening ordinary life with ruin and death.<sup>31</sup> The sacrificer of the sin-offering, particularly on the Day of Atonement, must first wash himself before he can again enter the congregation of worshipers (Lev. 16:21, 24, 26, 28; 6:19-23; Numb. 19:7-10, 21 ff.). But not because that which he has touched is unclean or accursed—for the sacrificial blood rendered to God has a similar effect (Lev. 6:20)—but because the "most holy" defiles, *i. e.*, infects with dangerous power. Man must rid himself of this infection by symbolical cleansings and change of garment before he may again mingle with the people without endangering others. For the same reason vessels in which holy food is prepared must be either cleansed or broken (Lev. 6:20 f.). Even the Law compares "most holy" and "unclean"

<sup>30</sup> קֹדֶשׁ קְדֹשִׁים, Lev. 4:10; 6:10, 18-23; 7:1, 6; 10:17; 14:13.

<sup>31</sup> Whosoever touches it becomes forfeit to the sanctuary, וְיָקְדָה (Lev. 6:20; cf. 11). At the sacrificial meal also the touching of holy things by unclean incurs extermination (Lev. 7:20 f.; 11:47).



things according to the prevailing "physical" religious sentiment of antiquity.<sup>32</sup> Either may disqualify for participation in the regular congregation of worshipers. The only difference, as previously shown, is that every unclean thing, because infected by powers loathsome to the deity, in itself incapacitates one for the communion of worshipers (Hag. 2:12), while the thing "most holy," permeated by the majesty of the god himself, conveys its destructive effect where a man is not protected against it by special consecration.<sup>33</sup> The flesh of the sin-offering with all forms of unbloody sacrifice shares the character of things "most holy," which are withdrawn from the enjoyment of the offerer as food for the priests, and this of itself forbids the idea of a filling with the curse of sin (Lev. 2:3, 9, 10 f.; 5:13; 6:11).

The slaughter of the victim in this sacrifice, as little as in any other, signifies an act of punishment executed upon it. How can one think of the offerer's "deathworthiness" in connection therewith? Where God's mortal wrath actually rests upon a person no sin-offering is possible. And what consciousness of guilt, however exaggerated and enhanced, would think that in a community enjoying God's grace a woman that had borne a child (Lev. 12:1), or a person who unintentionally had touched a corpse or carcass (Lev. 5:2), or a house wherein dwelled leprosy, or a being otherwise afflicted with sickness (Lev. 15:15, 28), deserved capital punishment? Corresponding with the naturalistic notion of antiquity, we feel that it is rather a matter of uncleanness which must be abolished.<sup>34</sup> The reverse is absolutely impossible. And even if it were conceivable, the victim, as in all other sacrifices, is slain in order to bring its blood to God. Its blood must not coagulate, must accordingly

<sup>32</sup> Synchronous was the rise of a sense for magic and sorcery everywhere in Asia.

<sup>33</sup> The antithesis of קֹדֶשׁ else is הָחֹל, that of קָטָר, קָדוֹר (Lev. 10:10; 11:47). But the avoidance of things unclean is deduced from the holiness of God and his people, Lev. 11 (44).

<sup>34</sup> קָטָר הָאִשָּׁה, Lev. 5:2-4. The woman is unclean after her confinement, man after sexual intercourse, and the body demoniacally touched by death or sickness. Every "uncovered" thing in a house in which a person has died becomes unclean (Numb. 19:17; cf. 31:19 ff.).

be an expression of life and not of death. God wants no dead thing upon which capital punishment has been inflicted. The dead thing is unclean. He desires the life as rendered to and appropriated by him. The altar is no place of execution.<sup>35</sup> Wherever a natural object becomes forfeit to the deity, and thus holy, it is forfeit to extermination. The firstborn when not redeemed must die; not because God punishes it, but because his majesty consumes the earthly life in appropriating it (Exod. 13: 13, 15; 22: 28 f.). Ban (הִרְסָה) and becoming holy are contiguous in many relations.<sup>36</sup>

Moreover, if sin-offering had anything in common with the thought of a vicarious penal death, it should be performed as slaughter of a victim under all circumstances. But as a flour-offering (Lev. 5: 11), notwithstanding that it is exceptional, can take the place of the animal, it is impossible to cling to such a view.

Nor is sin-offering to be considered a payment in an actual sense, as guilt-offering is. Every sacrifice of course comprises a gift, a rendering to the deity. But not every gift is a payment. The sin-offerings prescribed in the Law are insignificant as to their actual value, and can be diminished so as to become devoid of value. The chief offering on the Day of Atonement is a he-goat. And if that were explainable from the insignificant character of the sins here entering into consideration, the circumstance still remains decisive that neither a definite value of the offering is prescribed, as in guilt-offering, nor does the magnitude of the gift increase with the wealth of the sinner or the gravity of the sin. It only increases with the theocratic dignity of the sinner. The priest precedes the prince (Lev. 4: 14, 22). The measure of defilement (of injured holiness) is the measure of increase for the sacrifice. Its essence must therefore lie in purification (the extermination of defilement), and not in penalty payable to an offended God. Guilt-offering

<sup>35</sup> Among the Hindoos the slaughter of the victim is not accounted as a slaying of some living thing, but as a dedication of life to the deity, and therefore not only permissible, but also meritorious.

<sup>36</sup> Lev., chaps. 27, 28. Everything under the ban is "most holy" and irredeemable. Every *הִרְסָה* is also *קֹדֶשׁ*, Deut. 7: 26.

transfers us to the sphere of ancient civil rights. These allow the injured kindred, if agreeable, a fine (כֹּפֶר, *Exod.* 21:30; *Numb.* 35:32) at the hands of the offender, when his deed does not, as an imprudent violation of the social sanctity, defile the land and make necessary the ban. The affair may thus be mutually settled. In addition, a penalty for breach of peace flows to the public fund. Relative to that, in a somewhat wider sense, is the supposition that gifts smooth the face of the angry (*Gen.* 32:21; *1 Sam.* 13:12; *2 Kings* 13:4; *Ps.* 45:13),<sup>37</sup> and that redemption of one fallen into slavery may be effected by a ransom (*Ps.* 49:8; *Isa.* 43:3, 4; *Prov.* 21:18; cf. *Exod.* 30:12; *Numb.* 31:50, פָּדָה, קָנָה, נָצַל). Sin-offering, on the other hand, leads us into the circle of purificatory rites. That is seen in its most striking employment after the confinement of a woman (*Lev.*, chap. 12), on the Day of Atonement, and at the leprous house (*Lev.*, chaps. 14 and 16),<sup>38</sup> where defiled places and persons are cleansed through sin-offering, as the altar originally was made most holy by it (*Exod.* 29:36 f.). And it is further seen in the consecration of Levites and priests (*Numb.*, chap. 8; *Exod.*, chap. 29), who as ordinary fallible men are first cleansed from uncleanness by sin-offering before the particular consecration is conferred. Thus two thoughts here concur which to our conception fall apart: God's pardon, through which the intercourse with him is established, and abolition of uncleanness which excludes from intercourse with God.

Sin-offering is a purificatory rite (*Lev.* 12:8).<sup>39</sup> The entire sacrifice consists in what at other offerings is only the preparatory part, namely, the "covering." And it is this in a particularly intensive manner, since a defilement of physico-ethical nature is to be abolished, besides the general human uncleanness. The entire sacrificial course, including the eating of the sacrificial flesh by the priest (*Lev.* 10:16 ff.) and the rendering of the sacrificial cake (*Lev.* 5:11), is purifying. Hence the real

<sup>37</sup> Of God, *1 Sam.* 13:12; *Zech.* 7:2.

<sup>38</sup> "Shall be clean" is the result, *Lev.* 16:30 ff.

<sup>39</sup> Accordingly the ashes of the red heifer (*Numb.* 19:7 ff.), rendered as sin-offering, act as a purifier when added to the water.

ground of purification is that *God accepts the sacrifice and thereby enters into communion with the sinner*, granting him actual pardon, and that *man in this offering, enjoined by God as the embodied prayer of a penitent, expresses his confession, his regret, his petition for forgiveness.*<sup>40</sup>

But the actual purifier here, as in all animal sacrifice, is blood, the *materia sacramenti*. Though water takes away uncleanness and qualifies for religious communion, and in special cases water with the ashes of the victim, or sacred oil (Lev. 8:10), or frankincense, effects purification, still the intrinsic "holy" means of purging away uncleanness is sacrificial blood. Why it was so the men of the Levitical law never asked. The highly civilized nation of the second Jerusalem surely no longer understood the feelings of their herd-possessing ancestors in respect to the blood of the domestic animal which in the sacred meal united the clan and its deity in one common life. The cleansing power of sacrificial blood was regarded by all nations of antiquity as an inherited ancestral faith, a primitive, and therefore divinely implanted, intuition of man, which no one doubted and about which no one entered into theological speculation. "The blood is the life. Blood must be withheld from all profane use and can only subserve sacred purposes of cult. In accordance with divine decree, blood shall 'cover' man that God may not view his uncleanness." These are the established articles of faith upon which the thought of sin-offering is erected. In the sacrificial meal, in the wetting of the priest with sacrificial blood (Lev. 8:23; Exod. 29:20), in the sprinkling of this blood upon objects which have become unclean (Exod. 29:36), in circumcision, in the Passover, and in the blood of the covenant there perhaps lurk reminiscences of the original purpose to unite God and man through consecrated life in blood, and to insure this union or eventually to restore it. In the sin-offering,

<sup>40</sup> If God did not impart grace to the penitent within his covenant with sinners, sin-offering would not cleanse. The God of the Old Covenant does not allow his pardon to be purchased. This religion no longer recognizes charms which through magic force could appease God's wrath. The entire transaction rests on the supposition that God will forgive, *i. e.*, regard the uncleanness as no longer in existence, if only the sinner in prescribed sacrifice expresses his penitence and petition for pardon.

however, that is but an unconscious background. The sinner in his sacrifice renders the confession: "I am wrong, and God is right; I am unclean and desire to be cleansed." God, in accepting the sacrifice, declares: "I will pardon the penitent and not regard his uncleanness." The blood, as sacramental center of the offering, expresses that a hindrance to the communion with God, namely, uncleanness, has been removed. As purifier it "covers" uncleanness and sin. The "garment washed in the blood" is the attire in which the community may approach God. The victim is slaughtered, not that it may die or be punished, but that its life, as holy and appropriated by God, may mediate the union between him and the sinner.

Thus the sacrifices of the Levitical law in various respects seem fragments of primitive and more vital rites. Semi-conscious ideas of the religious life of primitive times pervade them. Sacrifice is forced out of the center of individual piety. It has become essentially a liturgic performance of the community, and accordingly rather a mysterious symbol of Israel's communion with God, in which the individual participated by faith. The religious life of the land and of the dispersion manifested itself in the synagogue without sacrifice, through prayer, exposition of Scripture, and preaching. Plenty of pious people may scarcely have observed the change from faith in the sacrifice continually offered in Jerusalem to faith in the sacrifice on Calvary, and of the cult into prayer and preaching of salvation in word and sacrament. Nor did non-Christian Israel after the destruction of the sanctuary have difficulty in finding a surrogate for sacrifice in the possession of the Law.

The sacrificial laws of the middle books of the Pentateuch seem like an earnestly intended restoration of old sacred forms which the religious life of Israel had in reality outgrown—like an attempt to express the antique faith, which had sprung from the soil of materialistic and mystic religion, in the mold of ethico-spiritual piety. These laws were full of significance as a preventive against Israel's sinking into the cult and magic of the highly developed paganism of that period. They, however, appear lifeless and juristic as a substitute for the daily sacrificial

cult that once filled the religious life of the Hebrew clans and tribes. They are of little significance as a whole for the real moral and spiritual relation of the nation or individual to God, least of all for the doctrine of the atonement. Faith in God's loving relation to his community and his willingness to grant penitent sinners forgiveness had long since ceased to be joined to offerings and gifts. But the religious life of the community, as centering in the national sanctuary, had by means of these laws a definite and completed regulation which was honored and cherished as God's holy commandment. The intercourse of Israel with God in sacrifice gave to the nation the consciousness of a continual and ever-renewed communion of grace. Therefore the nation's most serious endeavor was by sin-offering and purification immediately to make good every ritual error, that might interrupt or render inefficient this intercourse and hinder the holy God in his communion with Israel (Lev. 15:31; Numb. 19:17-20). Man was thought incapable of noting always such faults and secret sins—for who can discern errors? (Pss. 19:12; 90:8). So the entire religious life of the nation had annually to be atoned for (Lev., chap. 16; cf. Ezek. 45:18-20)—just as the Roman census atoned for the faults committed in religious duty during the year.

That the meaning of the sacrificial laws has been correctly presented may most clearly be seen where various forms of sacrifice coincide on festive occasions. While "covering" through sacrificial blood forms the beginning of every other sacrifice, in the case where an additional sin-offering is rendered this itself is the "covering" or beginning of the celebration, through which the company of worshipers are enabled to approach the sanctuary without fear of divine wrath (Numb. 28:22-30; 29:5, 11; 6:11; Lev. 8:14 ff.; 9:6, 15; Exod. 29:35).

Where no particular propitiation is in question, burnt-offering, as the unceasing worship of God, is the presupposition of undisturbed community of cult. All sacrifices for particular reasons voluntarily rendered to God are rendered on the basis of the burnt-offering, "burned on it" (Numb. 28:3, 11; Lev. 6:1 ff.). If, on the contrary, a sin-offering is rendered in an act of cult,

it must precede the burnt-offering and the sacrificial meal. Uncleaness separating from God must be removed before man can worship and rejoice before God (Exod. 29:10 f.; Lev. 8:14 f.; 9:7; Numb. 6:13). Sacrificial meals are always the conclusion of composite sacrifices at the feasts. For God's table-companions can only be the consecrated ones who have properly shown their worship and reverence (Lev. 9:18; Numb. 6:17; and often).

Israel's faith in the cleansing power of the sin-offering is peculiarly expressed in the law concerning the Day of Atonement (Lev., chap. 16),<sup>41</sup> as an explanative parallel of which, in a smaller sphere of the law, Lev., chap. 14 (relating to purification from leprosy), may serve. In both instances two animals are selected for the purpose of the purificatory act. But only one of them is actually rendered as a sin-offering. The objects requiring purification are wetted with the blood and thus "covered." Then follows a symbolical transaction expressing that the consecrated place is now clean and has no room for defilement. The second animal is sent away from the consecrated spot into the unclean world. According to Lev. 16:10, 21 f., it is sent to Azazel into the wilderness. It carries Israel's uncleanness (as, for example, the leper's and that of the leprous house) out of the community as no longer existing in God's sight, as, according to Zech., chap. 5, the nation's sin which God has forgiven is carried into the unclean land of Babylon. Over this animal the high priest confesses Israel's sin, which it has now renounced and of which it is cleansed. It seems to have been consecrated to its service as piaculum with the blood of the sin-offering, though the text is not very clear.<sup>42</sup> Thus the humble confession of the congregation's sin is clearly expressed, and at the same time the glad assurance that after purification of the holy place Israel's "sin" is of no importance and cannot separate from God's loving fellowship.

<sup>41</sup> On this day, which deals with sins of cult, the sin-offering of the priest is greater than that of the whole congregation (3:5). The sanctuary shall be consecrated (vs. 16).

<sup>42</sup> The bird remaining alive, Lev. 14:6, 51, is dipped into water consecrated by sacrificial blood. Lev. 16:10 thus only seems intelligible. For לְבַשָּׁר קָלִיר can only refer to the animal presented to God, and therefore presupposes some kind of touching of it by the sacrificial blood of the other animal.

## JOHN A LASKO AND THE REFORMATION IN POLAND.

1499-1560.

By GASTON BONET-MAURY,  
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JAN LASKI<sup>1</sup> was a unique Protestant reformer. He was neither a theologian and preacher like Hus, nor an illiterate peasant like Peter Kheltchiksky, still less an educator like Comenius, but a Polish baron, a Roman Catholic priest and canon, and one of the greatest scholars of his time. After Bohemia and Moravia, it was Poland which among the Slav countries gave the world the most brilliant leader in the army of the reformers. And this is not to be wondered at. Poland, which today is nothing but a geographical name, was in the sixteenth century one of the most powerful kingdoms in Europe, extending from the Baltic to the Black Sea, and from the Oder on the west to the Dnieper on the east. The kings of Poland residing at Cracow were all suzerains of the dukes of Prussia and Courland.

Three causes prepared the Polish people to receive the fertile seed of an evangelical reformation: (1) The free institutions of the country. The monarchy was elective, controlled by diets in which the feudal lords played an important part. The Polish barons were not less jealous of the independence of the crown as regards the pope, nor less anxious to check the covetousness and immorality of the Roman Catholic clergy, than were the English barons in the time of Wiclif.\* (2) The second cause was the spirit of opposition to the Roman ritual kept up in some churches and monasteries, as, for example, at St. Cross, near Cracow. In fact, Poland received the first seed of Christianity and also her liturgy from Greek missionaries, disciples of Cyril and Methodius, who came from Constantinople by way of Bohemia and greater Moravia. The Polish priests fasted according to Greek custom until the middle of the eighth century, and

<sup>1</sup> Or Lascki; in English spelled Laski, Lasky, Lasko, Lasco, à Lasco, or Alasko.

\* See the articles of Ostrorog voted by the diet of 1459.



resisted for a long time the law of celibacy. This opposition was manifested for the last time in anti-papal books, such as *De Matrimonio Sacerdotali* (Cracow, 1504), *De Vero Cultu Dei*, and *Epistola Bernardi ad Symonem Cracoviensem* (1515). The last of these placed the authority of the gospels before the pope's ordinances, the councils, and other human traditions. (3) But it was, above all, the close political relations with Bohemia and with the university of Prag that did most to prepare Poland for Protestantism. The two crowns were often worn by one head, as at the time of Wenceslaus, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, and Ladislas II. and his son Louis (1471-1526). The two nations belonged to the same race, and their languages were so much alike that they could understand each other without interpreters. Queen Hedwig founded at the university of Prag (1386 A. D.) a college bearing her name, to provide a home for the students of Poland. It is, therefore, not surprising that when Hus displayed the flag of revolt against Roman tyranny, the great majority of the Polish students took his part. Later on, at Constance, the Polish barons joined the Bohemian lords in protesting against the violation of the safe conduct of John Hus.

Jerome of Prag, and after him the Doctors Payne and Kostka, had been at Vilna and especially at Cracow defending and spreading their reforming ideas, and had been eagerly received, so that, in the middle of the fourteenth century, the kingdom of Poland was greatly injured by the Hussite persecutions.

A hundred years later Poland gave a sympathetic welcome to a company of a thousand of the Bohemian Brotherhood driven out of Bohemia and Moravia by the unrelenting Ferdinand I. of Austria. These poor exiled Protestants were kindly received by several of the Polish barons, who gave them land from their own estates that they might build schools and churches at Thorn (1549), at Ostrorog, and at Posen. Among the protectors of the Bohemian Brethren were Gorka, castellan of Posen, Boner, castellan of Oswiecin, the Krasinski, Ostrorog, the countess Dhiska, and, above all, Nicolaus IV., Ratzivill, palatin of Vilna and governor of Livonia. John à Lasko was not among them. But it

was at this time that he began to correspond with Calvin, Bullinger, and the Swiss reformers. The reformer of Geneva, on his part, dedicated to king Sigismund Augustus his commentary on the epistle to the Hebrews.

Lasko was born in the year 1499 at the castle Lasko. He descended from a noble family which had given Poland several archbishops and palatines, and had in its coat of arms a ship, whence the surname of Kerabieni. His father, Jeroslav (Jerome) Lasko, who died in 1523, was palatine of Sierad and Lenczyc, and his uncle, John Andrew à Lasko (died 1531) was archbishop of Gnesen, primate of the Roman Catholic church, and chancellor of the kingdom of Poland. He, himself, in a letter to the king of Poland,<sup>3</sup> alluded to the English origin of one of his ancestors, a certain Albert Laki, companion of William the Conqueror, who is said to have emigrated to Poland. Robert, the grandson of Albert, was said to have been bishop of Cracow (1143 A. D.)

Lasko was destined by his father for the church, but he lost him at the age of twenty-four, and it was his uncle who granted him his first living and made him dean of the Chapter of Gnesen,<sup>4</sup> and sent him to the universities of Bologna and Padua. The young Polish canon (he was then twenty-five years old), urged by his intellectual curiosity, went to Zürich, where he met Ulrich Zwingli the day after the order was received for the abolition of the mass and of the celibacy of priests in that city. Far from being repelled, he was attracted by the Swiss reformer. He wrote: "I shall say nothing now about Zwingli, except that he has written many pious and remarkable things, and has led me to read the Holy Scriptures, so that through him chiefly I have derived divine benefit."<sup>5</sup> He spent the year 1525 at Basle as a boarder or a guest of Erasmus, whose esteem he won and whose library he afterward bought. Erasmus confirmed him in the

<sup>3</sup> DALTON, *Lasciana*, Berlin, 1898. Letter No. 87.

<sup>4</sup> COUNT VALERIAN KRASINSKI, *Sketch of the Reformation in Poland*, London, 1838 and 1840; 2 vols.; Vol. I, p. 248.

<sup>5</sup> Answer to Westphal, Basle, 1560; KUYPER, *Johannis a Lasco Opera, tam edita quam inedita, recensuit vitam auctoris enarravit*, Amsterdam, 1866; 2 vols.; Vol. I, p. 282.

idea that a reform of the Roman Catholic church was necessary. It was to be brought about by the improvement of the habits and by the better education of the clergy, but without destroying the unity of the church represented by the pope. Lasko took part in the controversy between Erasmus and Luther on the subject of free will, and, in a letter to his friend Amersbach, was not afraid to call Luther "the would-be evangelist who tyrannizes over you and will not let you speak."

Returned to Poland, the young priest was soon suspected by the ultramontanist party, because of his intercourse with Erasmus and Zwingli. They accused him of heresy and a still graver crime, that of having married secretly; and it was probably to clear himself of this accusation that he presented a declaration (*iuramentum*) to the archbishop of Gnesen and the bishop of Cracow, in which he says that, although he had read a great many schismatic books, he approved of none of the doctrines contrary to those held by the Roman Catholic church (1526).<sup>6</sup> He had spent about twelve years away from his country, unnoticed, devoting himself to classics and theological studies, corresponding with his faithful Amersbach, and urging his uncle and a few other bishops to a pacific reformation of the church. He now enjoyed intimate relations with John Boner, castellan of Osviecin, with André Modrevsky, and with the Gorkas, who ten years later were the foremost champions of the Reformation. But the obstacles he met in the indifference of some, and the fanaticism and intolerance of others, gradually destroyed his ideal of the Reformation. By a slow evolution his mind was turned toward more radical conceptions. A painful occurrence undoubtedly hastened the crisis of his life. A young Frenchman, very dear to him, and whom he had sent to study at Wittenberg, recommending him warmly to Melanchthon,<sup>7</sup> died

<sup>6</sup> See also LEZIUS, *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 1899, No. 2; on the other hand compare PROFESSOR G. KAWERAU's article, "Der 'Reinigungseid' des Johannes Laski," in *Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift*, May, 1899, pp. 430-41, in which the well-known Göttingen church historian maintains that this declaration was made in 1648, and adduces some very strong proofs for his position, against DALTON, *Lasciana* (1898), and GEORGE PASCAL, *Jean de Lasco* (Paris, 1894).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Melanchthon's letter to Lasko, February 2, 1535.

while the latter was at Leipzig, and the authorities refused to bury him in holy ground on the pretext that he had asked for communion with bread and wine. Really, it was because they suspected him of Lutheran heresy. This intolerance repelled Lasko (1535). Soon after, in a letter of congratulation to André Krzycki, recently made archbishop, Lasko called his attention to the people of Poland, disgusted with "the old women's fables which they were asked to believe and longing for the knowledge of God's word," and expressed his fear that the years would be too few for him to gather this great harvest already ripening.<sup>8</sup> But the prelate answered the suggestion with scornful irony.

On June 28, 1536, Lasko was still at the ancestral castle of Lasko; six months after he was at Basle (November 12), and in the beginning of 1537 at Leipzig, where he met Melanchthon.<sup>9</sup> Then we lose sight of him, to find him only in 1538 at Cracow. What was he doing during that year? M. George Pascal says he went to Louvain, making there the acquaintance of Albert Hardenberg, a monk of the convent of Aduwert, Friesland, and from whose family he afterward chose his wife. Dalton thinks he retired to one of his family estates to give himself up entirely to his beloved studies. This last supposition seems to me confirmed by a letter from Hosius,<sup>10</sup> highly praising him: "No one more holy than he could be imagined. He is virtue and righteousness themselves. No one in our country is equal to him in genius and knowledge. Learning and uprightness are so well commingled in him that one cannot tell which outweighs the other. And this man, who could face the greatest men in the kingdom, withdrew from the court and went to shut himself up in one of his fortresses, not allowing himself to speak to his servants, in order to be able, with his mind thus free from all care, to enjoy literature, for which, from his tender youth, he had the greatest predilection." This testimony has the greater

<sup>8</sup> *Lasciana*, Letter No. 74.

<sup>9</sup> *Corpus Reformatorum*, Vol. III, 359.

<sup>10</sup> Letter to Lazarus Bonamico in the *Stanislai Hosii Epistola*, ed. F. HIPLER et VIN. ZAKRZEWSKI (Cracoviæ, 1879).

value because Hosius was to be one of the most violent adversaries of the Reformation.

In January, 1538, Lasko was offered the bishopric of Cujavia, one of the highest posts in the church; he refused, gave up all his other livings, and soon after, with permission of King Sigismund, left Poland. The reason is easy to see. He had found it impossible to reform the Roman church, being still a member of it. Unable longer to endure the conscience-stifling air of Poland, he sought a place in Europe where he could breathe freely and make his belief known. This is the way in which he expresses his motives in a letter written from Leipzig, September 28, 1541, to Lucas of Gorka, who had accepted the bishopric of Cujavia," and was also a partisan of the Reformation: "We have heard that one name only exists on earth through which we can all be saved; it is the name Jesus Christ; he alone is the way, the door, and the doorkeeper; if he closes it, no one can cause it to be reopened; if he opens it, no one has the right to close it. To him we must go if we wish to have part in his kingdom. Oh! that all might see the example of unutterable goodness and mercy given by God to me his sheep, already lost and almost dead when he called me from the darkness of ignorance to the light of his understanding, and from the captivity of Babylon into the enjoyment of the happy freedom of his holy word! It has been, I own, hard to leave my beloved country, very dear friends, and, above all, my property; hard to expose myself to the dangers of poverty and to bear the cross. But thanks be to God who gave me courage to act thus, and who did not suffer that his grace should be sluggish in me. Far from repenting what I have done, I cannot return enough thanks to the Almighty, not only for that, but because I can still glory in having been the first among us [Polish people] in whom God chose to reveal his ineffable mercy. He considered me worthy of being despised, jeered at, outraged, and robbed of all my goods, for his holy name, he who, while on earth, was despised, scoffed at, condemned, and even nailed to a cross, but who now reigns invisible and glorious, at the right hand of his Father."

" *Lasciana*, No. 83.

And our hero signed himself thus: "John à Lasco, formerly possessing numerous titles, but now the despoiled servant of Jesus Christ, the crucified and despoiled."<sup>11</sup> What an admirable expression of his faith and courage are these simple lines! How plainly one sees also the chivalrous spirit of his nation, and the tenacity of his Anglo-Saxon ancestors!

Let us consider now the use Lasko made of his religious liberty bought at so dear a price. His whole life, henceforth, was to be consecrated to the propagation of the Reformation and to the confederation of the Protestants, scattered and divided in Europe. The remainder of his life falls into three periods: (*a*) in Friesland, for nine years, 1540-49; (*b*) in the churches of the refugees in London and Frankfurt (1549-55); (*c*) then in his own country (1550-60).

But it may be asked, What doctrine did he preach? Was he a Lutheran, or a Calvinist? Neither. He remained independent, and created a confession of faith and a form of ecclesiastical government for himself. His doctrine was formed under the influence of Erasmus and Zwingli, in a manner quite independent of Calvin and Luther. I find the most sincere expression of it in the abridgment of the Doctrine of the Churches in East Friesland, composed in 1544, but not published in his lifetime. The essence of his doctrine is in his statement concerning the knowledge of God and of ourselves. Only as we have this knowledge can we obtain everlasting life. We should know nothing true about God and his attributes if Christ, the only mediator between God and man, had not revealed it to us. To him, too, must we go to know ourselves, for, in order to appreciate fully our weakness, we must compare ourselves with the divine image appearing in Christ. Our actual sins come from original sin, which, like a disease, has tainted our will. God forgives them, not for our merits, but for the merits of Christ, true man and true God. Faith justifies us, but it is worthy of the name and truly efficacious only if it produces good works.

As for the sacraments, Lasko admitted only two: he approved of the christening of children, but did not consider the matter

<sup>11</sup> "Multis olim titulis insignis; nunc autem nudus nudi Jesu-Christi crucifixi servus."

important enough to exclude Anabaptists from the church. The eucharist, according to him, is the commemoration of the death of the Lord, and it testifies the full communication of his merits and virtues to our souls. Therefore the essential mystery of this sacrament is that "all who eat consecrated bread and drink consecrated wine participate in an identical, certain, and indubitable way in the Savior's body and blood."

We shall now look at his work in Friesland. Lasko left L<sup>ö</sup>wen for Emden, Friesland, in search of rest. He wished to enjoy family life in peace. He was probably attracted also by the abbey of Aduwert (near Groningen), for it was near the residence of the monk and theologian Albert Hardenberg, whom he had met at Louvain and with whom he had formed a friendship. At an early period the priests of the churches of Emden, Aurich, Leer, Verden, and Oldersum had resolved to reform the church, and, protected by Count Edzard against their suzerain, the sovereign of the Netherlands, Charles V., they had also published a confession of faith (1528). Lasko accepted from Countess Anna the post of superintendent of the churches in that country (1542). But he himself said<sup>13</sup> that he took it on the condition that he should be permitted to give it up if the king of Poland called him back, or if he saw that his ministry was not for the service of God. The churches, being swayed by Franciscans on one side and Anabaptists on the other, were in a sort of anarchy. The first thing Lasko did was to establish in each church a consistory composed of a clergyman and four laymen of the congregation. The duty of this council was to control the habits of the citizens, to bring them back to their duty, and even to excommunicate them if they despised its warnings. The only tie between the churches was the superintendent, who visited them, and gathered round him their clergy. In fact, the ministers in Friesland were to meet every week in summer, at Emden, to decide questions of doctrine, to judge appeals on points of discipline, and to see to the recruiting of the clergy. He called this council a *cætus*; it corresponded to what they call a *classe* in the

<sup>13</sup>Letter to Bullinger, August, 1544; see also *Brevis et dilucida de Sacramentis Ecclesie Christi Tractatio*, London, 1552.

national churches of Neufchâtel. Through this organization Lasko preserved the new reform from two sorts of adversaries: the Roman Catholic monks and some sectarians, such as the disciples of David Joris, who would have led it into the dangers of mysticism.

In 1548 the emperor Charles V. imposed on all the states of the empire the Interim of Augsburg (May 15), a sort of provisional reform, which retained several grave errors of the Roman church, and as Lasko refused to accept it, he had to resign his functions of superintendent of the churches in Friesland. However, he only asked for leave of absence, hoping to come back when the storm was over; and, in fact, he came back in December, 1548, and remained with his beloved churches until the month of October in the following year, composing for them at this time a catechism. Then he was obliged by ill-health to leave the country for good.

While the Protestants were being persecuted on the continent because of the Interim of Charles V., Lasko found a shelter for himself and part of his flock in England, in the reign of Edward VI. England was then a country hospitable to all who were exiled for conscience sake. In London and in Southwark there were about three thousand Protestant refugees, partly from France and partly from Holland, without counting some hundreds of Italians and Spaniards. Our Polish pastor was welcomed by Cranmer and Latimer, who at that time were reforming the Catholic churches in England and were trying to gather round them the ablest of the continental reformers. Besides, he had no trouble in persuading Cecil,<sup>14</sup> the secretary of state, and the duke of Somerset, one of the regents, of the advantage the country would gain by welcoming these Flemish and Dutch workmen who were so skilful in weaving wool and hemp. Thus Lasko obtained a charter from Edward VI., which was very liberal for the time, authorizing him to found a foreign church in London (1550) having its own liturgy and government.<sup>15</sup>

The first superintendent of this congregation was Lasko himself, who had under him three branches, French, Dutch, and

<sup>14</sup> KUYPER, Vol. II, pp. 45-50.

<sup>15</sup> *Forma ac Ratio tota ecclesiastici ministerii*, London, 1555; Frankfurt, 1550; in KUYPER, Vol. II, pp. 45-50.



Italian. True bishop, he composed for these churches a confession of faith and a catechism very much like those composed for the churches in East Friesland. But it is in the constitution of this London church that Lasko showed himself really original. Each branch of the church had the right to appoint the members of the consistory, the election being submitted to royal sanction; the consistory was composed of one or several clergymen or prophets, of elders or seniors, and of curators or *viri politici*.

The last named of these officers had charge of the interests of the church in her intercourse with the established church of England and with the government. Another institution created by Lasko was that of Bible meetings held twice a week, where the laymen had the right to discuss with the clergy the sermons of the week.

He was preparing also a code of discipline and a liturgy, when a new tempest swept over his work. Edward VI. died, and Mary Tudor, who succeeded him, put herself at the head of the movement for the restoration of Catholicism in England, and banished Lasko and his colleagues. After having in vain sought refuge in Denmark, whence he was repelled by the intolerance of the heads of the Lutheran church, and after having taken leave of his churches in Friesland, he went for his health to Frankfurt. There was a church of French and English refugees, as in London. One can see, from the letters he wrote to Calvin, the interest he took in this church and in the discussions that were raised either between the Calvinists and the Lutherans, or the Episcopalians and Presbyterians, which were to give birth to English Puritanism.<sup>16</sup>

In 1555 our exile received good news from Poland. The reformers in Little Poland had joined the Bohemian Brethren. The synod of Kosmineck and the diet of Petrikov had adopted resolutions in favor of summoning a national council for the reformation of the Roman Catholic church. The Holy Scriptures were to be taken as the sole rule of doctrine. He expressed his joy to his friend Hardenberg, for never, even in

<sup>16</sup> Zürich Letters, 3d series.

the countries where he had been welcomed most warmly, had the love of his native land left his heart. He wrote letter after letter to the king of Poland, to the senators, and to members of other classes of the nation, exhorting them to pursue the task of reformation. At the same time he added example to precept. He sent to Sigismund Augustus his "Constitution of the foreign church in London," with a long dedication. Three months afterward he wrote three letters on the "just and legitimate manner of organizing churches" (Frankfurt, December 31, 1555). Thus, as a prudent man, he was preparing the way for his return. His last letter from Frankfurt was written on September 8. Somewhat later he started and went slowly through Hesse-Cassel, Erfurt, Wittenberg, and Breslau, arriving in December at Bolioz (Poland), and put up with a nephew of John Boner, castellan of Briez.

Lasko was thus returning to his own country after a voluntary exile of twenty years. Although only fifty-seven years old, his health was ruined by the Friesian fevers and his frequent peregrinations, and he could say, like Paul the apostle, that he carried on his body the marks of Jesus Christ, for it was through his fidelity to the cause of truth and liberty of conscience that he had suffered so much. But if the body was exhausted, the heart was still courageous, happy at the dawn of the gospel light in Poland, and burning with zeal to consecrate to God the treasures of wisdom accumulated by long experience and what remained to him of his life.

Lasko was received with open arms by the Protestants in Little Poland, where he had many friends; they took him at once for their real leader, although the title of superintendent belonged to Felix Cruciger. On the first day of January, 1557, he had a conference with the latter in company with Lismannin and George Israel, Bohemian priests from Kozmineck, and a dozen Reformed ministers. After having rendered thanks and having received congratulations on his return, he discussed with them the two questions that troubled the reformers most: first, the union made at Kozmineck with the Bohemian Brethren; and, secondly, the tenure of ministerial service in the parishes. Before

the arrival of Lasko the churches in Little Poland had tried to organize themselves as much as possible on Calvin's principles as stated in the *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. But soon, feeling isolated, they had gone back to the unity of the Bohemian Brethren, whose administrative center was in Greater Poland, and had accepted a discipline and government which were really in the hands of the priests. That did not satisfy them; there was in Little Poland a lay element, represented by the lords and officers of the crown, which was to play its part in the government of the church. On the other hand, the Italian Anti-Trinitarians had found favorable ground there, and it required a stronger theologian than any of the priests of Bohemia to confute their arguments and maintain the doctrine of the Polish reformers in harmony with that of the Protestants in Switzerland, France, and Germany.

John Lasko was the right man in the right place; he was born in the country; he was a nobleman, and a good theologian; not equal to Calvin and Melanchthon, but on a footing with them. At his first interview with the Bohemian priest Israel he expounded his program: "It is a great task to reform the church and bring it to an apostolical state. For that the most necessary thing is concord and unity of the ministers, so that they shall all be of one and the same mind. I like the Bohemian confession of faith, but it needs rectifying, for example in the article concerning the sacraments." Thus he was for union with the Bohemian Brethren, and even, if possible, with the Lutherans, but without sacrificing his own doctrine. In the matter of organization he was in favor of the irremovability of ministers, for, he said, "Christ's reign is eternal and immutable, so in all but exceptional circumstances, as, for example, immorality on the part of a clergyman, or some urgent necessity of a church, the ministers of the Eternal King must have a continuous office." Moreover, he was too cautious to wish to impose on the Polish churches the constitution he had made for the churches in Friesland and for the church of refugees in London. Without doubt he maintained the same principles, but adapted them to the particular circumstances of his country. He tried to unite the

episcopal system, having observed its advantages in England, with the presbyterian and the synodal forms which suited so well the parliamentary needs of Poland. He increased the authority of the superintendent by giving him charge of visiting and inspecting the churches, and he introduced the office of *viri politici*. One cannot but admire that great impulse he gave the ecclesiastical life of these Reformed churches.

Not less than fifteen synods were held during the three years he spent in Little Poland. He was present at most of them, and secured the passage of resolutions on four important questions: (1) the drawing up of a confession of faith and a liturgy for the Reformed churches of Poland; (2) a project of union with the Bohemian Brethren and the Lutherans, which was passed at the synod of 1570; (3) the subscription to a loan of 2,000 florins for the publication of a Polish Bible; (4) the foundation of a Protestant college to counterbalance the influence of the Jesuits over the youth. In the reports of these synods (1557-60)<sup>17</sup> one feels the spirit of wisdom, justice, and understanding of a great minister of Christ, of a true reformer.

But, alas, the days of the man who had been the soul of this beautiful awakening were numbered. Old before his time, exhausted by many troubles, he died on January 8, 1560. His colleagues and the foremost of the noblemen in Little Poland gave him a funeral worthy of him, without pomp, but marked by eloquent manifestations of public grief. The words written at the beginning of the report of the synod held January 29, 1560, are the most beautiful tribute paid to his memory: "The venerated and celebrated John à Lasko, a man of God and the honor of our country, having through God's revelation broken off with the impious papacy and its idolatrous worship, had traveled in many countries in order to find liberty, to glorify God the Father in Jesus Christ, through the power of the Holy Ghost. But as soon as he heard that the light of the gospel was rising on his country, although already old, not so much through the number of his years as through toil in the service of the church of God,

<sup>17</sup> DALTON, *Lasciana, nebst den ältesten evangelischen Synodalprotokollen Polens, 1551-1561*. Berlin: Reuther & Reichard, 1898.

he left England and came back to Poland, in order with all his might to promote the glory of God, and this he bravely did before God and the nobles. Three years after his return he was gently transferred by God's grace from death to life."

He has been called the "father" or "apostle of Poland." This praise is not excessive. John Lasko is one of the most beautiful characters among the reformers. One who, at thirty-nine, gives up all his titles and income and leaves his country to obey his conscience, is a rare man in any century, even in the sixteenth. But the title of nobility which he acquired by his efforts to constitute truly Reformed churches, and to secure the organic union of the various branches of Protestantism, are worth all those he had won before. His grandeur does not consist in his intellectual breadth, or in his high culture as a humanist. Like Erasmus, his first master, he was a citizen of Europe, yet in chivalry of character and in affection he remained Polish to the last. Had he lived a few years longer, he would have been what Luther was to Germany, Calvin to France, and Zwingli to Switzerland—the reformer of Poland.

## THE PERMANENT INFLUENCE OF NEOPLATONISM UPON CHRISTIANITY.

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THERE is a fine saying in Clement of Alexandria, that the truth is like a river, which receives tributaries from every side. But the river of speculative theology at Alexandria was like the Nile delta in which it flourished: the main channels communicated with each other by a network of streams flowing out and flowing in; so that he would be a very learned or a very confident man who should attempt to define precisely the obligations of Jew, Christian, and Greek to each other. We have not here to deal with rival sects of fanatics, who, to borrow a simile from Numenius, tear the truth asunder as the Mænads tore Pentheus, each hugging a limb and thinking it the whole body; at Alexandria there was too much interchange of thought for it to be possible to label each doctrine with the name of a nationality or creed. I, at any rate, do not mean to attempt anything of the kind. I shall be content if I can disentangle some of the most characteristic strands of Alexandrian thought, and trace their influence in the later church. And the advantages of choosing Plotinus (for when I say Neoplatonism I mean Plotinus) as the representative of Alexandria are obvious. He was incomparably the greatest of the pagan philosophers of the empire, and he was an independent thinker, not fettered, like Clement and Origen, by membership in a religious society which aimed at converting the masses. He at least believed himself to be a Greek and a Platonist; and if Alexandrianism was the last effort of Greek philosophy, it is in Plotinus that we can best study the last message of Greek philosophy to the world. As for the pagan successors of Plotinus, I shall make no apology for disregarding them. They called themselves Platonists, but they were not so. Augustine rightly says to Porphyry:

"Thou didst learn these things, not from Plato, but from thy Chaldæan masters."

A peculiar difficulty besets us at the outset of our task. It may be objected that most of the ideas which the church is said to have borrowed from Neoplatonism are to be found already in the apostle John, and even in Paul. Most gladly I acknowledge that this is true. The prologue of the fourth gospel is a guarantee that the later Greek philosophy can never be extruded from Christianity either by Jewish formalism or Roman institutionalism. It is, indeed, a providential boon to the Christian church that she came into conflict with Gnosticism before the New Testament canon was closed. For the Gnostic movement of the first and second centuries anticipated in a very remarkable manner the later course of Alexandrian thought, and this remark applies as much to the Gnostics within the church as to those outside of it, though we have only meager fragments of the literature to tell us of this. Plotinus hated Gnosticism, but he was himself the greatest of the Gnostics; and exactly as the Christians carried off his honey to their hive, so they had already, a hundred years before, rifled what was valuable from the stores of his intellectual ancestors. But this admission does not alter the fact that the influence of Neoplatonic thought upon Christianity was direct and far-reaching. The peculiar mysticism of the apostles Paul and John was less intelligible to the early Middle Ages than the Christianized Neoplatonism of Dionysius the Areopagite; and even before Dionysius, Augustine, as we shall see presently, conveys the *Enneads* by handfuls into his theological treatises. I shall not, therefore, feel myself debarred from finding Neoplatonic influence in tendencies of thought which might, quite legitimately, be justified out of certain books of the New Testament.

The struggle between Christianity and Neoplatonism is one of the most curious and interesting chapters in the history of religion. The two systems had so much in common that at first sight we should wonder why they quarreled, if it were not a matter of common observation that no people hate and distrust each other more than those who like to express the same ideas

in slightly different language. Neoplatonism and Christianity are at one in preaching detachment from the world, the method of "inwardness"—"*introrsum ascendere*"—and communion with God, as the highest good. "They have," says Vacherot, "the same metaphysic—idealism; the same psychology—spiritualism; the same attitude toward life—a sober mysticism." And yet there are important differences, which not only prevented the two from combining as organizations, but caused Platonism to hold a somewhat precarious place within the fold of the church, after it had ceased to exist as a rival system. What these differences are may be best considered in the form of an answer to the question: Why did Christianity win and Neoplatonism lose in the battle between them?

1. In the first place, Neoplatonism was too spiritual to be effective as a popular religion (perhaps it hardly tried to be intelligible to the masses), and not spiritual enough to be true as a philosophy. Too spiritual, because it refused to condescend to the materialistic eschatology which to this day is the creed of the uneducated—the creed which conceives of eternity as a series of moments summed to infinity, and time as a piece snipped off from one end of the series; which insists on the literal grammatical truth of the *resurrectio huius carnis*, and regards heaven and hell as geographical expressions. Not spiritual enough, because, in spite of all its efforts to get rid of matter, it interpreted emancipation from the sensible world materialistically, and left us with an unsolved and insoluble dualism. Of course, the ideal world—the *κόσμος νοητός*—was meant to be the reality of which the sensible world is the appearance. But in the endeavor to give substance to this conception of reality, the world of ideas became a second sensuous, almost material, world, unrelated to the world of experience, or at all events unaffected by it. The universe thus conceived becomes like the swan "on St. Mary's lake" in Wordsworth, which "floats double, swan and shadow"—and the shadow is the world which we know. This hardening of what was meant to be a principle of unity into a new opposition was inevitable when Neoplatonism tried to be a religion; and I am far from saying that Plotinus regarded his *κόσμος νοητός*



as a second sensible world, any more than Dante regarded his Paradiso and Inferno as geographical expressions; but even Plotinus does not escape from the misleading associations of the words "here" and "yonder." When he says that the philosopher will regard public calamities as stage-plays (*παίγνια*); when he speaks of action as "a shadow of contemplation" (just as the *κόσμος αἰσθητός* is the shadow of the ideal world); above all when he enunciates that the man himself cannot sin (*ὁ νοῦς ἀναμάρτητος*), so that the worst that can befall the soul in its terrestrial exile is to get its boots a little muddy,<sup>1</sup> we feel that for him the life in time is really external to the *ego*, and that he fails to show any rational object that is served by the time-process, even as appearance. It has no result in the world of reality, and is therefore void of existence and nugatory. There is thus a fatal chasm between the two worlds, and we can see why ecstasy—a supra-rational faculty—must be invoked to give us news of the higher.<sup>2</sup> The error seems to me to lie, not only in the necessity of popularizing an idealistic philosophy, and thereby spoiling it, but in a real fallacy which has misled many speculative theologians much nearer our own times than Plotinus. It is assumed that since change and motion characterize the world of becoming, immutability and stationariness must be attributes of the world of being, or true existence. They do not perceive that these also, as much as their opposites, belong to space and time, and are therefore unreal; and thus, in attempting to rise above the limitations of sense, they only succeed in investing reality with the properties of *dead* matter. I cannot help thinking that this fallacy is at the root of the two great errors of philosophical mysticism—the emptiness of its highest category on the one hand, and its acosmistic tendency on the other. I suppose that reality—however we may try to

<sup>1</sup> This notion has been lately revived by MAETERLINCK, in his curious work, *Le Trésor des Humbles*, which is said to have taken Paris by storm. But there is no anti-nomianism in Plotinus.

<sup>2</sup> This does not mean that the belief in ecstasy is false, but that, so soon as the conception of reality is hardened and materialized in the way I have described, mystical facts begin to be regarded as data for transcendental physics; and this is a delusion.

conceive it—must somehow contain within itself both the cosmic process and the completed result of the process, and our condition as immortal spirits must in some incomprehensible way be determined by our lives in time. It is this notion—one of immense practical importance—that Neoplatonism could not admit, while every scheme of Christianity insisted upon it. And therefore, though the popular Christianity treated the kingdom of heaven precisely as the popular Platonism treated Plato's ideas, transforming a state of bliss into a place of enjoyment, it escaped the most serious consequences of the misunderstanding. Preach Neoplatonism to the man in the street, and if you convert him you will spoil him as a grocer, for he will become an idle dreamer, and you will not make him a philosopher, for he will not understand you. But experience has proved that the same grocer, when Christianity is presented to him even in its crudest form, will mind his shop with even increased diligence, while he will practice sundry virtues under the conviction that he will some day or other have to face an audit at which sanded sugar and bills sent in twice will not appear on the profit side of the account. To speak more seriously, the doctrine of rewards and punishments in a future state, though it may strictly be only a symbol of a truth which at present is too high for us, is the only hypothesis which does not land us in a very quagmire of contradictions, equally disastrous to theory and practice.

2. Neoplatonism had not learned the secret of working upon the *affections*. The love of beauty is a poor substitute for sympathy. The process of *κάθαρσις* by industrious practice of the social virtues is rather different from John's, "We know that we have passed from death unto life because we love the brethren;" and the love of God as conceived by Neoplatonism is more like "the desire of the moth for the star"—the attraction of the clear white light that "forever shines"—than the devotion which "draws" the disciple of Christ to a human, as well as divine, Redeemer.

3. Neoplatonism, as a philosophical school, was inextricably entangled with the moribund Græco-Roman civilization. The reign of Julian is a sufficient commentary on this statement.

Some will say that Julian is a good example of the folly of trying to mix religion and philosophy; I should say rather, of the sad fate of a good philosophy grafted on a bad religion. The Christian church was wide enough to hold Julian's philosophy; the pathos of his career lies in the fact that he was a patriot when it was too late to be patriotic, and a conservative when there was nothing left to preserve.

4. Christianity had, as I have already said, passed through the conflict with Gnosticism, and in the course of it had absorbed and sanctioned, by admitting within the canon of the New Testament, much of what was best in Neoplatonism. This made it easy to convey the rest of the treasure, without acknowledging any compromise. Neoplatonism was at last plundered so completely that she had nothing to fall back upon but theurgy and sentimental sympathy over the death of "Great Pan."

But could the church assimilate what she took? That is the main question which I wish to consider in this paper. It appears to me that the biological law of reversion to type is exemplified in a very striking way in the history of religion. Neoplatonism and Christianity both furnish instances of its operation. The former was, I venture to think, purely Greek in its origin, but its emancipation from pagan myth was complete. In its vigorous youth polytheism might have been dropped out of it as easily as Platonism might have been dropped out of the systems of Iamblichus and Proclus. And yet in its decay it reverts to the old mythology, and expires amid the corpses of hecatombs of oxen. As to Christianity, it appears to me that the same mysterious attraction toward the cradle where it was nursed has been operating throughout church history. There has, I believe, been an influence constantly at work in all Christian bodies, an influence which tries to cast out the Hellenic element, and with it all the rich gains of Alexandrian thought, and endeavors to assimilate Christianity, not, assuredly, to the religion of the New Testament—to the apostles Paul and John—but to the Jewish legalism which Christ came to abrogate. The position of Christian Platonism within the church has always been somewhat precarious, and its influence spasmodic and intermittent, like that of an imperfectly assimilated force.

In the brief space at my disposal I can only attempt to indicate very cursorily at what times and in what manners the influence of Plotinus is apparent in Christian thought. And I must here repeat that I choose Plotinus as the best representative of a certain mode or tendency of speculative theism, and that I am well aware that there is a catena of Christian Platonists before Plotinus—Justin, who counts Socrates and Plato as Christians; Athenagoras, who attributes quasi-inspiration to Plato, and teaches that the Logos is the being in whom the ideas—the archetypes of all things—consist; Theophilus, who refutes patripassionism by distinguishing between God and the reason of God, till he trembles on the verge of acosmic pantheism; and Clement, who regards Christianity as perfected Platonism, insists on the solidarity of all life, and identifies God the Father with the unknown ground of existence, while Christ is the light that broods over all history.

But the Platonism of these early Fathers was eclectic, unsystematic, and unphilosophical; it was reserved for Plotinus to build a noble and coherent system out of these airy speculations; and their true bearing on dogma and on life became much more apparent after he had lived. Origen, with Plotinus before him, plants his foot much more firmly than Clement had done. Tertullian believed that God is corporeal; Neoplatonism, through the mouth of Origen, banishes anthropomorphism forever from Christianity. The generation of the Son (Origen teaches confidently) implies neither a temporal act nor a local division; it is a continuous process, like the effluence of light from a lamp (the figure of effulgence is dear to all Platonists and mystics). What the next centuries thought on the obligations of Christianity to Hellenism here may be seen from the bold statement of John Damascene (in the eighth century): "We owe to Judaism the unity of the divine nature; our trinitarian doctrine comes from the Greeks."

But since Origen was always suspect, the permanent influence of Neoplatonism may be best considered in connection with Augustine, who, though a Latin, is deeply imbued with it. I propose to enumerate in detail the chief doctrines in which

Augustine shows a close correspondence with Neoplatonism. It will not be necessary to repeat the process in dealing with later writers, for we shall then have ascertained what Christian Neoplatonism means, and in what branches of religious speculation we may expect to find traces of its influence.

We will take first the *doctrine of God*.

God, says Augustine, is beyond comprehension and ineffable: he is best described by negatives; best known by nescience; best adored in silence. "*Ne ineffabilis quidem dicendus (est) quia et hoc cum dicatur aliquid dicatur.*" So the First Person of the Neoplatonic trinity is "beyond being. We can say what he is not; but we cannot say what he is."

God has no qualities; he is above all distinctions, and neither thinks nor feels. "*Aeternitas ipsa Dei substantia est.*" The resemblances to Plotinus here are obvious. The "One" is beyond everything, even beyond the most exalted intelligence. If God were self-conscious, he would be *double*; "we must therefore deny him consciousness."

God is absolutely immutable, according to Augustine and Plotinus. This doctrine, as I have just argued, seems to rest on a fallacy, and to lead either to denying objectivity to phenomena or to deism. The crucial question, for those who identify reality with the ideas or thoughts of God, seems to be: Does the cosmic process in any way determine ideas, or is it only determined by them? Those who, with Scotus Erigena, one of the last philosophers in direct succession from Plotinus, can say, "*Certius cognoscas Verbum naturam omnium esse,*" or, in a less pantheistic form, "The Word of God is the life of the universe," may hold that the cosmic process as a whole bears a relation to the eternal Being of the divine Logos, analogous to that which Christianity teaches that our lives in time bear to our eternal being, so that the Logos has in a sense to work out his own salvation. This, at any rate, maintains the reality of the conflict between good and evil, and the eternal significance of what happens in time. But absolute immutability, as understood by Plotinus and Augustine, leaves no room for this conception; when Augustine says, "Since the Word of God is One, by whom all things were made,

and all things exist together and immutably in him, and all things are one," the world-plan seems to lose itself altogether in the Being of the Logos.

On the *beauty of God*, and on the grades of beauty, corporal, spiritual, and divine, the lower grades being shadows and symbols of the higher, Plotinus and Augustine are at one: "*Deus pulchritudo pulchrorum omnium*;" "*omne pulchrum a summa pulchritudine quod Deus est.*" Cf. τὸ καλὸν σῶμα γίγνεται λόγου ἀπὸ θεοῦ ἐλθόντος κοινωνία; and the beautiful passage, *Ennead*, I, 6, 7, 8.

On the *nature of man* Plotinus says, "Our object in life is not to be without sin, but to be God," and Augustine is no more afraid of the word *deificari* than Athanasius is of *θεοποιεῖσθαι*. And the process of "deifying" is by something like interpenetration of essence. And here I cannot resist entering a humble protest against Professor Seth's attack upon the mystical doctrine of personality in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. He says that mystics cannot distinguish between what is metaphorical and what is literal; that they treat a relation of ethical harmony as if it were one of substantial identity or chemical fusion, whereas the *ego* is really "impenetrable." This is no doubt a fair criticism of the commonest aberration of mysticism. I am not defending either esoteric Buddhism or the arrogance of Emerson, or the grotesque materialism of the Spanish mystics; but surely one may answer: "I know well that 'interpenetration' and 'absorption' are words which belong to space, and that is why I am not a pantheist; but 'separateness' and 'impenetrability,' which you affirm of the *ego*, belong to the same category; and I regard love, whatever may be the object of it, as the phenomenal form of a real identity, which I can only represent to myself under the metaphors of 'fusion' or 'membership.' The phrase 'ethical harmony' is a metaphor too, and a very inadequate one." However this may be, Plotinus and Augustine believe that they can save personality while insisting upon unity. The true sign of individuality is not separation, but distinction; but the obstacle to union between beings is separation, not distinction. Plotinus is no Buddhist; he asserts

personality—*δεῖ ἕκαστον ἕκαστον εἶναι*; but we have other relations besides those which make up our individuality. We have a double life—*ὅλον ἀμφίβιοι*—inasmuch as we share in the life of the cosmos, in the half-personal World-Soul which works as a whole in individual part-souls. All that lives has fellowship and membership together; whence comes that dim sympathy which binds us to the animal creation and to all the works of God. Augustine has much in common with these thoughts. He seldom speaks of the communion of the individual with Christ, but often of Christ and the church as "*unus Christus*." And in the *De Civitate* he regards the universe as a living organism, a view which carries with it the mystical doctrine of life within life, and interpenetration of essence.

On the difficult question of emanation *versus* evolution I can only say now that the antithesis seems to me to be a false one; that Plotinus, with his doctrine of *ἐπιστροφή* and his *ζωὴ ἐξελιττομένη*, was no enemy to evolution; and support myself by the authority of B. Bosanquet, who says: "The Homooousian dispute settled the conflict in favor of evolution, and marks the climax to which Platonism and Neoplatonism had long been approximating."<sup>3</sup> The fundamental principles of Plotinus have, I think, little to say for or against evolution. The real deep significance of his doctrine that all things radiate forth from God is the mystical faith that everything visible is the symbol of something invisible, the connection being, not arbitrary, accidental, and subjective, but based on real correspondences and affinities.

Augustine takes from Plotinus his *doctrine of evil* as mere privation, "*malum nihil est nisi privatio boni*": *τὸ κακὸν ἔλλειψιν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ θετέον*. "God shows his power better by using evil than by stopping it" (this is verbatim from Plotinus); the punishment of the bad "must be part of the general order of nature," says Plotinus; "*supplicia peccatorum de iustitiae pulchritudine veniunt*;" "*etiam illud quod malum dicitur bene ordinatum est loco suo positum: eminentius commendat bona*." This is surely an æsthetic, not a religious, conception, and a very heartless one. Sin and misery

<sup>3</sup> *History of Æsthetic*, pp. 132, 133.

are the shadows which enhance the beauty of the picture, or the intractable material which calls out the ingenuity of the artist! It is worse in Augustine than in Plotinus, who believed that the soul of man is exempt from stain, and that evil is only the necessary lowest term in a series, the all but non-existent. This enables Plotinus to say: "Vice is, at worst, still human, and so is never without an admixture of an opposite quality." But the Neoplatonic view of sin is apt to produce a rather shallow and facile optimism, as we see not only in Emerson, but in Robert Browning, and to paralyze zeal for the saving of souls.

The *upward path*—*ἀναγωγή*—is the same for Plotinus and Augustine. First comes "purification," the main element in which is the energetic practice of the social virtues, which show us the value of *πέρας* and *τάξις*, and make the life *ἀγαθοειδές*, though not yet *ἀγαθόν*. Some can never get farther than this, owing to the feebleness of their intellects; and so their lives are wholly occupied with a fussy activity, which only acquaints them with a pale reflection of the life or reason. So much for our good friend, the "practical man," who generally takes himself so seriously! Self-discipline must be practiced concurrently with good works; but neither Plotinus nor Augustine advocates the extreme asceticism which appears in Porphyry and in the mediæval mystics. The second stage, contemplation, which has been foolishly supposed to mean day-dreaming, is the deliberate concentration of all the faculties—the will, the intellect, the imagination, and the affections—upon the highest of all conceivable objects; it is a wrestling like that of Jacob with the angel, when he said: "I will not let thee go unless thou bless me and tell me thy name." Thus is gained that intellectual enlightenment without which good works are, in the language of the New Testament, "dead." The serene happiness which attends this stage is described in very similar language by Plotinus and Augustine, though the two passages have not, so far as I know, been brought together before. Augustine, while yet a pagan, was struck, he tells us, by the "holy dignity that comes of self-discipline, serene and quietly cheerful," which marked the Christian saint; and Plotinus, in language of equal beauty, says



"the good man is always cheerful, steady, calm, and genial. If anyone hopes to gain any other sort of pleasure than this from the good life, it is not the good life that he desires."

The last stage is that which conducts us to the inmost shrine—the famous vision ( $\delta\psi\iota\varsigma$ ) of the Neoplatonists, the "unitive life" of Christian mystics. It is the fashion to represent these experiences as belonging only to pathological states of the consciousness, in which hallucinations are induced by bodily austerities, religious excitement, and protracted solitude. But it would be easy to prove by evidence that this kind of trance, in which the mental vision is rather enhanced than impaired, is common in minds of unquestioned sanity and unusual power (the new life of Lord Tennyson contains two most interesting records of such experiences); so that "ecstasy," however liable to abuse, is a psychological fact with which we have to reckon. And it would be equally easy to show that the belief in such visions fits in with the rest of Plotinus' system. But since I am not now holding a brief for Neoplatonism, but attempting to trace its influence on the Christian church, it will be more to the point to show how Augustine follows Plotinus, very nearly, if not quite all the way, in his language about  $\delta\psi\iota\varsigma$ . "A holy life," he says, "will even lead us up to the vision, where pure and perfect hearts behold that ineffable beauty, to see which is the consummation of bliss." "When our vision of God is perfected, then will our resemblance to God be also perfected" (so John says: "We shall be like him, *for* we shall see him as he is"). And in a noble passage of the *Confessions* we read: "What is this light which now and again breaks in upon me, and thrills through my heart without a wound? I tremble and I burn: I tremble, because I am unlike Him; I burn, because I am like Him. It is Wisdom, Wisdom's own self, which thus shines upon me." The language of Plotinus seldom or never rises to such beauty; but the thoughts are all to be found in his book.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> It has not been sufficiently noticed how thoroughly Augustine was saturated with Plotinus when he wrote the *Confessions*. The Master of Balliol has kindly called my attention to a striking instance. Compare *Conf.* ix, 10 (the celebrated account of the last conversation between Augustine and Monica) with PLOTINUS, *Enn.*, v, 1, 2. The resemblance is far too close to be a mere coincidence.

I must now leave Augustine, and, passing over, for lack of space, Basil, and the two Gregorys (he of Nyssa is saturated with Neoplatonism), and the hymn-writer Synesius, who apostrophizes the Deity as *ἐνοτήτων ἑνὸς ἀγνῆ, μονάδων μονὰς τε πρώτη*, and so forth, we come to the prince of mystics, the father of a long line of contemplative ascetics, the pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite.

In the writings of Dionysius we find great prominence given to the notion of a "hierarchy," a system of grades or ranks in the ladder of being, each of which ministers to the rank below, and aspires to the rank above. This conception is taken from Proclus, not from Plotinus, and is in sympathy with that belief in the agency of angels and demons which characterizes the later Neoplatonism. But there is very much in Dionysius that recalls Plotinus. In his doctrine of God he tries to outdo all that have gone before him. God is not only superessential, but he transcends unity, goodness, and divinity: he transcends himself! Evil does not exist: "God knows evil as good, and in his sight the powers of evil are powers which work good." The ideas of justice, of responsibility, of atonement, are equally foreign to him. He was, perhaps, the first to show how mischievous Neoplatonism may be, if it is misunderstood. Plotinus safeguarded personality, while holding out unification with God as the final goal. "The soul comes to herself," he says, "when she comes to God, and then only possesses herself when God possesses her." But Dionysius abolishes personality; he dehumanizes man in order to deify him. Plotinus escapes pantheism; Dionysius sometimes falls into it. "God is the being," he says, "in things that are."<sup>5</sup> Plotinus shows how what began as a sensuous love of the beautiful may be exalted into a love of the All-beautiful who is also the All-good. "Those who continue to gaze on the visible symbols end like Hylas; they fall into deep waters and are drowned." Here, of course, he is a true disciple of Plato. "The Divine Beauty," we read in the *Symposium*, "is not like face or hands or any bodily thing; it is not word

<sup>5</sup> We should, however, do justice to Dionysius' attempts to escape the pantheistic conclusion. When he says *ἐν αὐτῷ τὸ εἶναι, καὶ οὐκ αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ εἶναι*, he is nearer to what Krause was the first to call panentheism than to pantheism.

or thought; it is not in something else, neither living thing, nor earth nor heaven; only by itself in its own way in one form it is forever." But Dionysius uses erotic language in describing the love of God; he deliberately chooses *ἔρως* instead of *ἀγάπη* to express this emotion, and justifies himself by an ambiguous passage from Ignatius, which was possibly meant to bear a totally different sense; and opens the gate to endless unwholesome dreams by applying the Song of Solomon to the relations between the soul and its Lord. Worst of all, he isolates the individual from his fellows—the solitary monk is his highest ideal of saintliness. And yet it was through this impure channel that Neoplatonism entered the cloister, and flourished there in the lives of countless mystics.

Bernard gives us the three stages of the upward path, with sudden ecstasy as a fourth. He regards deification as destruction of the personality. "*A teipso exinaniri et paene annullari, caelestis est conversationis. Sic affici deificari est.*" "For how shall God be all in all if anything of man remains in man?" He advocates extreme asceticism, and extols the monkish life.

A more worthy successor of Plotinus was Scotus Erigena, who by his profound conception of the Logos as the living nature of things, in whom all created things have always preëxisted, and in whom all the history of the universe will be gathered up into one, only transformed and perfected ("*naturae manebit proprietates earum erit unitas*"): nothing will be lost but miseries and imperfections), reproduced some of the finest parts of Plotinus' system, while avoiding, it seems to me, his acosmistic tendency. His condemnation was the end of Christian Neoplatonism in direct descent from Plotinus; Erigena may be called the first scholastic and the last Neoplatonist. In Aquinas the influence of Aristotle is, on the whole, paramount; and the tendency is rather toward deism than pantheism.

In Eckhart, Böhme, and Bruno the stream again comes to the surface. Once more we find the familiar teaching about God the Father as the abyss, the super-essential; and the Son as the *Ens*, reality, the becoming, of the abyss; of the visible world as an effluence and shadow of the spiritual; of emancipation from

selfhood as the goal of effort; of the world as a living organism, formed and developed by means of an inner principle; of evil as negative, or as the contradiction of the particular to the idea of the whole. But we breathe a freer air here than in reading the church mystics of the cloister;<sup>6</sup> these men are less fettered by dogma, and know more of life, than the monks.

The last, and certainly not the least interesting, efflorescence of Neoplatonism was at Cambridge in the seventeenth century. The Cambridge Platonists, or "Latitude men" as they were called, avowed their intention of bringing back Christian theology "to her old loving nurse, the Platonic philosophy," in which they hoped to find a bulwark against the detested theories of Hobbes, in whom they saw a reincarnation of the old enemy of all Platonists—the Epicurean Lucretius! I think my best chance of conveying some idea of their teaching in a few words will be by quoting a few sentences and aphorisms from the sermons of Whichcote, provost of King's, and John Smith, fellow of Emmanuel, the latter of whom, though he died at the age of thirty-four, left behind him a collection of sermons which I think have never been surpassed for depth of thought, ardor of piety, and beauty of expression:

"Heaven is first a temper, then a place. Heaven is our resemblance and imitation of God."

"As the eye cannot behold the sun unless it be *ἡλιοειδής* [he quotes Plotinus here], so neither can the soul behold God unless it be *θεοειδής*. Systems and models furnish but a poor wan light. To seek our Divinity merely in writings is to seek the living among the dead. *ἔστι δὲ ψυχῆς ἀσθησις τις*. Such as men themselves are, such will God seem to them to be."

"Who can tell the delights of those mysterious converses with the Deity? who but those who have tasted them? When *Reason is turned into Sense, and Faith becomes Vision*."

"The contemplative life is nothing else but an infant-Christ born in the soul." "But we must not mistake: this knowledge is here but in its infancy."

"All true happiness consists in a participation of God: we cannot enjoy God by any external conjunction with him."

"The only way to unite man firmly to himself is to unite him to God."

"As we cannot truly love the highest good, while we serve a design upon it and subordinate it to ourselves, so neither is our own salvation consistent with such sordid, pinching, and particular love."

<sup>6</sup> Eckhart was a Dominican, but he was an independent thinker and observer, and would probably have been burned, like Bruno, if he had not died prematurely.

"Religion is no sullen stoicism or oppressing melancholy ; it is full of a vigorous and masculine delight and joy."

"The spirit of man is the candle of the Lord, lighted by God, and lighting men to God." "Reason is the Divine Governor of man's life ; it is the very voice of God." "Work for the mind : awaken your intellectuals, or else you shall come to nothing."

The Cambridge Platonists show admirably the form which Christianity takes when it is associated with Neoplatonic philosophy. We are struck at once by their courageous confidence in reason ; by the importance which they attach to cultivation of the intellect as a factor in the religious life ; by the completeness with which the Jewish notion of God as a taskmaster and man as a *fellah* working for wages disappears from their teaching ; by the deep spirituality of their language about heaven and immortality ; and by their brave protest against the forensic scheme of salvation with its doctrine of imputed righteousness. "They deceive and flatter themselves extremely," writes Whichcote in answer to Tuckney's strictures, "who think of reconciliation with God by means of a Savior acting upon God on their behalf, and not also working in or upon them to make them God-like." And Smith from the pulpit denounces those who "profanely make the righteousness of Christ a covering wherein to wrap their foul deformities, which when they have done, they think that they have become heaven's darlings as much as they are their own." The source of their distinctive tenets they admit freely. "The time I have spent on Plato and his scholars," says Whichcote, "I have no cause to repent, and the use I have made of them I dare not disown. I thank God for what I have found in them."

I know that in the position which I have taken up I cannot hope for the sympathy of those who, like Ritschl, Harnack, and Hatch, seem to regard Christianity as a kind of primitive Kantianism overlaid by alien accretions. The austere rigorism and hard individualism of this school have little in common with the temper of Plotinus, Tauler, the *Theologia Germanica*, and the English Platonists. But to those whose temperament is not alien to a sober mysticism I would suggest the question: May not Johannine or Platonic Christianity, which has so often proved

itself a regenerative principle in times of deadness and formality, and a reconciling principle in times of conflict and division, be destined to play the same beneficent part in the new century which is now close upon us? Christian Platonism has no quarrel with art, for it worships the beautiful as well as the good, and affirms their ultimate identity in God. It has no quarrel with science, for while in its ethical scheme it enjoins a thorough and honest pursuit of knowledge as an integral part of the good life, on its metaphysical side it keeps to its own province, and leaves science undisturbed in its proper work, which is *not* the discovery of ultimate truth, but the investigation of the relations which prevail within the world of phenomena. I could show by a whole catena of authorities that the belief in the "miraculous," in the anti-scientific sense as a breach of the laws of nature, is discountenanced by nearly all Christian Platonists. The real enemy of science is that religious materialism which, unless it sees signs and wonders, will not believe. Neither has it any quarrel with dogmatic theology, provided always that dogma is understood to be what it is, "a raft on which to sail through the waters of life." "To affirm confidently that these narratives are literally true in every detail," says Socrates in the *Phædo*, "becomes no reasonable man; yet it becomes us to believe that they are *near* the truth." Religious symbols are not arbitrary: they have a real and vital connection with the thing symbolized; and he who thinks he can do without them falls either into gross anthropomorphism and materialism, or into the perverse and insane form of mysticism against which Tauler and Ruysbroek are always warning us.

We cannot afford to throw away any part of our intellectual inheritance, or to be misled by those who would have us strip Christianity of all that she has learned from Greece, and "return to the historical Christ." We worship "the historical Christ," because we see in him the Word made flesh; the Word, in whom dwells, and from whom flows, all the light that has been or ever will be granted to the sons of men; and it is in this faith that I say with Eunapius: "The fire still burns on the altars of Plotinus."

## THE HISTORY OF THE NEW TESTAMENT CANON IN THE SYRIAN CHURCH.

By JULIUS A. BEWER,  
New York.

(Concluded.)\*

### PRELIMINARY INVESTIGATIONS.

#### II. THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES AND THE EPISTLES.

##### 1. *In the Doctrina Addai.*

The *Doctrina Addai* speaks of the Acts of the Apostles and the epistles as follows: "But the law, and the prophets, and the gospel, which ye read every day before the people, and the epistles of Paul, which Simon Peter sent us from the city of Rome, and the Acts of the twelve apostles, which John, the son of Zebedee, sent us from Ephesus; these books read ye in the churches of Christ, and with these read not any others, as there is not any other in which the truth that ye hold is written, except these books, which retain you in the faith to which ye have been called." (P. 44.)

There are no quotations made either from the Acts of the Apostles or from the epistles of Paul, a fact which is in harmony with the purpose of the book. The catholic epistles and the Revelation are not included in the canon of the church.

The bearing of the quotations on the history of the canon may better be discussed under the reconstruction of the history of the canon later on. Here it suffices to have quoted the testimony and the extent of the canon as given in the *Doctrina Addai*.

##### 2. *In Aphraates.*

Aphraates quotes from the Acts of the Apostles several times. Of Paul's epistles he quotes Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, 1 Thessalonians, 1 and 2 Timothy, and Titus; the letter to the Hebrews is also cited as Pauline throughout. He does not cite 2 Thessalonians and Philemon. There is no trace of the catholic epistles and the Revelation. The passages cited by Wright as referring to 1 Peter 4:18 and 1 John 3:24; 4:15 have

\*See the AMERICAN JOURNAL OF THEOLOGY, Vol. IV, pp. 64-98.

been shown by Zahn not to refer to those passages. In the first passage it is a citation from "*Solomon*" (Prov. 11:31); the other citation is evidently taken from the gospel of John, and not from the epistle. Strangely enough, Parisot and Gwynn still maintain, with no ground, that he uses 1 John, and they infer from it his use of the rest.

The extent of his canon as regards Acts and the epistles of Paul is the same as that of the *Doctrina Addai*. He quotes a good deal from them, most of his quotations being from 1 Corinthians.

Whether Aphraates' epistle text is the same as that of the Peshitta or not is a question which we must now seek to answer. The Peshitta has, in addition to the epistles of Paul, also the epistle of James, 1 Peter, and 1 John, which Aphraates has not. Is his epistle text, in spite of this, the same as that of the Peshitta, which might not yet have had these epistles in Aphraates' time, or is it different? This necessitates

*A Comparison of the Acts and Epistles in Aphraates with those of the Peshitta.*

Acts 14:22, A ܐܠܗܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ, P ܐܠܗܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ. The Greek has διὰ πολλῶν θλίψεων = A.—19:3, A ܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ, P ܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ.

Rom. 1:3, 4, A (introduced by ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ) ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ, P ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ. The quotation is free, but in the main there is agreement. There is a difference between ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ and ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ and in ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ and ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ. And here it is to be noticed that the Greek γενόμενου could be translated either way, and also that the reading of ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ is a more literal translation of the Greek κατὰ πνεῦμα ἀγιοσύνης than the reading of P ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ.—5:14, Aphraates read here a different text from P. He omits at first the phrase, "in the likeness of the transgression of the law of Adam," and affixes vs. 12, "so that it [death] has also come over all men, as it has come over Adam." But a few lines later he says in summing up: "Also over those who did not sin did death reign because of the transgression of the law of Adam;" which shows, taken in connection with the first quotation, that the Greek ἐπὶ τῷ ὁμοιώματι was differently translated.—7:5, A reads ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ = "carnal;" P reads ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ = "in the flesh;" A omits ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ. A reads ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ, P ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ. So A translates: "When we were *carnal*, the passions of the sins were active in our members, so that we were [or became] fruits for death." P = "When we were *in the flesh*, the passions of the sins *which are through the law* were active in our members that we should *bring* fruits unto death." The Greek has ἐν τῇ σαρκί as P,





plural; A  $\{ \text{ܐܠܗܐ} \}$ , P  $\{ \text{ܐܠܗܐ} \}$ .—9:6, A  $\{ \text{ܐܠܗܐ} \}$ , P  $\{ \text{ܐܠܗܐ} \}$ .  
 A  $\{ \text{ܐܠܗܐ} \}$ , P  $\{ \text{ܐܠܗܐ} \}$ ; A  $\{ \text{ܐܠܗܐ} \}$ , P  $\{ \text{ܐܠܗܐ} \}$ .  
 This last difference is attested by other texts also.

Gal. 3:11, A  $\{ \text{ܐܠܗܐ} \}$ , P  $\{ \text{ܐܠܗܐ} \}$ .  
 A  $\{ \text{ܐܠܗܐ} \}$ , P  $\{ \text{ܐܠܗܐ} \}$ .—5:12, A  $\{ \text{ܐܠܗܐ} \}$ , P  $\{ \text{ܐܠܗܐ} \}$ .  
 A  $\{ \text{ܐܠܗܐ} \}$ , P  $\{ \text{ܐܠܗܐ} \}$ . . . . ., omits  $\{ \text{ܐܠܗܐ} \}$ .  
 The Greek  $\delta\pi\rho\acute{o}\phi\eta\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$  is understood by Aphraates in the same way as it was understood by Chrysostom and Theophylact, "utinam genitalibus excindantur illi qui vos conturbant." (Cf. BERT, p. 177.)—6:1, A  $\{ \text{ܐܠܗܐ} \}$ , P  $\{ \text{ܐܠܗܐ} \}$ .

Eph. 2:6 (twice), A  $\{ \text{ܐܠܗܐ} \}$ , P  $\{ \text{ܐܠܗܐ} \}$ .

1 Thess. 4:17, A  $\{ \text{ܐܠܗܐ} \}$ , P  $\{ \text{ܐܠܗܐ} \}$ .  
 P  $\{ \text{ܐܠܗܐ} \}$ , A  $\{ \text{ܐܠܗܐ} \}$ .  
 P  $\{ \text{ܐܠܗܐ} \}$ , A  $\{ \text{ܐܠܗܐ} \}$ .

1 Tim. 1:13, A  $\{ \text{ܐܠܗܐ} \}$ , P  $\{ \text{ܐܠܗܐ} \}$ .

2 Tim. 3:16, A  $\{ \text{ܐܠܗܐ} \}$ , P  $\{ \text{ܐܠܗܐ} \}$ .

Hebr. 4:9 (three times), A  $\{ \text{ܐܠܗܐ} \}$ , P  $\{ \text{ܐܠܗܐ} \}$ .  
 A  $\{ \text{ܐܠܗܐ} \}$ , P  $\{ \text{ܐܠܗܐ} \}$ .—12:1, A  $\{ \text{ܐܠܗܐ} \}$ , P  $\{ \text{ܐܠܗܐ} \}$ .  
 A  $\{ \text{ܐܠܗܐ} \}$ , P  $\{ \text{ܐܠܗܐ} \}$ .  
 —12:13, A  $\{ \text{ܐܠܗܐ} \}$ , P  $\{ \text{ܐܠܗܐ} \}$ .

The comparison of the text of the Acts and the epistles which Aphraates used with the text of the Peshitta shows that on the whole these texts are closely related to each other. There are numerous instances where A = P.

But one cannot deny that Aphraates differs in a good many passages from the Peshitta in such a way that the differences cannot be explained on the ground of inaccurate quotation, even if we allow all legitimate freedom for quotations from memory. For, strangely enough, quite frequently the variation in Aphraates can be found also in Greek texts. How could he, for instance, have gotten from the Peshitta that strange reading of 1 Cor. 15:51 which he quotes three times? He agrees with the best Greek MS.,  $\aleph$ , while P has the ordinary reading. If the canon holds good here that the more difficult reading is the older and more original, then A has here an older text than P. Again in 1 Cor. 15:55 A's reading is the regular reading of the Greek MSS., while P's is by no means so common. In 1 Cor. 9:5 both texts represent two different traditions of the Greek text. Besides these variations there are different translations of the same Greek text, some occurring so often as to leave no room for the thought that this is an inaccurate

quotation of A from P; *e. g.*, Hebr. 4:9 (thrice); Eph. 2:6 (twice); 1 Cor. 15:40 (twice); 2 Cor. 5:18 (twice); and in one case at least the translation of a Greek word which Aphraates gives is also given by Crystostom and Theophylact, viz., Gal. 5:12 ἀποκόψονται = "utinam genitalibus excindantur," P = "utinam praescindendo praescindantur."

All this points to a different text of the Acts and the epistles from that of P. The difficulty is that we have no other text. But there is no reason to believe that Aphraates knew Greek, and that he used a Greek MS. alongside of his Peshitta text. There must have been at least one different text from P for Acts and epistles; the case of the gospels would thus be paralleled. To my mind there is no doubt in regard to this.

Can we express any opinion as to the relation of this text to that of P? It used a different Greek text as its basis—that is plain from the preceding. Perhaps such passages as Acts 19:3, where A has, "Are ye baptized?" P = "With what are ye baptized?" 2 Tim. 3:16, A = "Everything which is *in the Spirit of God*," P = "Every writing which is *written by the Spirit of God*;" Rom. 1:3, 4, A ܐܡܢ, P ܐܡܢ; 1 Cor. 1:30; 1 Cor. 10:27, where A adds (with others) *eis deipnon*, so as to make the Greek term καλεῖ more intelligible to the Syrians; 1 Cor. 15:40; 15:36–38; 2 Cor. 9:6—permit us to say (though only tentatively) that the Aphraates text had a more primitive and natural style, not so concerned to express the fine shades of difference in theology as P, *e. g.*, 2 Tim. 3:16; Rom. 5:14.

### 3. Ephraim.

While Aphraates used only the Acts of the Apostles and the epistles of Paul, including among them the epistle to the Hebrews, Ephraim uses also the catholic epistles and the Revelation, so that he quotes from every New Testament book that is in our Bible. Now, the Peshitta did not contain all of them; it omitted 2 and 3 John, 2 Peter, and Revelation. Where Ephraim quoted these passages from is a question. It may be that he quoted them from a Greek MS., but it is much more probable that already in his time there were translations of these books current, though they were not taken into the canon of the New Testament.

But, leaving these quotations alone, one naturally asks: Are Ephraim's quotations from the other books which are in the Peshitta like the text of P, or different from it?

Again I refer here to the collation made by Rev. F. H. Woods in *Studia Biblica et Ecclesiastica*, Vol. III, pp. 132 ff.

What strikes one first of all is the fact that in the main Ephraim quotes from the Peshitta. There are, however, also in Ephraim instances where he has a different translation of the same Greek text, e. g., Eph. 4:3; 2 Cor. 7:2; Eph. 3:19. But they are not so frequent as in Aphraates.

There are also a few references in which Ephraim's variation is supported by Greek MSS., and he has therefore had a text which used a different Greek text from P.

Acts 5:41, E ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ, P ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ; E ܡܠܟܐ, P ܡܠܟܐ. "The first variant agrees with the Greek ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ συνεδρίου, the second is supported by Origen, the Æthiopic, and a few very late Greek cursives." (WOODS.)

2 Cor. 5:21, E ܡܠܟܐ, P ܡܠܟܐ; A ܡܠܟܐ, but also = P, Greek ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν.

Gal. 5:22, E the singular καρπός = Greek, P καρποί.

The variants are few and not as significant as those of Aphraates. Nevertheless, the influence of another version than the Peshitta cannot be denied. But that influence is not half so strong as in Aphraates. The Peshitta text, as in the gospels, so also for Acts and epistles, is gradually gaining the upper hand, and it cannot have taken long before it stood, if not alone, yet *supreme* in the field.

It will be well to compare at this point the extent of the different canons:

*The Extent of the Canon of the Doctrina Addai.*

1. The Diatessaron.
  2. The Acts of the Apostles
  3. The epistles of Paul, probably without the epistle to the Hebrews.
- There is no trace of 1, 2, 3 John, 1 and 2 Peter, James, Jude, and Revelation.

*The Extent of Aphraates' Canon.*

1. The four gospels in the Diatessaron and the separate gospels.
  2. The Acts of the Apostles.
  3. The epistles of Paul, including the epistle to the Hebrews.
- There is no trace of 1, 2, 3 John, 1 and 2 Peter, James, Jude, and Revelation.

*The Extent of the Canon of the Peshitta.*

1. The four gospels.
2. The Acts of the Apostles.

3. The epistles of Paul, including the epistle to the Hebrews.
  4. The catholic epistles, 1 Peter, 1 John, James.
- The Peshitta omits 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, Jude, and Revelation.

*The Extent of Ephraim's Canon.*

1-4 is like the Peshitta, but he cites also from 2 and 3 John, 2 Peter, Jude, and Revelation.

III. CANONICITY.

Now it will be asked: Did Aphraates regard these New Testament books really as canonical, or does he simply refer to them? Had he really a *fixed New Testament canon*?

There can be no doubt about this. In fact, we do not expect anything else, if we remember that he lived in the fourth century. But that might, perhaps, not be decisive in the Syrian church, which at Aphraates' time had scarcely existed two centuries. Aphraates, however, uses the entire Bible, the Old and the New Testament, as the court of final appeal. There is no difference for him in authority; he has no grades of inspiration or canonicity. The New Testament stands on the same level as the Old Testament. He uses the same formulas of introduction in citations from the Old Testament and the New Testament. Mostly, of course, he uses for the Old Testament the form: "The prophet says," "David says," "He speaks in the prophet," "The living mouth speaks in the prophet," "It is written," "The Scripture testifies," "He says in the Scripture." He introduces eighty-six quotations from the Old Testament, with, "It is written." For the gospels his introductory phrases are mostly, "Our Lord says," but also "*The Scripture says*" (BERT, p. 145), "The Lord *writes*" (p. 60), "The King has *written* us thus" (p. 215), "He has *written* us beforehand" (p. 346), "Jesus, who is called your teacher, has *written* you" (p. 329), "*It is written* for you in the Word" (p. 330). There are fifteen citations from the gospels which he introduces with, "*It is written.*" Statements like these leave no doubt that the book is referred to; that not only the words of Jesus are canonical, but the gospels containing those words.

From the Acts of the Apostles he quotes only four times, introducing the citations with, "Our Redeemer says," also "The blessed apostles proclaim," "The Acts of the twelve apostles tell us about this," "The preaching of the twelve apostles testifies to us;" which shows that the book itself is referred to.

The epistles of Paul are, almost all of them, introduced by, "The apostle says." Never mentioning Paul's name in an introductory phrase, he regards Paul as *the* apostle *κατ' ἐξοχην*. Once only a letter

as such is referred to by name: "The blessed apostle writes in the first epistle to the Corinthians and says" (p. 10). But he has also four quotations introduced with the formula, "It is written": 1 Tim. 1:9 (p. 21); 1 Cor. 6:5, "Again in another letter it is written;" 2 Cor. 6:16 (p. 274); Gal. 6:6 (p. 368). Two quotations are not counted here which may be just as well from the Old Testament as from Rom. 4:3.

Aphraates had, then, a fixed New Testament canon, which stood on the same level of authority as the Old Testament. And in this New Testament canon he distinguishes no degrees of authority; all the books are on the same plane.

The question which now faces us is: What is *the principle on which Aphraates bases his canonicity*? It is not necessary to inquire what is the principle of the Doctrina Addai and Ephraim, because Aphraates is a true representative of the whole Syrian church, which they are not. He is no acute theologian, who can draw hairsplitting distinctions; he is a thoroughly practical man, with a good deal of common-sense. His principle of canonicity will, therefore, be the principle of the whole church. Of course, we have to remember that he received his canon from the church, and would therefore accept it because it was generally accepted in the church. But his principle was therefore not the traditional. There is no hint of such a principle in his writings.

Why does he regard *the gospels* as canonical? Because they contain the words of our Savior. This appears over and over again. Nearly all of his quotations are, as already remarked, introduced by, "The Lord" or "Our Savior says." He does not think at all of an apostolic basis. The writers of the gospels are for him a matter of indifference; not even once is a single name of the evangelists mentioned. Parisot says he mentions John, but everyone who notices the quotations will see that this is not John the evangelist, but John the Baptist.

Why does he regard the epistles of Paul as canonical? Because they contain the words of the inspired apostle. Here also, his citations are almost always prefaced with, "The blessed apostle says."

Why does he regard the book of Acts as canonical? Because it is the mouthpiece of the twelve apostles; they speak in that book.

The principle of the canonization of the gospels is: Christ speaks in them; of the epistles: the inspired apostle Paul speaks in them; and of the Acts: the twelve apostles speak in them.

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Now at last are we ready to turn to a reconstruction of the history of the New Testament canon in the Syrian church.

RECONSTRUCTION OF THE HISTORY OF THE NEW TESTAMENT  
CANON IN THE SYRIAN CHURCH.

The earliest phases in the history of the New Testament canon in Syria are still veiled in darkness. However, the discovery of the Sinaiticus makes it plain that there was a great deal of activity displayed in the early Syrian church in regard to the text of the New Testament, or, better, of the gospels. It is probable that the two texts, Ss and Sc, are only specimens or representatives of other texts. The relative independence of these two texts leads one to think that there must have been made many translations of the gospels, which were more or less independent of each other. As more churches were built in the different towns and villages, the desire, the necessity, was felt to have a copy of the gospels, at first not for private use, but for the common worship in the church. They could not use the Greek originals; they needed a Syriac translation. How many texts there were we shall probably never know. I do not think that there is one type of the Old Syriac text; there must have been many. The task, therefore, will be to determine which of them is the oldest text. But we must not think that that oldest text was in general use in the entire church. Other texts slightly younger were probably used by others as the church grew. They were, then, not copies from the Old Syriac, but different translations. But all this must, in the nature of the case, be a matter of conjecture. It is founded only on the relative independence of the two texts represented by Ss and Sc, and also of P. Again, we can say with no great amount of certainty, but with a good deal of plausibility, that at first not all the four gospels had been translated, but probably only one, then two, then three, then four. They were current in this single form. This is indicated by the different order in which the gospels stand in Ss and Sc. It is also very likely, as Professor J. Rendel Harris has shown, that an account of the passion was in existence in harmonistic form. This would be very natural, considering how great an emphasis the early Christians laid on the death of Jesus Christ, almost to the exclusion of the life which he lived in Palestine.

But we are on the ground of mere conjecture, however plausible and natural it be, until we come to the Sinaiticus. That is, as we have seen, the oldest form of the gospels of the Syrian church which we have in our possession. The Greek text which underlies it belongs evidently to the first half of the second century; of it the remark of Credner about Codex Bezae, to which, as we have seen, this text is closely related, holds good:

Veränderungen wie diese konnten in der katholischen Kirche nur bis um die Mitte des zweiten Jahrhunderts mit dem Text der Evangelien vorgenommen werden, denn nach dieser Zeit hat die Behauptung eines göttlichen Ursprungs der neutestamentlichen Schriften in derselben allgemeine Anerkennung gefunden. Dieses Dogma lässt keine solche Behandlungsweise des Textes mehr zu, wie dieselbe mit dem Texte unserer Handschrift vorgenommen ist. Dann würde unserer Handschrift ein Text aus dem zweiten Jahrhundert zu Grunde liegen.

The same holds also good of Sc; but we shall speak of that later.

The translator of Ss was faithful to his original; but his aim was to give a good, forcible, and popular translation; he did not want to sacrifice the good Syriac to a very literal translation of the Greek. There are, then, in his translation certain minor points where he translates freely, just as we should expect from him. For him the substance was the main thing, and deep reverence for the letter is not one of his characteristics, which does by no means reflect on the faithfulness of his translation, but is nevertheless a sign that the books as such were not yet regarded as canonical.

Now, a few years later, about 172-5 A. D., Tatian made his Diatessaron, and it took possession of the field at once. It can easily be understood that it should be used more than the separate gospels. It was much more convenient for the common people, and also for the reading in the church services, than the separate gospels. Moreover, it will be remembered that Christianity was at first only the religion of a minority; but with Abgar III., 176-213 A. D., it became the national religion. This great change coincided, then, with the origin of the Diatessaron. And it is due to this fact, in addition to its convenience, that it became the gospel book of the Syrian church, and that the separate gospels had to give way. This was, however, possible only on two conditions: (1) that the four separate gospels were not yet established by long use, which is quite in harmony with the result of our investigation; it was made about 160-70 A. D., perhaps between 150-70 A. D.; (2) that there was not yet a conception of the canonicity of the books as such. If that idea had already been present, such a substitution would have been impossible.

There can, however, be no doubt that even after the introduction of the Diatessaron the four separate gospels were used alongside of the harmony, especially by the educated classes, though probably not in the church services. That the separate gospels had adherents is seen by the fact that after the introduction of the harmony the Curetonian



gospels were translated. They are later than the Diatessaron, but they cannot be much younger; that the underlying Greek text shows. The origin of this text was due to the desire to have the separate gospels in a text which corresponded more closely with the Diatessaron. It can hardly be much later than 200 A. D. And then, about one hundred years later, there is another text current in the Syrian church, as we see from Aphraates. The separate gospels had enough adherents during all this time.

But still the main text was the Diatessaron. And now it may be laid down as a fact that at the end of the second century the Syrian church used *as a church* only the Diatessaron of Tatian, and this was, I have no doubt, already regarded as canonical about the year 200 A. D. And that for the following considerations:

It is natural to assume that the development of the idea of the canon in the Syrian church should follow on the whole the line which is followed in the Græco-Roman church. Now, there the first thing that was regarded as authoritative or canonical was the words of Jesus Christ, no matter whether they were handed down in oral or in written form. When the gospels had been written, *they* were not regarded as authoritative, but simply the words of Christ which they contained; not the books, but the words of Christ, were canonical.

As time passed on, and there was no longer an oral tradition on which the church could rely, it was quite natural that the written gospels should increase in dignity. Now not only the words, but also the deeds of Jesus Christ are regarded with interest, from which it was only one step to regard the whole contents, or the gospels themselves, as authoritative. Of course, the ground of the authority of the books lay ultimately in the fact that they contained the words of Christ. But there were quite a number of gospels; how to distinguish those which were more authoritative from the others was the great question. All reported the words of Christ, however they might differ in other respects. It took quite a long time till our four gospels were regarded as exclusively canonical. And what was the test applied? Why were they regarded as canonical and others not? Because they were written by apostles and apostolic men. Apostolicity became the principle of canonicity.

It is significant for the history of the canon of the New Testament in the Syrian church that it started at once with our four gospels; it had not to pass through that long process through which the Græco-Roman church had to go, and which ended by limiting the

number of the gospels which should be used in the churches to our four gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. Thus the unknown translator of the Sinaiticus translated these four; Tatian compiled these four, and no others; Sc and P are translations of these only. No matter how often the gospels may have been translated into Syriac, no matter how many copies there may have been of single gospels in the Syrian church, there is absolutely no evidence that the Syrians have ever had in these early times apocryphal gospels. They did not need to separate other gospels from these four canonical gospels. That had been done already for them by the Græco-Roman church. They inherit at once the result of a long struggle.

This explains why the Syrian church has the much more primitive and natural principle of canonicity, and is at variance with the entire Græco-Roman church in this point. It regards these writings as authoritative because they contain the words and deeds of Jesus. It does not attach any importance whatever to the persons of the writers of the gospels. Aphraates, as late as 340 A. D., does not even once mention the name of one of them. The words and life of Jesus are their basis of authority; no matter who has written the reports of them. That they are a reliable source their universal acceptance by the Græco-Roman church had shown.

Bearing this in mind, we do not expect a long development. The gospel canon must soon become fixed. At about 200 A. D. they would say, "As it stands written in the gospel," meaning by "gospel" the book.

We see, then, that at the end of the second or at the beginning of the third century the Syrian church had a very peculiar canon, such as no other church, so far as we know, had, viz., a gospel harmony, the Diatessaron of Tatian. To the truth of this statement the *Doctrina Addai* witnesses when it says that after Addai had for some time successfully labored in Edessa, "a large multitude of people assembled day by day and came to the prayer of the service, and to the reading of the Old and New Testament, of the Diatessaron" (p. 34). This shows that the Diatessaron was their first gospel *canon*.

The next step in the development is indicated by the *Doctrina Addai*, when it says (p. 44): "But the law and the prophets and the gospel, which ye read every day before the people, and the epistles of Paul, which Simon Peter sent us from the city of Rome, and the Acts of the twelve apostles, which John, the son of Zebedee, sent us from Ephesus, these books read ye in the churches of Christ, and with these

read not any others, as there is not any other in which the truth that ye hold is written, except these books which retain you in the faith to which ye have been called."

There is evidently a distinction made between the law and the prophets and the gospel on the one side, and the epistles of Paul and the Acts on the other side. The gospel and the Old Testament are read daily. But the epistles and Acts have come later, which is indicated here by the sentences, "which Simon Peter sent us from the city of Rome," "which John, the son of Zebedee, sent us from Ephesus." They are directed to read these books also in addition to the gospel and the Old Testament, which they are accustomed to read every day in the service. The Diatessaron is plainly put on the same plane with the law and the prophets. The epistles of Paul and the Acts, though also authoritative, are not yet on the same level.

This is the first notice which we have about the epistles of Paul and the Acts of the Apostles in the Syrian church.

When they were first translated we do not know. Zahn suggests, on the basis of a remark of Eusebius, that Tatian had translated them and given them to the church.\* But if nothing else could be said against this suggestion, one passage would seem to be conclusive, viz., the rendering of Rom. 1 : 3, which we find in Aphraates, "The apostle [by which always Paul is meant] witnesses: 'Jesus Christ was *from Mary, from the seed of the house of David*, through the Spirit of holiness.'" This passage, which makes that doctrine, which was so obnoxious to Tatian, so clear, and develops it more strongly than the Greek, seems hardly to have been written by Tatian. Tatian, who did not shrink from omitting the genealogies and every passage which pointed to Jesus' Davidic descent, would certainly in his μεταφράσαι of the epistles omit this reference, or, at least, would not make the doctrine much clearer than it is in the original Greek. I recognize, of course, that Zahn suggests that this passage is taken from the apocryphal letter of Paul to the Corinthians, on which Ephraim commented. But that cannot be proved. That Ephraim commented upon this third letter of Paul to the Corinthians is no reason to think that it was in his canon. There is no evidence that it ever formed a part of the canon of the Syrian church. Besides this, Zahn himself puts this suggestion under the head of "Problematisches." But the reference is plainly to Rom. 1 : 3.

\* EUSEBIUS, *Eccles. Hist.*, IV, 29: "But they say that he [Tatian] ventured to paraphrase certain words of the apostle [Paul] in order to improve their style."

However, even if Tatian did not translate the letters of Paul, it must certainly have been done not very long after the translation of the gospels. It may have been fifty years, perhaps more. Just when it took place we cannot tell. The *Doctrina Addai*, however, which describes, as is commonly believed, the condition of the church as it existed in the period from about 200–250 A. D., would favor our pre-supposition that it was done about 230–50 A. D. Now, the question is: Can we rely absolutely on the statements of that document? As regards the statement that the Old Testament and the gospel and the Acts and the epistles of Paul were read in the churches, there can be little doubt that this is correct. But can we rely on the statement that the epistles of Paul were sent by Peter from Rome? Of course, Peter had nothing to do with it. He is introduced in accordance with the design of the writer to push the beginning of Christianity in Edessa back to the time of Jesus and his apostles. But can we infer from that statement that the epistles of Paul were imported from Rome? I do not think that the question can be absolutely answered in the present state of our knowledge about the Syrian church. All that can be said is that it is highly probable, if we take into account the fact that the Syriac text is very closely related to the so-called "Western" text, agreeing with it in many points where all the other texts differ. Moreover, the frequent intercourse between the two cities explains much.

Now, if that be so, that the epistles of Paul were brought into the Syrian church from Rome, then we must conclude that the epistle to the Hebrews, which all Syrians regard as Pauline, was not in that collection. For at that time it was not regarded as Pauline in Rome. This is confirmed by the fact that the text of the Peshitta shows, as is generally accepted, marks which indicate that it was made by a different translator. Then the epistle to the Hebrews must have come in later. When that took place we again do not know. But about eighty or a hundred years later we find Aphraates using it as Pauline. He quotes it in the same way as the other letters of Paul, and there is no trace that he knew that it was doubted elsewhere. The certainty with which he uses it as Pauline indicates that it must have been added to the Pauline collection not so very much later. Perhaps it came very soon afterward, perhaps twenty or more years later than the other letters. All this is based on the assumption that the epistles of Paul were brought from Rome to Edessa.

As soon as it can be shown, however, that the Syrian church received its Pauline collection, not from Rome, but from Alexandria, the argument falls to the ground, and we need not assume that the epistle to the Hebrews was ever wanting in the Syrian collection of Pauline letters. But that is not proved yet, though it must be said that Aphraates' use of it would favor this theory; the tradition in the *Doctrina Addai*, the close relation between the Syrian and the Western text, and the difference of the translators point the other way.

Did, then, the Syrian church in that time, 200–250 A. D., receive all the letters of Paul except Hebrews, and was none missing?

The homilies of Aphraates would seem to indicate that not all the epistles were in his canon. He omits to cite Philemon and 2 Thessalonians. Now, Philemon is so small and of such a character that we are not surprised that he does not quote it. But why does he not quote 2 Thessalonians? We have to remember that he does not quote so very many passages from the epistles altogether, and his method of quotation does not warrant us in making the assertion that it was not in his canon, in the face of the fact that it was universally accepted in the Græco-Roman church. We must, therefore, conclude that his failure to quote 2 Thessalonians was due to accident, and that the Syrian church received, indeed, all the Pauline letters at that time.

When these epistles of Paul had been introduced they would undergo recensions, or there originated different translations of the epistles. Both these are seen in Aphraates and Ephraim. Certain passages show that the text, especially of Aphraates, was a more popular and free translation, so that this would be an earlier stage of the Peshitta text. Other passages show that there was a different translation from that of the Peshitta, because they are translations of different Greek readings. But since the bulk of the texts is the same, and the passages of this latter kind become much rarer in Ephraim, there is good reason to believe that both the Aphraates text and the Ephraim text mark simply two stages in the development of the Peshitta text.

The *Doctrina Addai* speaks also about the Acts of the twelve apostles, which they are directed to read in the churches. *Whence* it came is not known; for nobody regards Addai's statement, that John sent it from Ephesus, as historic. *When* it came can only be guessed at. It seems to have come about the same time as Paul's epistles. *How* it came nobody can tell. But I point to the fact that it came quite as

suddenly and quite as mysteriously into the canon of the Græco-Roman church.

To sum up, then, the development of the canon until 250 A. D. : There were originally the four separate gospels in use about 160-75 A. D. These were supplanted by the more convenient translation of the Diatessaron when Christianity became the national religion. About 200 A. D. the gospel canon is fixed ; it is the Diatessaron.

In the time 200-250 A. D. the epistles of Paul, except Hebrews, and the Acts of the Apostles came in. Soon afterward the epistle to the Hebrews was introduced and added to the Pauline collection. At 338 A. D. we have the canon of the church comprising the Diatessaron of Tatian, the epistles of Paul, including Hebrews, and the Acts of the Apostles. Now, the whole method of Aphraates' quotation points to the fact that this canon was already for some time in existence. We should say, therefore, with a good deal of plausibility, that the Syrian church had a *fixed* New Testament canon already about 300 A. D., if not earlier. Of the catholic epistles and the Revelation there is no trace.

Meanwhile there was another movement active in the church, dating back as far as the beginning of Christianity in Edessa, insignificant and small at first, but its victory was inevitable. It was stated above that when the Diatessaron took the place of the separate gospels there were still a good number of adherents of the old version. They translated the Greek gospels again and again. On the church at large this had no influence at first ; it used the Diatessaron. But the fact must be recognized that these men had on their side the unanimous consent of the Græco-Roman church ; for nowhere else was a harmony used.

I do not mean to say that they knew this, and that they endeavored to substitute the four separate gospels for the Diatessaron. But it had naturally to lead to such a step.

The movement was well under way at the time of Aphraates. He quotes from the Diatessaron, but also very often, perhaps mostly, from the separate gospels. We can no more say, in his case, that the Diatessaron was his only gospel canon, because of his frequent quotations from the other gospels. The separate gospels were equally canonical for him, and, since he is a true representative of the church at large, also for the church. It could be only a question of time which form should ultimately prevail ; for that they would retain two different forms in their canon would be impossible as time went on.

Ephraim still uses the Diatessaron, writing a commentary on it, but his quotations are mostly from the Peshitta. He seems to have used the Diatessaron more for his private use and for the arrangement of his lectures on the exposition of the gospels, though very probably it was also still used in the churches alongside of the four separate gospels. It was very natural that some would substitute the separate gospels in the form of the Peshitta about Ephraim's time; others would still use the Diatessaron. As always, so also here, there were two parties, the conservatives and the progressive liberals. Public opinion, however, strengthened by the unanimous action of the Græco-Roman church, must have been in favor of the Peshitta. This is expressed in the order of Rabbula, bishop of Edessa, 412-35 A. D., who says:

Let all the presbyters and deacons have a care that in all the churches there be provided and read a copy of the *distinct* gospels.

And soon the final step is seen in the destruction of the remaining copies of the Diatessaron by Theodoret, bishop of Cyrrus, 423-57 A. D., who tells about it as follows:

Tatian also composed the gospel which is called Diatessaron, cutting out the genealogies and whatever other passages show that the Lord was born of the seed of David according to the flesh. And not only did the members of his sect make use of this work, but even those that follow the apostolic doctrine, not perceiving the mischief of the composition, but using the book too *simply as an abridgment*. And I myself found more than two hundred such books held in respect in the churches of our parts; and I collected and put them all away and put the gospels of the four evangelists in their place.

With this we have reached the end of the development of the gospel canon in the Syrian church. The Peshitta held from now on the field; it has never been supplanted.

While this struggle of the gospels was going on, there was simultaneously with it the development of the Acts of the Apostles and the epistles. When the epistles of Paul and the Acts of the Apostles had come into the Syrian church, they would soon be bound together with the gospels. Now, since there were two parties, the one would have in its volume the Diatessaron and the Acts and epistles of Paul, the other, the separate gospels and the Acts and epistles of Paul.

It is very probable that their texts were different, the one set based on this MS. authority, the other on that. That would account for the differences in the quotations of Aphraates and Ephraim. Now, we have seen that Aphraates' canon did not contain more than the gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, and Paul's epistles, and we concluded that this

was the church's canon, so that then the Peshitta was not yet complete. It must, however, be admitted that the fact that Aphraates did not quote from any of the other books contained in the Peshitta might be explained by saying that he relied for his citations on the official canon of the church, and did not want to cite as authoritative letters which were not familiar to all and not contained in the people's Bible; so that this fact does not argue for the non-existence of these epistles in Syriac form at his time. It is very well possible that they existed already in Syriac translations, but were not yet canonized. But did we not say that Aphraates' principle of canonicity for the epistles was apostolicity: the inspired apostle speaks in them, therefore are they authoritative? Why did he, then, not accept these epistles of James, Peter (the first epistle), and John (the first epistle)? Now, while this is perfectly true, we must not deny the influence of the general opinion on any man. He would certainly have no objection on the ground of his principle to accept these books into his Bible. But it would, perhaps, take some time for him, as well as for the whole church, to do so. They were so accustomed to regard Paul as the apostle *par excellence*, so used to regard his word, besides Christ's, as alone authoritative, that such a change in this opinion could not be effected in a short time. We have seen that the principle of canonicity of the Syrian church voices itself in Aphraates. Paul's epistles were accepted because they were apostolic. Now, should it sooner or later be said that also other books were written by other apostles, who were just as eminent as Paul, the church would be inclined to accept them. There would be no reason, based on her principle, why she should not, and the fact is that she did, though not at once. The express prohibition in the *Doctrina Addai*, which was written about Aphraates' time, throws some light on this problem. "With these [the Old Testament, the gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, and the epistles of Paul] read not any others, as there is not any other in which the truth that ye hold is written, except these books, which retain you in the faith to which ye have been called." This remark points evidently to a time when the attempt was made to introduce other books into the canon of the church. What these books were we do not know. But it seems a safe conclusion that they were these three catholic epistles, 1 Peter, 1 John, and James. These had been translated and should be put into the canon. But as is always the case, there were men who were opposed to this, and to one of these opponents we owe that prohibition in the *Doctrina Addai*.

The time referred to may be adequately fixed. The *Diatessaron* was at that time the authoritative version for church use. This was



before the time of Aphraates; the epistles of Paul and the Acts were regarded as authoritative, which was also the case in Aphraates' time and earlier. Later than Aphraates it can hardly have been, because Ephraim already calls the Peshitta "our version," and quotes from these epistles. It cannot be much earlier than Aphraates, for in his writings there is no trace of the catholic epistles, and no word is said about any attempt to introduce them into the canon. It may be that in his time, or, at the latest, very few years later (345-50 A. D.), the epistles were introduced into the canon.

So much is certain: Ephraim knew them and quoted from them. But besides, Ephraim quotes also from 2 and 3 John, 2 Peter, Jude, and Revelation; he knew, therefore, *all* the books of our New Testament. In this he went farther than the Syrian church as a whole did. The Peshitta, which marks the final step of the church's canon, receives only James, 1 Peter, 1 John; the epistles of those three apostles could be classed with those of the great Paul; it admitted no others. It is important to recognize that Ephraim is here out of line with the church at large. This finds its explanation in the fact that he traveled much and came in contact with the canon of the Constantinople church. Besides, it is an open question whether he quoted these books from the Greek or from already existing Syriac translations. At any rate, the church did not follow him.

Perhaps a word should be said about his commentary on the apocryphal correspondence of Paul and the Corinthians. In the first place it should be noticed that it is not yet proved that this commentary was written by Ephraim. It may be an altogether later work. In the second place, even if Ephraim wrote this commentary, that does not prove that this apocryphal letter of Paul was in the canon of the Syrian church. There is no trace of it. And, then, Ephraim went, as we saw, farther than the church at large did. I am quite certain that it was not in the canon of the church.

But the Peshitta with James, 1 John, and 1 Peter was rapidly growing in the favor of the people. Ephraim differs very seldom from it; it is called by him "our version." After him it must have been used almost exclusively, and when the Diatessaron was removed, the Peshitta was supreme. From the first half of the fifth century it reigns alone. Subsequent attempts to supplant it have failed. It is *the* version of the Syrian church. With this the history of the New Testament canon is completed in the Syrian church. Its development has taken a long time and is absolutely unique in the history of the New Testament.

## THE CHEYNE-BLACK ENCYCLOPÆDIA BIBLICA, VOL. I.<sup>1</sup>

THE appearance of the first volume of a second great dictionary of the Bible in itself would be a matter of no small importance, but it is all the more significant when one recalls that in a large measure it is a legacy of Robertson Smith. In the following pages will be found estimates of various groups of articles, and it is only necessary, therefore, to add a word of preface as regards the work as a whole.

From the mechanical and typographical point of view the work is, with one important exception, a model: the type is small and severely taxes the eye of one reading any considerable time. This defect is only partly offset by the recapitulation in analytic form of sections of long articles, and by an elaborate, though not cumbersome, system of cross-references. The editorial work is open to some severe criticism. The Old Testament articles represent almost uniformly the individual opinions of Canon Cheyne. There is lacking also that editorial perspective which constitutes such a marked excellence of Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*. That the work is of great importance no one will deny. That it might have been made of better service by a more judicious apportionment of space, and by the inclusion of articles dealing with biblical theology, is also undeniable.

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*Semitic Philology.*—The attitude of the present work toward questions of Semitic philology is marked by broad scholarship and judicious conservatism. The influence of Assyriology is apparent, especially in the articles written by Canon Cheyne, who has recently paid much attention to the subject. But while the great advances made in this and other departments of Semitic research during the past few decades

<sup>1</sup>*Encyclopædia Biblica*. A Critical Dictionary of the Literary, Political, and Religious History, the Archæology, Geography, and Natural History of the Bible. Edited by REV. T. K. CHEYNE, M.A., D.D., Oriel Professor of the Interpretation of Holy Scripture at Oxford, and formerly Fellow of Balliol College, Canon of Rochester, and J. SUTHERLAND BLACK, M.A., LL.D., formerly Assistant Editor of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Vol. I, A to D. New York: The Macmillan Co.; London: Adam and Charles Black, 1899. Pp. xxviii + 572 (= 1,144 cols.). Maps and Illustrations. Cloth, \$5. To be completed in four volumes.

are duly recognized, a sound criticism is displayed throughout, and new conclusions are accepted with fitting caution. In dealing with controverted cases, the evidence for the various conflicting views is fairly stated, and there is a notable absence of dogmatic assertion. Fairness of treatment, indeed, is a characteristic feature. A truly scientific spirit prevails, and philological questions involving doctrinal points are treated strictly upon their merits, without theological bias. Conciseness of handling is, of course, the rule, but a wise liberality of space insures the adequate presentation of important subjects. Professor Nöldeke's admirable article on Aramaic Language (cols. 280-86) may be cited as a case in point. The treatment of the very difficult subject of proper names is, in general, most satisfactory, though instances occur, of course, in which the explanations given will not, perhaps, meet with universal acceptance. The argument, for example, in regard to names beginning with *Abi-*, *Ahi-*, *Ammi-*, is not altogether convincing. To deny the occurrence, in such names, of the possessive suffix ך, on the ground that it implies too great "a tendency to individualistic religion," will, to many scholars, appear rather hazardous. The analogy of the cognate languages cannot be so lightly set aside in favor of a theory which can hardly be considered as securely established. Although it may be difficult, at times, to decide whether the "connective ך" represents the genitive or the possessive suffix, the use of the genitive would seem to be well established in a number of cases. The analogy of compound names, like *Abdiel*, *Uriah*, *Azriel*, and *Melchisedek*, although not containing a designation of kinship, is certainly entitled to some weight. In so complicated a question great caution is necessary, and any sweeping generalization would seem to rest upon rather unstable ground.

While comparative etymology receives, as a rule, its proper share of attention, an occasional omission may be noted. Under *Breastplate*, for example, *Assyr. siriam* "cuirass" might have been mentioned alongside of שריון, and the citation of *Assyr. çindu, çimdu* "team" would have lent support to the explanation of צמר "acre" (p. 38). שקץ "abomination" (p. 21) is certainly connected with *Assyr. siqçu* which occurs as a synonym of *murçu* "disease." *Assyr. "bi'lu"* (?), cited under *Bel*, is, of course, a misprint for *bêlu*. The very ingenious explanation of *Ashpenaz* as a corruption of *Belshazzar* is at best rather doubtful, while the explanation of מחנה "camp" (col. 636) as "so called from the curving of the tents over their occupants" will hardly meet with general approval. The usual interpretation

of *הָנַח* as meaning "to settle down" is certainly more natural, is in accord with all the passages where the word occurs, and finds support in the analogy of Assy. *kamâsu* "to bow, fall down," then "to settle, abide" (Del., *HWB.*, p. 336).

But the few instances of this kind that are to be found here and there are of slight importance when weighed against the very great excellence of the work as a whole. It reflects the best results of modern scholarship in the domain of Semitic philology, and students of the Bible are fortunate in possessing so safe and reliable a guide for questions of this nature.

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*Assyria and Babylonia.*—It is very gratifying to a student of Assyrian to see the important position given to Assyrian in the lexicons of the Old Testament and the biblical encyclopædias. In this volume we have references to the Assyrian and Babylonian on every page, touching the legendary and historical texts; chronology, personal and geographical names, institutions, customs, rites, etc. The contributors have not hesitated through any false conservatism to accept the latest results of the critical schools. Some subjects have received fuller treatment than others. In a few cases one looks in vain for theories, and even facts, which should not have been omitted. With such an abundance of material it is often as difficult to decide what to omit as what to insert. The personal equation must necessarily play a large part. Many of the views presented are tentative, and cannot be accepted as final. Great fairness has been shown, however, in presenting the different views held and in adding a very good bibliography. Reference can be made only to a few articles. Those on Assyria and Babylonia, by Mr. L. W. King, of the British Museum, are splendid examples of what can be done in this topical form. For illustration one may note the contents of the chapter on Babylonia: Names and Description (secs. 1-4), Language and Script (secs. 5-9), Decipherment and Excavation (secs. 10-14), Architecture and Art (secs. 15-18), Literature and Science (secs. 19-24), Religion, Augury, etc. (secs. 25-34), Mythology and Legend (secs. 35, 36), Chronology (secs. 37-39), Historical Periods (sec. 40), Early Semitic Kingdoms (secs. 41, 42), Sumerian Kingdoms (secs. 43-47), Ur, etc. (secs. 48-52),

Babylon (secs. 53-70), Dynasties II-VIII (secs. 56-62), Nabonassar (sec. 63), Assyrian Suzerainty (sec. 64), Neo-Babylonian Empire (secs. 65-70), Bibliography (sec. 71), with a large map. Mention should also be made of the articles Babylon, by T. G. Pinches; Calah, Car-chemish, and Chaldee, by C. H. W. Johns.

ROBERT FRANCIS HARPER.

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*Archæology.*—The specialization characteristic of the scholarship of recent years shows itself in a marked degree in the methods of treatment of the themes on Archæology in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*. In a total of twenty-five articles we find the names of a dozen writers of note. The general plan of the separate articles is to present in a comprehensive, condensed, and yet sufficiently detailed form the facts current, not only in Israel, but among the most important contemporaneous peoples. In some of these treatments the illustrations found on the ancient monuments furnish an elucidative feature, while in others present-day customs are scarcely less instructive. Agriculture, by Hope W. Hogg, is one of the most comprehensively treated and best-illustrated themes in the encyclopædia. It lays under contribution every valuable source of information concerning this vocation in ancient times. Army, by W. H. Bennett, and Breastplate and Chariot, by O. C. Whitehouse, the last well illustrated, are treated historically, chronologically, and philologically. A. R. S. Kennedy discusses Bakemeats, Bottle, Bread, and Cooking as current among the ancient Israelites, contemporaneous peoples, and in modern Arab countries, especially on the basis of Doughty's investigations. There is some, though not serious, overlapping in matter in some of these articles. Bracelets is treated by Israel Abrahams, while the same writer, with S. A. Cook, discusses Breeches, Crown, and Dress. Breeches is a detailed discussion of the three words found in the Bible and the Versions. Stanley A. Cook has also prepared the articles Candlestick, and Conduits and Reservoirs. This last is based mainly on the investigations and excavations made on and in the site of old Jerusalem. The Candlestick is said on critical evidence not to have been existent before the exile. Such passages as seem to contradict this theory are interpolations, and "the ten candlesticks of the temple of Solomon have probably been evolved from the imagination of a later scribe, who seems to have adopted the number ten to agree with the ten 'bases.'"

Brick, by W. Max Müller, presents both the Egyptian and Babylonian processes of producing this building material, as evidence of the method probably in use by the Hebrews. Alms is by W. E. Addis, Baskets by the editor-in-chief, and Day by Karl Marti. Colours, by Maurice A. Canney, is a very exhaustive treatment of a difficult theme. His article exhibits investigation and large acquaintance with the critical details, archæological and philological, of recent discussions. Aprons, Assembly, Bason, City, Cloth, Clothing, and Dance are anonymous—probably productions of the editorial staff. Assembly and City deserve especial mention for their fulness. The whole body of articles on this theme accords with the general principles laid down in the preface. They reveal everywhere a close sympathy with the critical position of the editor-in-chief, and bear apparently his stamp of approval. They furnish us the best up-to-date exposition of the positions of the “advanced” criticism on biblical archæology.

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*Old Testament Geography.*—The articles belonging to this department have been written by thoroughly competent scholars, and it is evident that no pains have been spared to insure completeness and accuracy in this field, in which both qualities are so much to be desired. The most of the articles in this volume are contributed either by Professor George Adam Smith, well known as an expert in the historical geography of Palestine, or by Professor Cheyne, who might well claim to be an expert in almost all branches of Old Testament learning. The former has contributed, for example, the articles Abarim, Abel-Beth-Maachah, Argob, Ashkelon, Ashtarothe, Beth-Dagon, Bethel, Beth-Horon, Bethlehem, Carmel, Damascus, besides a considerable number of shorter ones. These are just such presentations of the material, critical, topographical, and historical, as one wishes to see in a Bible dictionary for students. The article Damascus (furnished with a good special map of the district) deserves particular mention both for its completeness—notice especially the light thrown on the history of the city from extra-biblical sources, from the earliest times—and as an example of a thoroughly satisfactory method. The treatment of Beth-Horon is another good illustration of this latter quality. In the article Beth-Eked, the proposed emendation of the text of 2 Kings 10: 12 is not a happy one. The text of the verse is troublesome, to be

sure, but the word  $\overline{\text{p}}\overline{\text{p}}$  is the last that one should attempt to correct. It might have been well to mention the  $\text{Βαυθακαθ}$  of the *Onomasticon*, little as that helps us. The reading of the Peshitta in vs. 14 is given incorrectly; the name is written with  $\overline{\text{p}}$ .

Professor Cheyne's chief contributions are Abana, Adullam, Aijalon, Ain, Arad, Arphaxad, Bahurim, Bela, Bethany, Beth-Arabah, Beth-Haccerem, Caphtor, Dan. These, though sometimes difficult reading (see for example Ain), may be relied on to take into account all the available material, and to give full references to the literature, even the latest. The painstaking care and great learning of this tireless editor are everywhere manifest. The scholar will find his chief needs met in such articles as Arphaxad, Beth-Arbel, which the average reader will find very confusing. In a few cases new theories are advocated without the caution which might reasonably be looked for. Caphtor, for example, is confidently located in the southwest of Asia Minor (so also on the map attached to the article Assyria), though not even the equation Egyptian *Kefiō* = Cilicia is yet proven, to say nothing of the other difficulties, headed by the unexplained  $\overline{\text{p}}$  at the end of the Hebrew name.

The articles Abel-Shittim, Beth-Marcaboth, and Aphek are by the late W. R. Smith; Stanley A. Cook deals satisfactorily with Ashdod, Beth-Shean, Beth-Shemesh, Desert, and Dor; Driver writes on Bashan and Beth-Peor. The article Aram is by Nöldeke; Ararat, by Kusters; Canaan, Canaanite (fully and satisfactorily treated), by Morris Jastrow, Jr.; Carchemish, by C. H. W. Johns; Dead Sea, by Professor Gautier, of Lausanne. In each and all of these there is manifest the same adequate appreciation of the problems to be solved, and of the needs of the modern student. One of the characteristic excellencies of this *Encyclopædia* may be seen in the way in which profane literature, and especially the evidence furnished by the Semitic and Egyptian inscriptions, is everywhere brought in to help in illuminating or solving these geographical questions.

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*Zöology, Botany, and Mineralogy.*—The separate articles under these three departments of natural history in the Old and New Testaments are treated with the philological, analytical, and critical thoroughness characteristic of other departments of this *Encyclopædia*. The articles on Badger Skins, Bear, Bee, Bittern, Camel, Cormorant were

prepared by Norman McLean and A. E. Shipley. They exhibit a sound knowledge of their subjects, and of the history of opinions in earlier times. Their work is greatly enhanced by the presentation of the present zoölogy of the East. Cattle, and Dove are the joint production of A. E. Shipley and J. A. Cook. Bird is unsigned, while the editor-in-chief has made additions to Camel, and has himself written Behemoth and Dog. In the article Behemoth he includes likewise a discussion of Leviathan. In the midst of the article he says: "In the present article we shall desert the zoölogical explanation of Behemoth and Leviathan, leaving the field open to another writer to represent the more generally received opinion (see Hippopotamus, Crocodile). Strong reason will have to be shown for not interpreting these strange forms with some regard to mythology." The author practically adopts the position of Gunkel in his *Schöpfung und Chaos*. He concludes that "the Behemoth and Leviathan passages in Job represent a fusion, from every point of view most natural, of Babylonian and Egyptian elements." He also calls into evidence the strange passages of apocryphal literature, especially those of Enoch and of Esdras. We are surprised that Gunkel's treatment is thought to be somewhat exaggerated.

The botanical articles, Almug, Aloes, Apple, Balsam, Bdelium, and Cedar, are the joint production of Norman McLean and Sir W. T. Thiselton-Dyer. They are treated with sufficient fulness for all practical purposes. The identifications of early writers are often of great interest and valuable testimony, because they lived nearer biblical times and places than we of the nineteenth century. To the article on Almug we find an appropriate editorial note of value, mentioning the fact that Sennacherib used in the construction of his palace *ēlammāku* wood. Brier is signed by Norman McLean, and Bush by N. M. and G. B. Gray. The botanical articles as a whole exhibit fuller philological and historical material than the same articles in the *Hastings Dictionary of the Bible*, while, on the other hand, the latter present a somewhat larger view of the modern identified species under discussion.

Among the articles on Mineralogy, Amber, Amethyst, and Beryl are signed by William Ridgeway. The author of these articles has gathered material from every available source, and, especially in the case of Amber, presents a very exhaustive study of the subject, lexically, historically, and scientifically. Alabaster and Brimstone, unsigned, are less satisfactory in their conclusions. Coal, by A. R. S.



Kennedy, and Copper, by the editor-in-chief, are discussed from the point of view of philologists and exegetes rather than of scientists, but are nevertheless valuable for Old Testament scholars.

Although space is valuable in a biblical encyclopædia, we have a feeling that, under the articles on zoölogy and botany, some good illustrations of the modern identifications, if these identifications have any real value, would be exceedingly instructive to the student of the Scriptures.

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*Old Testament History and Biography.*—The articles in the department of Old Testament biography and history are numerous. In the treatment of unimportant personages, however, this *Encyclopædia* is more economical of space than the Hastings *Dictionary of the Bible*, since the necessary information in these cases is compressed to the narrowest possible limits. To the more important persons ample space is given, and the extant material concerning them is treated with a critical thoroughness which leaves little to be desired. The articles which deal with Hebrew personalities are, with a few exceptions, written by Cheyne and Addis. The former treats Abimelech of Gerar, Achiacharus, Achish, Achsah, Ahab, Asa, Benhadad, Cushan-Rishathaim, and David; the latter, Abiathar, Absalom, Adonijah, Ahaziah, and Bathsheba; while both unite their labor on Ahaz. A commendable sifting of the material, followed by historical reconstruction, characterizes all these articles. Ahab lives again before us, not as a religious renegade, but as an astute politician and a dauntless warrior; we take with Absalom anew all the steps of his great treachery and rebellion, while David, with all the rawness of a crude age, lives before us his life, not that which the past has piously fancied for him, but one generous and noble nevertheless, when compared with the men of his time. Persons mentioned in Judges are similarly treated by Moore. The articles on the Persian kings, Ahasuerus, Artaxerxes, Cyrus, and Darius, are by Tiele and the late Professor Kusters. They take a moderate, middle ground with reference to the various critical problems connected with the return from the exile. Tiele thinks that Gobryas, whom Cyrus made governor of Gutium, on the Median frontier, was afterward confused with Darius for whom he fought, and so became Darius the Mede of the book of Daniel. Hogg in the article on Asher discusses the various theories of the origin of the tribe, but comes to no

conclusion. Kamphausen in the article on Daniel holds to the unity of the book, and that the Daniel of the exile was not a historical character.

The most valuable contribution to Old Testament history in this volume is Marti's article on Chronology, which is a masterly treatment of a difficult subject. The article is considerably longer than the corresponding article by E. L. Curtis in the *Hastings Dictionary*. Marti demonstrates in a most convincing way the untrustworthiness of all the chronological statements in the Old Testament, including the synchronisms in Kings, weighs Mahler's astronomical data in the balance and finds them wanting, searches Egyptology in vain for chronological help, and at last, finding a secure scientific basis in Assyriology and the canon of Ptolemy, reconstructs the Old Testament dates in so far as that is possible. This work had been done in parts before, but to have it done so thoroughly, and the results brought together in so small a compass, is a distinct gain.<sup>2</sup>

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*Old Testament Introduction.*—The more important articles of this volume on Old Testament Introduction are Amos, Canticles, Chronicles, and Daniel. The article on Amos is by Cheyne, and it discusses very satisfactorily the most important points, special attention being given to the post-exilic insertions. The older view, that Amos came from the southern kingdom, is adopted, and difficulties urged against it are answered. Israel is so much more important than Judah, in religion, in politics, and in literature, as to furnish satisfactory explanation for the special action taken by Amos. Tekoa, famous for the quick wits of its inhabitants, may be accepted as the home of Amos. He had studied the conditions of life and thought in the northern kingdom.

The story of the Man of God from Judah (1 Kings, chap. 13) is thought to be a late distortion of the tradition contained in Amos 7:10-17, in which Amos threatens the northern kingdom with extinction, and with this story Cheyne compares, with Klostermann, Amos 3:14; 7:9, and 9:1.

<sup>2</sup> Col. 790 in Table III against 726-722 read Shalmaneser IV., instead of Shalmaneser III.

In the times of Amos the Israelites have no expectation of an immediate attack from Assyria. The successes of Jeroboam II. were due to the fact that Assyria was occupied with revolts at home. The people are in the midst of great prosperity. The tone of Israelitish society is optimistic, although there is occasional thought of past afflictions. The upper classes are self-indulgent; feasting is habitual. Along with this condition of society there is strong interest in religious ritual.

The nation which, according to Amos, will come against Israel is without question Assyria, and the date assigned is an early one, namely, between 765 and 750. If the latter date is taken, the form of threat, in view of the events connected with Tiglath-Pileser III., would have been fuller and more precise.

Canon Cheyne's analysis of the book is the least satisfactory part of his treatment. After setting apart chaps. 1: 2—2: 16, and, on the other side, chaps. 7—9, in which, of course, he is correct, he analyzes chaps. 3—6 into ten loosely connected passages, and understands that the triple division is a result reached by a later editor with considerable difficulty. The discussion of insertions is full and satisfactory, and yet nothing essentially new is here suggested. But, after removing those passages called insertions, allowance must also be made for pre-exilic editors. No reasons are assigned by him why it is inherently difficult and contrary to knowledge to suppose that 1: 2—2: 16 was never really uttered; and we see no reason for supposing that the visions in chaps. 7—9 were not used as the text of spoken addresses.

It is an interesting suggestion that the prophet may have written down his prophecies while in Jerusalem, after having been expelled from northern Israel.

While Amos had models, both as a writer and speaker, his book may be regarded as forming "a literary, as well as a prophetic, phenomenon," and his originality appears in his being perhaps the first to conceive the idea of using the pen in aid of the voice. In doing this he was following the example of the literary priests.

Amos was essentially pessimistic, and the ground of this pessimism was the increasingly unsound condition of his people. His God was the sovereign of nature and of history. Amos was an ethical monotheist. This view of Amos and his work is essentially correct.

The article on Canticles is also from the pen of Cheyne. The treatment includes a history of the interpretation, with an explanation of the origin of the allegorical interpretation.

The discussion of the poetical form, involving the question of its dramatic or lyric character, is the essential part of the article. Two arguments are urged against the possibility of the dramatic hypothesis; namely, the lack of a plot, and the impossibility of the existence of a drama among Semitic peoples. It is only fair to say that it requires no more imagination to discover the materials for a plot than to comprehend some of the considerations urged against this supposition; while of those who advocate the dramatic view no one may be found who would maintain that the drama here found is anything more than in germ. As there is no real philosophy among the Hebrews, so there is no real drama; but there is a wisdom which answers for philosophy, and so here may be found a composition which is, perhaps, a crude attempt in the direction of the drama. The writer himself acknowledges that the colloquies in the book of Job have a distant affinity to the drama; that the stories of Jacob and Samson contain distinctly dramatic passages. This, now, is all that is to be expected, for it is not to be supposed that any theatrical performance of the Song of Songs was ever intended. We cannot, therefore, agree with the writer when he says that the difficulties of the dramatic theory are insuperable.

The view adopted is that first elaborated by Budde, on the basis of information respecting Syrian marriage customs, given in 1873 by Consul Wetzstein. During the seven days after the wedding the bridegroom and the bride are treated as king and queen. In the evening of the great day a sword dance is performed, and in the Syrian wedding festivals the sword dancer is the bride—a relic of the primitive marriage by capture. Compare 6: 10, 13 and 7: 1-6. In accordance with this view, the most striking part of the song is 7: 11-8: 7 (8: 3-5 being an interpolation). But the writer states that this view is imaginary in its details, since the incidents are inconsistent with what was allowable in courtship. It must be confessed that the arguments of Budde and Cheyne, while plausible, are not finally convincing. The greatest arguments for the lyric theory are (1) the simplicity of the theory, and (2) the skill of the Israelites in the lyric. If, however, the lyric view is to be accepted, we must, with Cheyne, agree that the book has no religious value whatever, and that "the mistake of a Jewish synod cannot be perpetually indorsed by Christian common-sense and scholarship." In this case the meaning of the word "canonical" must be changed.

Driver's treatment of Chronicles is briefer in proportion to the importance of the subject than the other articles which come under the head of Old Testament Introduction. He agrees with most recent writers that the books of Chronicles are continued in Ezra and Nehemiah, and with Ezra and Nehemiah form one book. But the writer must have lived a considerable time after Ezra, and probably in 300 B. C. While the books of Kings present Israelitish history from the point of view of the prophets, the chronicler writes from the point of view of the priest. In the former the environment is national; in the latter it is ecclesiastical. The center of life, from the point of view of the chronicler, is the liturgical service. Israel now finds her mission in the temple, the solemn assembly, and the feast day. The writer of Chronicles deals, therefore, with those things in the past which stand related to his immediate present. Everything inconsistent with his present position must be condemned.

It is now probable that the writer of Chronicles was quite dependent upon the writer of Samuel and Kings. The attitude of the writer toward high places and the references to the Levitical choirs proceed upon the assumption that the background of Israel's history has always been the same as in his time. Special emphasis is placed upon the doctrine of divine retribution, and effort is made to show that it acts immediately. Much of the material of the book is in the style of the Jewish Midrash, or moralizing romance, making use of historical names and events. Another peculiarity is the frequent exaggeration in which the writer indulges.

This treatment is from the same point of view as that which is to be found in Driver's *Introduction to Old Testament Literature*, and may be regarded as a strong and conservative presentation of views which are now largely accepted.

It is Adolf Kamphausen who furnishes the treatment of the book of Daniel. The aim of the book, it is maintained, is exhortation and encouragement, and it contains several more or less detached and independent pictures, written for the contemporaries of the tyrant Antiochus IV. The writer adopts the grouping of Ewald, which arranges the book in ten pieces, classified in three parts: the first, an introductory part, chaps. 1 and 2; the second, containing four narratives, chaps. 3-6; and the third, containing four prophetic pieces, chaps. 7-12. The book possesses, without question, unity, notwithstanding the interchange of language which it contains. We cannot think that the writer's explanation of the use of the Aramaic language

is, on the whole, more satisfactory than some others that have been urged. He suggests that the change came about because the author wishes to have the Chaldeans, who have been introduced in chap. 2, speak the language which is supposed to be their native language; but when this speech has been finished, he continues himself to use the Aramaic language, because it is more convenient for himself and for his readers; but, when he reaches the eighth chapter, the Hebrew is resumed again, as having been the sacred language of the prophet.

The aim of the book was not the communication of historical information. Daniel, like Job, is not to be tried by the standard of strict historicity. The book manifests "a magnificent unconcern about historical possibilities." The writer goes so far as to oppose the view of Driver that Daniel was a historical personage.

The treatment is thoroughly iconoclastic, and presents the extreme form of the modern critical theory concerning Daniel.

In general it is impossible to characterize these articles as a whole. Each has its peculiar merits and its distinctive defects. Space is not permitted to present the excellent treatment of Deuteronomy by George F. Moore. Each article shows the strength and the weakness of the writer. // ?

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*The Pentateuch.*—The largest number of articles dealing with the Pentateuch in the *Encyclopædia Biblica* are written by the editor-in-chief, Professor T. K. Cheyne. From his pen come the following contributions: Abel, Abi-, Abraham, Adam and Eve, Ammon, Ark, Arphaxad, Azazel, Babel, Benoni, Cain, Cainites. Next in number are the articles by Hope W. Hogg, on Asher, Benjamin, Bilhah, Dinah. Professor George F. Moore has contributed the article on Deuteronomy and the articles on Ashtaroah, Asherah, and Baal, which also have points of contact with the Pentateuch. The articles on Aaron, Balaam, and Decalogue are by W. E. Addis; those on Creation and Deluge, by Heinrich Zimmern and T. K. Cheyne; Canaan is by Morris Jastrow, Jr.; Chedorlaomer, by C. P. Tiele and L. W. King; Covenant, by Nathaniel Schmidt; Circumcision, by Immanuel Benzinger; Amalek and Aram, by Theodor Nöldeke.

The standpoint of all these articles is substantially the same as that of the editor-in-chief. Professor Cheyne belongs to the radical wing of Old Testament criticism, and he has selected as collaborators those

who share in his views. This fact gives the articles on the Pentateuch in this encyclopædia a more radical tone than is to be found in any English publication of equal importance. Here there is no shrinking from conclusions, and no hesitation in expressing them. The words "myth, legend, fiction, perversion" are used with a frequency never before seen in a work intended for the general Christian public. On the accounts of creation it is remarked that "it may be regarded as an axiom that the descriptions of creation contained in the biblical records, and especially in Gen. 1 : 1—2 : 4a, are valuable only in so far as they contain certain religious truths which are still recognized as such. To seek for even a kernel of historical fact in such cosmogonies is inconsistent with a scientific point of view." In regard to the origin of the Hebrew creation-myths, Zimmern holds that in their present form they are not a survival of primitive Semitic tradition, nor an inheritance from the Canaanites, but that they are a working up of fragments of old mythology under Babylonian influence at the time of the Babylonian supremacy.

The story of Cain is pronounced by Cheyne a myth designed to explain the curse that rested upon the Kenites, compelling them always to remain nomads. The antediluvians are all ancient Semitic deities. Enoch is the same as U-NUK, Sumerian for the city of Erech. The deluge, according to Zimmern, is not a historical event, but an "ether-myth" which has arisen independently in widely separated races. Abraham, according to Cheyne, is the eponym hero of the district of Hebron. His marriage with Sarai is the traditional form of the memory of a union of a south-Israelitish tribe with a non-Israelitish tribe. Abraham's connection with Hagar expresses a political relation of the Israelites to Egypt. The names of the patriarchs are all the names of Hebrew clans, and the stories of their lives are nothing more than traditions of the migrations and changing political fortunes of the clans in question. The ark was a simple box, without ornamentation, carried about by the nomadic Hebrews. It contained no tables of the law, but rather two fetich stones. The decalogue, according to Addis, has not even a Mosaic nucleus, but is wholly the product of the period shortly before the exile.

Whatever one may think of the correctness of the critical conclusions reached in this encyclopædia, one cannot fail to be impressed with the excellence of the work done. The writers are masters of their respective subjects, and have brought to bear upon them a prodigious amount of labor and of learning. Here one finds, as in no other

work in English, a summary of modern thought on all subjects connected with the Pentateuch. The references to literature, which are remarkably complete, alone are worth to the student far more than the cost of the work. The longer articles, such as those of Nöldeke on Amalek and Aram, of Moore on Deuteronomy, of Zimmern on Creation and Deluge, of Schmidt on Covenant, and of Jastrow on Canaan, are as admirable monographs on the subjects in question as it is possible to find in any language. This is a work that every student of the Old Testament will need to add at once to his library.

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*History of Religious Institutions, Ideas, etc.*—The principles on which the *Encyclopædia* is based make this part of its contents very extensive and significant. It professes to prepare the way for biblical theology, but not to make any direct contributions to it. The history of institutions and the history of ideas must first be determined before we can hope for any adequate treatment of that subject. Hence all the biblical theology which appears in this work is found in the contributions under these categories. Hence also extraordinary diligence has been exercised to reach the highest standard of efficiency and to make the most ample contributions in this preliminary field.

The conception of development rules supreme in the treatment. Hebrew religion is traced back to the old Semitic ground. Points of contact with foreign cults are brought forward. Foreign gods receive ample treatment, and their influence on Israel's life is detailed. Semitic mythology is postulated for the elucidation of a number of Hebrew conceptions. Ideas are traced historically through the stages of Israel's life as revealed in the Old Testament books. Contradictions in the views and attitudes of different periods are unsparingly revealed. The faith of one age appears as the heresy of another. A good example of this is the article on Angels.

The articles are singularly objective. This quality appears in two directions: first, in the almost complete absence of judgments as to the value of the ideas and institutions whose history is so learnedly traced; and, secondly, in the absence of expressions suggesting sympathy with or appreciation of the positions or conceptions of the biblical heroes and teachers. This is not to say that the *Encyclopædia* is thereby defective. Certainly one does not look for homilies, laudations, or ecstasies in a



Bible dictionary, but for plain statements of fact. Yet, the atmosphere is not unimportant, and from that point of view the most of these articles suggest the surgeon and the operating table, where the good result sought is not in any way complicated with feeling for the patient. Moreover, it would be of real service to the reader to have in many cases the writer's view of the actual value of the institution or idea both in the time in which it was supreme and as a permanent contribution to thought and life. We miss this, for example, in the article on the Decalogue, which is concerned entirely with the form, and in that on Covenant, which is otherwise so admirably prepared.

One must also notice that not a few of the articles are so concerned with details and the development of phases of the subject considered that they do not bring us out anywhere. This, again, may not be a weakness, but rather a recommendation of a Bible dictionary. The student who consults this dictionary on any topic wants, not a summary statement, but the full treatment of all phases and forms of the subject. This he will for the most part obtain in a very satisfactory fashion subject to the limitations already suggested. But he will have to form his own conclusions. Take, as an example, Bousset's Antichrist. Could anything be more learned, more satisfactory on particular points discussed? But when we have finished it the impression of the whole is singularly unsatisfactory, because the writer leaves us in the air; he has not come to any point. The same is true of a number of similar articles.

But it would not be fair to conclude this brief comment without emphasizing the remarkable learning revealed in almost every discussion in this important field of religious institutions and ideas. The articles are stimulating, if not edifying, and no student of the Bible who is seeking the largest outlook on the present achievements of biblical learning can afford to pass them by. It is a real satisfaction to find American scholars so well represented. There are no finer articles in the *Encyclopædia* than those by Professors Moore and Schmidt.

Two misprints only have caught our eye. In col. 840, footnote 2, line 3 from bottom, *rising* should be *ruins*. In col. 1074, in the first line of the bibliography to article Demons, *Nevins* should be *Nevius*.

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*Apocalyptic Literature.*—It is but the just recognition of the fine, scholarly work of Professor Charles upon Apocalyptic Literature that in both of the recent Bible dictionaries this theme has been given to him for treatment. In the *Hastings Dictionary* the general subject is briefly handled after the manner of an introduction, and then each book belonging under it is discussed in its proper place. Here, in an article extending over thirty-six columns, the writer has set forth in clear, compact form the best results of all recent study upon those apocalypses, the right understanding of which contributes so largely toward an intelligent appreciation of Judaism just before and during the times of Jesus. A "right understanding" of these works has been in large part the outcome of a correct discernment of their structure and parts. Scholarship owes no small debt to Professor Charles for the painstaking inductive study by which he has helped to this discernment. There is, of course, the element of subjective criticism in this kind of work, and opinions will not always agree regarding dividing lines, but the writer makes it abundantly evident that the following matters are beyond question: the composite character of all these apocalypses, their Pharisaic tone, their complex authorship, and their varied teachings, the last being due to different date and outlook, as well as to different authorship. As a result, we realize that the period immediately preceding the advent was one of surprising literary activity. From 200 B. C. to 100 A. D. these substitutes for the word of true prophecy appeared at intervals, inspiring the nation to fidelity and zeal. The strength of this whole presentation in apocalyptic literature lies in the independent, careful, analytic exposition of the various books. In this particular no better nor, in general, more convincing work has been done. The article is a mine of information regarding those conceptions which Jesus had to antagonize throughout his ministry.

The description of the book of Baruch, by Professor Bevan, is derived from the same critical methods. He separates the book into four parts. Interest centers chiefly in the date of the portion 1:15—3:8, which may well have come from the later part of the Persian period, but this otherwise helpful article leaves the matter entirely undecided. Composite authorship is maintained.

The relation of Alexander the Great to the Jews is mainly of interest through the story of his advance to Jerusalem, as given by Josephus (*Ant.*, XI, 8, 3). Suspicion is justly cast upon this narrative. It is certainly legendary in its details, if not in its main assertion, having all the marks of the ambition of Josephus to glorify his own people.

Among the mischief-makers in Jerusalem in the time of Judas Macabæus none was more troublesome than Alcimus. Within the compass of a page his career is concisely set forth and its importance estimated. The article is valuable for its judgments upon the character of the sources out of which the history of this persistent and presumptuous Hellenist is drawn.

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*New Testament Introduction.*—The greater interest which for the moment attaches to the Old Testament as compared with the New is almost startlingly exemplified in the *Encyclopædia*. Twenty-six columns are devoted to the canon of the Old Testament, while Canon Armitage Robinson is restricted to seven for the New. No wonder some recalcitration vents itself in the words: "A brief outline of a subject of the highest importance, which bristles with points of controversy, has necessarily passed over in silence a large portion of the evidence." Worse than that, it passes over in silence much which anyone who consults the encyclopædia may justly expect to find. Canon Robinson has compressed into his seven columns such a history of the growth of the canon during the first two centuries as was possible only to an expert, but the causes at work in developing it even during this period are but scantily exhibited, while necessarily nothing is said regarding the selection of the precise contents now accepted by the church and nothing of the test of canonicity.

Six books of the New Testament are dealt with in this volume. The Acts of the Apostles has been intrusted to Professor Schmiedel. He finds that, apart from the "we"-sections, "no statement merits immediate acceptance on the mere ground of its presence in the book." For proof of the writer's "inaccuracies" he returns to the old, trifling, and, we had supposed, discredited criticism of the discrepancies in Paul's various accounts of his conversion. Professor Ramsay's defense of Luke as a historian is treated cavalierly and superficially. The "aim" of the writer, according to Schmiedel, is "to justify the Gentile Christianity of himself and his time, already on the way to Catholicism." Why justify this to Theophilus, and in the period of 105-130 A. D., to which the authorship is referred? More satisfactory is the fair account and criticism of Blass' theory of the text, to which a large part of the article is devoted.

The Apocalypse naturally fell into Bousset's hands, and the volume includes no more thorough or competent article. Its only weak point is the argument regarding the authorship. Bousset cannot find two Johns in Asia Minor, but one; and he not the apostle, but the presbyter. Even the presbyter is not *directly* the author of gospel and Apocalypse. The date is toward the close of Domitian's reign, but the interpolations are of course variously dated. A lucid account is given of the theories that have contributed to the understanding of the book, and the criticism is that of a scholar who has long been familiar with every aspect of the large and difficult subject.

Professor Jülicher writes judiciously on Colossians and Ephesians. Of the genuineness of the former he has no doubt. The external attestation is "the best possible," and, although there are peculiarities of style in the first half of the epistle, these are outweighed by the genuine Pauline element. To the substance of the letter objection has been taken. The Christology is in advance of Paul's. "But why should not Paul himself have carried it on to this development in view of new errors, which demanded new statements of truth?" In fact, "the number of those who doubt its genuineness does not grow." It was written probably from Rome in 63 A. D. Ephesians is a circular letter, by whom written it is hard to decide. Professor Jülicher inclines to the opinion that its author was a Paulinist, who about the year 90 A. D. sought to put in a plea for Paul's idea of Catholicism; but "perhaps the question ought to be left open as not yet ripe for settlement, and Ephesians in the meantime used only with caution when the Pauline system is being construed."

For the two epistles to the Corinthians Professor Sanday has not been allowed nearly as much space as is allotted to Canticles. But in this narrow room his recognized knowledge and caution furnish a model article. The integrity of the second epistle is proved against Pfeiderer and Schmiedel; and evidence is given to show that there are two lost epistles to Corinth.

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*New Testament Geography.*—The articles in this department of the *Encyclopædia* are almost wholly the work of two authors, Mr. W. J. Woodhouse, lecturer in classical philology, University College of North Wales, Bangor, and Dr. George Adam Smith, professor of

Hebrew and Old Testament exegesis at the Free Church College, Glasgow, Scotland. Mr. Woodhouse writes upon Achaia, Alexandria, Antioch, Asia, Athens, Bithynia, Colosse, Corinth, Crete, Cyprus, and other minor localities; Professor Smith writes upon Antipatris, Arbela, Bethlehem, Cæsarea, Capernaum, Damascus, Decapolis, etc. 'All of the work is well done; some of it is very well done. It could not be expected, however, that men who are not strictly speaking New Testament scholars would give these articles the specific and exact treatment which was needed.

Mr. Woodhouse's Alexandria, for instance, is an excellent general article, but the very matter for which it finds a place in a biblical encyclopædia is omitted, namely, the part which Alexandria played in Jewish and Christian religious history. Similarly, Antioch in its relation to Christianity receives a wholly inadequate treatment. The author says this "city was the cradle of the church," which is a bungling statement; also that the title "Christians" was a nickname given by a people who were noted for their scurrilous wit—a sort of statement which belongs to unscientific literature on the Acts. The article Athens contains a trenchant criticism of the customary views of Paul's experiences in that city, and the point is certainly well taken, although the language concerning Paul is too severe. The article Corinth is disproportionately brief; here, too, as in the articles Alexandria, Asia, and often, there is no bibliography attached, a serious defect. The articles Achaia, Bithynia, and Colosse are excellent.

Professor Smith's articles exhibit the same characteristics. Geographically they are good, but biblically they are deficient. In the article Capernaum he reaffirms his agreement with Robinson, Conder, Henderson, Ewing, and others, in preferring Khân Minyeh as the ancient site of the city. But also he says "Capernaum became the home of Jesus . . . after his rejection by the townsmen of Nazareth," a statement which is based upon Luke's arrangement of his gospel material, but contradicted by Mark and Matthew. Jesus removed to Capernaum, not because he was treated shabbily at Nazareth, but because Capernaum was the most suitable center for evangelistic work in Galilee. The article Bethlehem has just two sentences on the New Testament relations of the village, which is inexcusably meager. Inadequate also is the treatment of Paul's relations to Damascus. In the article Antipatris Dr. Smith inclines to Râs el 'Ain as the probable site, with Sandreczky, Wilson, Buhl, and Conder. The articles Cæsarea and Decapolis are excellent.

The articles Bethany and Bethabara are by the editor, Professor Cheyne, who (with Grove and Wilson, against Conder in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*) finds this locality, supposed to be the site of Jesus' baptism by John (John 1:28), at Tell-Nimrīm (Beth-nimrah), northeast of Jericho on a tributary of the Jordan.

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*New Testament History.*—As in the case of New Testament Introduction, the most important articles are written by German scholars, and are marked by the breadth of scholarship one would expect. They represent, however, a rather extreme critical position, and those by Professor Schmiedel are marked by persistent disparagement of Acts as a historical document. Perhaps as important an article as any of Professor Schmiedel's is that upon the term "Christian." It would be difficult to find a more complete presentation of the material. At the same time it must be said that it is difficult to assent to his conclusions, resting as they do upon what seems a somewhat arbitrary rejection of statements, not only in Acts, but also in Tacitus and Suetonius. He very properly calls Professor Ramsay to account for his easy use of the Pompeian inscription, but hardly gives him due credit upon matters of first importance. The elaborate and painstaking article of Professor von Soden upon the chronology of the New Testament is interesting when compared with that of Turner in the Hastings dictionary. Professor von Soden adopts the bi-paschal theory as to the length of the public ministry of Jesus, but does not present the evidence as fully as it might be stated, nor does he quite meet the objections to certain of his positions that could be raised from the fourth gospel, the chronological value of which he reduces to a minimum. Yet in his main contention of a short ministry he is probably near the truth. The articles by English writers are frequently disappointing, in that the important results of recent criticism are quite ignored. The articles by Professor Woodhouse, further, upon places in Greece, are good illustrations of articles written by classical rather than New Testament scholars. The only reason for the admission of such articles as Athens, Areopagus, Corinth, lies in their relations with the New Testament, and this is a phase which is almost uniformly disregarded. The article by Professor J. Armitage Robinson upon Church is more concerned with the patristic than the New Testament aspects of the subject, and puts interpretations upon passages in an ecclesiastical

rather than purely historical spirit. The same may be said of his other articles dealing with ecclesiastical matters. Those upon Apostle, Baptism, Bishop, and Deacon, though by no means silent as to modern investigations, might have been written at almost any time as well as at present, so indifferent are they to their results. It goes without saying that they find strange company in the articles of von Soden and Schmiedel. That they should disregard the method of biblical theology, however, is what we should expect after the contemptuous words of the editor as regards that science.

SHAILER MATHEWS.

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## CHRISTIAN ETHICS.<sup>1</sup>

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OF the five works whose title pages are given below three claim to be Christian, and are such in truth. The other two claim to be scientific, and do not proceed upon the assumption of the truth of Christianity and the consequent validity of its ethical teaching. The little work by Dr. Kilpatrick, very attractive in its make-up, clear and well ordered in thought, and wholesome in teaching, aims to be, not a scientific treatise, but a practical manual, especially for the young. It is a thoroughly good book. It seems a little strange that the author, at this late day, should have represented the baptism of infants as not less obligatory for all Christian parents than is common honesty. He does not recognize the possibility of error in this article of his faith, or, apparently, that others than those of his faith may ever read his book.

The *Christliche Ethik*, by Köstlin, is the ripe fruit of thought and investigation extending through a life now far advanced in years. From 1862 to 1896 he gave regular courses of lectures upon ethics and made large contributions to the press in the same and similar

<sup>1</sup> *A System of Ethics*. By FRIEDRICH PAULSEN, Professor of Philosophy in the University of Berlin. Edited and translated with the author's sanction from the fourth revised and enlarged edition by Frank Thilly, Professor of Philosophy in the University of Missouri. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1899. Pp. xviii + 724. \$3, net.

*The Ethical Problem*. Three Lectures on Ethics as a Science. By DR. PAUL CARUS. Second edition, enlarged by a discussion of the subject by William M. Salter, John Maddock, F. M. Holland, Professor Friedrich Jodl, Dr. R. Lewins, Professor H. Höffding, Professor L. M. Billia, with replies by the author. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Co., 1899. Pp. 352. \$0.50.

*Christian Character—A Study in New Testament Morality*. By REV. THOMAS KILPATRICK, D.D., Minister of the Free Church of Scotland at Ferryhill, Aberdeen. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1899; New York: Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons. Pp. xii + 298. 2s. 6d.

*La Morale chrétienne*. Par A. GRETILLAT, professeur de théologie à la faculté indépendante de Neuchâtel. Deux Tomes. Neuchâtel: Altinger Frères, 1898, 1899. Tome I, pp. viii + 564; Tome II, pp. 562. Fr. 17.

*Christliche Ethik*. Von JULIUS KÖSTLIN, Dr. theol., jur. et phil., Professor und Oberkonsistorialrat in Halle. Berlin: Verlag von Reuther & Reichard, 1899. Pp. viii + 699. M. 10; bound, M. 12.



lines. Since 1896 he has given himself wholly to the composition and publication of this work. The wish which as a youth he expressed to a friend he has thus been spared to realize in a ripe and rich old age. The work is everywhere vital with a childlike, manly, rational faith in the living God as revealed in his works, his Word, his Son, and his spiritual children, and the open-minded, open-hearted reader cannot escape the contagion of this pervading tonic spirit. At the same time the scientific spirit is equally dominant. The work is far enough from a practical homily. There is nowhere in it so much as a tinge of the sermon style. The traditional German passion for exact and exhaustive analysis, systematization, and exposition has way and sway. To some readers, no doubt, this will be a special charm, and indeed every intelligent reader will rejoice at once in the thorough analysis and the orderly exposition, but a certain refinement of systematization, leading to frequent repetitions of familiar truths, and constant references back and forward to complementary elements of a particular discussion, while excellent for completeness, yet for the ordinary reader tends somewhat to weariness. And any other than a German of the old school would be willing to forgive the honored and beloved author if his style had been a trifle more simple and direct, if he had made his sentences, as a rule, less cumbrously complex and elongated. But even in style Köstlin is obviously wholly himself. There is nothing artificial. And then he always states his thought with clearness and exactness.

Of Gretillat's work all that holds true in respect to tone, spirit, and "substance of doctrine" which has just been said of Köstlin's. In it the reader meets everywhere, misses nowhere, the mind and heart of the great Master who is the source of Christian morals and ethics, and in whose

"life the law appears  
Drawn out in living characters."

This work is the last great division of the author's *Exposé de théologie systématique*. While engaged in its final revision for the press, at the end of the Introduction, on January 14, 1894, his pen was arrested by the hand of death. His colleagues, with loving affection for him and a profound sense of the great value of the treatise, edited it for the press. So careful and thorough had been the author's previous revision that their work was limited to a faithful transcription of the original manuscript, with occasional condensations and curtailments, and the omission of certain technical terms. We may thus be confident that we have, unmarred, the mature results of the

distinguished author's ethical labors. While his preceding theological volumes are presupposed by this and are its foundation, he has so conceived of ethics as to make it a complete whole and to require but few references to his preceding works. His colleagues, the editors, speak with just admiration of his unusually analytic and systematic talent, and his happy faculty of clean, clear exposition. We are charmed with the characteristically French elegance of structure, while the strength and thoroughness of the discussion would do credit to a typical German. One joins heartily in the prayer of the editors that "God will bless to very many the reading of these pages, written by a man of faith who aimed at nothing else than the glory of his Master."

Paulsen's *System of Ethics*, translated by Professor Thilly, makes a goodly volume, pleasing to the eye. It is "done" into idiomatic and readable English, whose faithfulness to the original is guaranteed by the name of the translator. "To diminish the size of the translation" some parts of the original have been omitted. These are the discussion of the duel and the *Umriss einer Staats- und Gesellschaftslehre*. In his preface the translator expresses his conviction that "of all the treatises on ethics that have appeared in recent years none is so admirably fitted [as this] for introducing the beginner to this study." It has indeed the charm of an easy popular style; it is everywhere concerned with the interests and business of the present life; it discusses many important subjects with freshness, force, and success. Its meaning is almost always clear. It has marked excellencies. It is said by those who are acquainted with Dr. Paulsen's religious attitude that he identifies himself earnestly with the party of Christian reform and progress. One ought to read his work in the light of this fact in order to get at his probable meaning in some cases. But even then one cannot well see how he can escape the charge of misrepresenting the ethical teachings of the New Testament and of advocating principles inconsistent with true Christian ethics.

The three lectures of Dr. Carus on *The Ethical Problem* are scarcely more satisfactory from a Christian point of view.

In the space remaining it may be of use to notice briefly some of the fundamental ethical principles to which all these volumes direct attention, and so to estimate emerging harmonies, diversities, and conflicts.

All alike recognize the close connection of psychology and ethics, and the importance of a clear and thorough knowledge of the former in arriving at a safe theory of the latter. Ethical study must start

from facts of consciousness, and the more perfect the knowledge of the conscious self in which these facts appear, the more easy and certain their interpretation as related to the moral life. They also agree in regarding ethics as a normative science. It is a practical science in the sense that it is a science of human conduct or practice, but it is not enough to investigate human conduct so far as to learn its general characteristics and then formulate these. Its primary duty is to ascertain beyond this what is that law which is known distinctively as the moral law to which human conduct ought to be conformed—the law, not of fact, but of obligation, of duty, of right, righteousness, holiness, and true human life. Such a law is recognized by the consciousness of men generally and by the science which undertakes to interpret this moral consciousness adequately.

The fact of a conscience in mankind has also recognition by scientists generally, including the five with whom we have here to do. These five, however, are not quite at one in the use of the term “conscience.” In some cases it is regarded simply as an activity; in others, as the self in so far as constituted for such activity—in one case a complex phenomenon; in the other the substantial basis of the phenomenon. If the question arises whether it is a faculty, it of course cannot be called a faculty if it is regarded as being only an activity. Otherwise it might be a faculty and also an activity or phenomenon. The name “conscience” might designate, now the conscious activity, and now the conscious being as constituted for that activity. If the activity is so distinctive, so in kind unlike all other conscious activities, as not to be simply either a form of some other or a complex of others, the term “faculty of conscience” would be justified on the same ground as the term “faculty of memory,” or, in general, of intellect or will. No one holds that it is merely a form or element of self-consciousness, for self-consciousness is an immediate knowledge of the present phenomena or activities of the conscious self as mere facts, including the phenomena of conscience, while conscience respects conscious experience, actual or possible, past, present, or future, and also the moral law of that experience and its application to the experience. Dr. Carus objects vehemently to theological ethics that it makes the conscience something supernatural or magical. Gretillat in his discussion of conscience may at times seem to countenance this view, but a fair estimate of his language gives rather the result that, like theologians generally, he regards the conscience, whether as activity or faculty, as purely and exclusively human, and as

supernatural in no other sense than personality is supernatural. The terms "nature" and "natural" have many meanings, and one may so juggle with them as to deceive both oneself and others.

These five writers agree in rejecting the empty formalism of Kant—a moral law without ground or reason; an obligation or duty without content; a course of conduct not finding its supreme reason, and hence law, in the supreme end of all human conduct and living. If intuitionism is to mean such formalism, they are not intuitionists; they are teleologists. They do not believe that the supreme end of any and every rational choice is just that choice, or even less than the total choice, just a single quality of it. Quality, indeed! What quality save irrationality could be in such a choice? Or, rather, how is such a choice either possible or conceivable? But every clear-thinking moralist must recognize an intuitional element in morals. Whatever constitutes the supreme moral end, and so furnishes the moral law, must, if recognized at all as moral, be so recognized intuitively. The ideas of right, obligation, duty, cannot come into the human mind save immediately, or intuitively, on occasion of the requisite condition, the presentation of the conditioning object or relations. They then arise necessarily, as do the other ultimate ideas, in presence of their conditioning percepts. If the origin of our ultimate ideas is to be found in human nature, or the human constitution, then may they be called the voice of nature, and if we recognize God as the Author of this nature, then may they also be called the voice of God. Either expression is a figure of speech, and to understand it otherwise is to misunderstand it. Whoever dimly or clearly conceives of a supreme end or value as depending upon his own choices and conduct will infallibly have either dimly or clearly the sense of a supreme law binding him to realize that end—the sense of right, obligation, duty, and whatever else these ideas necessarily imply and involve.

There is a quite general agreement that one of the things necessarily implied and involved in the idea of obligation is the idea of a freedom of the person's will, and in the fact of obligation, the fact of a freedom of the will, or a freedom of the person as having will. But what is this freedom, whether as idea or fact? As to this Paulsen is very clear and full in his answer, and Carus equally clear, but less full. Carus scouts the notion "that a man can will differently from what he wills." He maintains that a motive is strictly a cause, and determines the will. He says: "The cause that sets the will into motion we call a motive." "A will not determined by a motive is as nonsensical [*sic*]

as an effect not produced through a cause." We must distinguish, he says, between necessity and compulsion. Man acts always by necessity, but not always by compulsion. When the necessity is inward, arising from the personal nature in view of ends, it is freedom, and of no other freedom is or can man be conscious or possessed. No sense, forsooth, in the conception that a man can will differently from what he does will, that he could have willed differently from what he in fact has willed, that he will hereafter be able to will differently from what he will will! So then a motive is also a motor, and man is not self-determining in his action, but is a self with a nature originally determined by something else than this self, and is forever after necessarily determined by this nature in itself and its constituted relations to the not-self. To this Paulsen seems to agree. The others deny. They assume and assert that the idea of personal, moral choice involves the idea of alternative power, and hence of proper origination, authorship, and ownership; and hence of obligation, responsibility, virtue, vice, character, and of reward or penalty in their strict meaning. Wisely, they refrain from any attempt to justify this view otherwise than by an appeal to the facts of consciousness and their necessary implication. They condemn the effort to resolve into illusion the most decisive affirmations of the conscious spirit and to set up in opposition to a primary affirmation of rational consciousness a deduction from impertinent premises. Paulsen maintains that my self-consciousness only testifies to the fact that the influences determining my life are in part my wishes, inclinations, convictions, and resolutions, in part from within, not wholly from without. He admits that there is some ground for the objection that each man is ultimately what God or nature made him. But he denies that this frees the man from blame, for, says he, "our judgment of the worth of a being depends upon what he is, not upon how he became so." He says also that "God or nature cannot shirk the responsibility for their creations," and "if a good and beautiful human life is a credit to God, a worthless and disgraceful life is doubtless to his discredit." This seems to imply that a bad man should be judged as we judge a savage beast, and *vice versa*. He, however, later draws the distinction that "animals are moved by momentary impulses and perceptions," while man "determines himself by *ideas of ends*." But he fails to show that any man has it in his power to have at any given moment any other ideas than those which he does have. The ideas determine all his action. What determines the ideas? Dr. Paulsen, of course, recognizes human freedom, but it does not appear

that his *principles* recognize it. We are hardly surprised to hear him say: "I shall attempt to justify the evil [*i. e.*, *moral* evil, not simply the liability to sin, but the sin itself] in the world." Sin is good as the necessary condition of holiness, perhaps [not in angels and God, but certainly in men. Even the crucifixion of Christ was a *felix culpa*. This is bad ethics, and will breed bad morals. It certainly is no worse than the doctrine which makes God's executive will the proper cause of all human actions, and whatever will truly justify the one theory will serve the same purpose for the other. But such a theology and its consequent ethics never did and never can have place in a development of life and thought which is soundly Christian and truly human.

As all ethical writers recognize the fact that ethics is a normative science, they all undertake to find that standard or law to which all human conduct *ought* to conform, and what it is in the law or standard that gives it this supreme, absolute authority for conduct. It is not enough to give us a science of what human conduct is. That might come under anthropology. They must give us the science of what conduct ought to be. That alone is ethics. And this science must have in it a large element of philosophy. In attempting to answer the question, What is the moral standard, and what the ground of its authority? ethical writers part company and conflicting theories emerge. It is needless to say that our three works on Christian ethics do what every genuinely Christian ethics must: they hold to a theological basis of the moral law and its authority. Dr. Carus says that the "ethical ideal rises, as [do] all other ideals, from the wants of man." And these wants are discovered and made known by science. Paulsen says: "The authority of duty springs from the relation of the will to custom, or, what amounts to the same, of the individual to society." And so we have as the definition of conscience, "*the consciousness of custom, or the existence of custom in the consciousness of the individual.*" This, however, is a conscience in process of formation, beyond which, in the case of moral heroes such as was Jesus, there is developed an "individual" conscience, the individual in some way coming to have an ideal of his own, transcending all known custom and enabling him to realize a "subjective morality." This ideal may be, so far as appears, an absolute one, by which all "custom" should be judged—may, in short, be the ideal involved in the conception of the Christian's God, and the standard according to which God rules the world and will at the last judge it. Now, if in fact there is in existence such a God, revealing himself to men and in them, recognized by them; if Jesus

was not utterly deluded in his assurance that such a being was his Father, and that his Father's will was to him an inward law of life, so that to do that will was his meat and his drink, then was the morality of Jesus profoundly "objective," since it found its law in that Being on whom all other beings depend. And why shall we not recognize in the most perfectly developed conscience and morality the *true human* conscience and morality? Besides, if one will look carefully into the phenomena of conscience in children and in the most perverse or undeveloped forms of adult morality, it will appear that the moral law for them is not what is the custom or the requirements of other men, be they parents or the nation or the entire race, but rather that unseen, absolute, supreme being and will which, it may be, is sometimes regarded as represented more or less adequately in such custom or requirement. And as to the view of Dr. Carus, that the moral law must be discovered scientifically by discovering man's needs, and that its ground is just these discovered needs, he of course must recognize that these needs have their ground in the nature of mankind as it is in itself and in its total relation to all other beings, and that, if there is any ground to this nature and relationship, the ultimate ground of the law must be in that which is the ultimate ground of this nature and relationship. If, on the whole, the most reasonable theory is that of the existence of a divine, rational, personal mind and will—personal in the highest sense, and rational mind and will in the highest sense; both in the absolute sense, making all finite existence and relationship dependent upon the same—then will the discovery of man's highest wants, *i. e.*, his highest *needs*, by scientific investigation, carry Dr. Carus to the Christian theory of the moral law and its ground. Its ultimate ground is the nature of God, its proximate ground the nature of man as the image of God, its expression every revelation of the divine will touching man's conduct, that will being the expression of the divine nature. And why should it be thought a thing incredible—why, especially, should an evolutionist think it a thing incredible—that in the human mind universally there should be some kind and degree of recognition of the personal God? He belongs to our environment, no thing and no one more so, for, as Paul said, "in him we live and move and have our being." So if by environment the evolution of human life is determined, the presence of this part of our environment should issue in a religious nature, with a sense of absolute dependence, of the need of worship, and of subjection to the divine will as our absolute law. And conversely, if we everywhere find in

developed man such a sense, we ought, on the doctrine of the evolutionist, to find in that fact the evidence of the personal God as the determining source of that sense.

In his historical sketch of the more significant forms of ethical teaching, Dr. Paulsen first gives a sympathetic and interesting exposition of the Greek conception, and follows this with a chapter on the Christian conception, which he puts in the sharpest contrast with the Greek. Were it not for his reported affiliation with Christian work and workers, one could not resist the conviction of his utter want of sympathy with the whole New Testament doctrine of life as he conceives, or rather misconceives, at least misrepresents, it. He characterizes it as surcharged with contempt for learning, for the natural virtues of courage and justice, for the civic and military virtues, for art, wealth, and honor, and as advocating on the one hand a flexible and yielding good-will, and on the other an uncompromising, invincible defiance of whatever is hostile to itself. He refers, in a note, to the fact that his exposition has been criticised by others as "representing Christianity as a weak, meek, world-weary, down-trodden, ascetic affair," and says that is not the impression that he intended to create. It is exactly the impression that the chapter naturally and necessarily does and will make. Dr. Paulsen does not recognize the strictly historical character of the New Testament, being a disciple of Strauss. It is, in his view, an expression of the conceptions of the writers in historical terms. This view of the book, and also his interpretation of the book on any view of it, are alike objectionable. To the true, natural, normal life of man, physical, social, intellectual; to the rounded, complete development of the whole man, the New Testament, rightly understood, is not antagonistic; quite the opposite; and in a system of ethics intended especially as a text-book for the young such a chapter cannot but be harmful.



## RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

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SPINOZA. *His Life and Philosophy.* By SIR FREDERICK POLLOCK. Second edition. London: Duckworth & Co.; New York: The Macmillan Co., 1899. Pp. xxiv + 427. \$3.

ALTHOUGH there is little change in the contents of this second edition, there is ample justification for its issue. In spite of the numerous monographs and special studies upon Spinoza which have appeared since the first edition (1880), Pollock's is still for the general reader the best introduction to the broader and more fundamental features of Spinoza's system, as well as the fullest account in English of Spinoza's life.

For the student who wishes to understand and appreciate intelligently the scientific and philosophic tendencies of present thought, and who is not satisfied to take the one word "monism" as sufficiently definite to describe a theory of the world, no author will better repay study. The geometrical form of Spinoza's ethics conceals from the superficial seeker the immense significance of the conceptions employed, and at the same time conveys the appearance of inevitable logic. But when the student has first penetrated to the real problems and then restated them so as to expose the real difficulties, not to say the inherent contradictions, implicit in Spinoza's positions, he has gained a point from which he can criticise as well as comprehend such concepts as those of "parallelism of mind and body," "determinism," "monism," "naturalism," and many others.

The present work is intended as a help in the first rather than in the second of these steps. It is always sympathetic, even when the author's own position is not that of Spinoza, and it does not undertake any such thoroughgoing analysis and criticism as is given by the monograph of John Caird, for example; but it is a valuable aid, not only for the general reader who wishes a general and untechnical statement, but also for the student who intends to make a thorough study. For it is a decided advantage to get Spinoza's general drift before attempting a detailed examination.

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF ENGLISH THOUGHT. A Study in the Economic Interpretation of History. By SIMON N. PATTEN, PH.D., University of Pennsylvania. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1899. Pp. xxvii + 415. \$3.

PROFESSOR PATTEN is best known to sociological students as an ardent critic of the biological school, which seeks to interpret the facts of social progress solely by means of biological laws. He has, no doubt, done much service to modern thought by setting forth the inadequacy of the purely biological method. This method has been very attractive to many social scientists. The analogies between the individual and the social organism are so striking as to have induced many thinkers in this field to emphasize the lower, and to overlook the higher, factors of social evolution. The main work of Patten has been to emphasize the psychological method in the study of sociology. So far as this method is employed to supplement a one-sided biological method, it is a great gain to social science. If, however, this method is carried to a polemic extreme, and is made to ignore the biological basis of social phenomena, it may well be regarded as itself one-sided and subject to criticism.

The work before us is not the first attempt of the author to expound the psychological method as applied to sociology. In a small and well-written treatise, published in 1896, entitled *The Theory of Social Forces*, the author gave a comprehensive treatment of the theory which forms the basis of the present volume. The addition which is now made to the first statement of the theory consists in the attempt to elucidate it through concrete illustrations. English history has been chosen for this purpose on account of its relative isolation, which by presumption renders it the best example of normal progress.

The student of philosophical history, who is familiar with Vico, Montesquieu, Schlegel, Hegel, and Buckle, will be interested in this most recent attempt to expound the ultimate laws of human progress. If one expects to find in this book the work of a scholar who is familiar with the latest results of science, he will not be disappointed. Not only is the theory of history based upon psychology; but the psychology is the new psychology, and not that of Hume or Locke or Kant. The recent advances made in the study of psychical facts from the physiological point of view are ingeniously utilized in the interpretation of social phenomena. The author has called his treatment of the subject the "economic interpretation of history." But the usual concept of "economics," as relating to the production, distribution, and exchange

of wealth, is not conspicuously present in this treatise. This designation seems to be appropriate only through the author's broader interpretation of economics as the adjustment of the organism to the external means of subsistence and well-being. The author's hypothesis would, perhaps, be more intelligibly characterized if it were called the "physiologico-psychological" theory of history.

The first part of the book is devoted to an explanation of the theory itself. The general principle is assumed that evolution consists in the successive adjustments of an organism to its environment. The contribution of this book to scientific history is the explanation of the mode in which this adjustment is brought about in the social organism. "The adjustment of an organism to its environment depends upon the mechanism through which the mind acts," is the fundamental proposition upon which the whole logical structure rests. The analysis of the mental processes into the *sensory*, or those depending upon the ingoing nerve-currents, and the *motor*, or those depending upon the outgoing nerve-currents, is essential to the understanding of all social activity and national development.

By the sensory processes the external world is brought into the field of consciousness; and *sensory ideas* thus correspond to the complex relations of the external world, giving birth to scientific knowledge. By the motor processes, on the other hand, the organism reacts upon the external world; and *motor ideas* correspond to the external objects which are apprehended as necessary to the maintenance of existence, thus affording the stimuli to human exertion. The difference between races depends not so much upon their sensory ideas as upon their motor reactions. National character is described as depending upon "the habitual motor response to the stimuli caused by the requisites for survival which preserve the race." To this end the "general environment," which includes all natural phenomena, does not contribute so much as the "local environment," which is restricted to the special conditions in which a particular race is located. The general environment gives birth to sensory ideas; the local environment produces motor reactions, which by habitual exercise become transformed into character.

The national character becomes more and more fixed by heredity. In the process of national development, sensory ideas are efficient only so far as they enable men to discriminate the objects which are the requisites for survival, that is, so far as they produce motor reactions. The "visualization" of such sensory ideas produce "race ideals,"

which become transformed into motor reactions and which by being kept vivid are a continual stimulus to human progress.

Social progress is due, not only to the direct action of the environment upon the motor sensibilities, but also to the relative predominance of the different classes of society, which have themselves been variously affected by the local environment. The author's classification of the social groups seems more scientific in its principle than happy in its terminology. The division of men into "clingers," "sensualists," "stalwarts," and "mugwumps" seems certainly artificial, and suggests incoherent ideas taken from botany, philosophy, and American politics. But a certain scientific justification is afforded to this crude terminology when it is seen that the division is based upon the relative influence of sensory and motor ideas upon human character.

It is, of course, impossible in this space to follow the author's elaboration of this technical theory, and its application to human progress in general, and especially to the evolution of English character; in his discussion of the antecedents of English thought; the character and influence of Calvinism, and the interpretation of the great writers, Hobbes, Locke, and the deists; the influence of the moralists of the eighteenth century, Mandeville, Hume, Adam Smith, Whitefield, and Wesley; and the economists of the nineteenth century, Malthus, Ricardo, John Stuart Mill, and Darwin, which last-named writer formed the transition from the economists to the biologists. The author's concluding chapters—on the harmony of religion and economic concepts, the influence of science and of socialism, the socializing of natural religion, and the conditions of a higher social state—are very suggestive and worthy of careful study.

It may seem paradoxical to say that to the general reader the abstract part of the work is likely to be more satisfactory than the concrete portions. The physiological-psychic theory is set forth with great skill, and the reader is able to supply from his own knowledge apt illustrations of its principles. But when he enters the labyrinthian regions of English thought, while he may be able to appreciate the author's learning and familiarity with the general subject, he is not always sure of his clue and may fail to perceive the bearing of the illustrations upon the theory to be illustrated. He may also be inclined to query whether the examples selected are sufficiently comprehensive to explain the whole intellectual life of the English people; whether a theory of English thought should disregard the constitutional and commercial life of the English nation; and whether any theory of

national character should not include the social as well as the physical, or economical, environment.

Of course, those who are accustomed to idealistic methods of philosophy will hardly sympathize with the author's attempt to reduce all the elements of human activity and national character to the influence of the environment upon the human subject, without a more philosophical explanation of the reaction of the human subject upon the environment. To them this attempt will seem to be an effort to bring the materialistic theory of Buckle into harmony with the new psychology, without any essential change in the point of view. The emphasis given to the "objective factors," and the little stress laid upon the "subjective factors," of evolution will not be acceptable to any school which attaches importance to the inherent potency of the human spirit, and which holds that the Supreme Being, the Dynamic Reason of the universe, is primarily manifested in the activities of the human soul, as well as in the forces and phenomena of external nature. But no person, whether he be an idealist or a "synthesist," can fail to appreciate the great importance which Professor Patten attaches to the distinction between the "sensory ideas," which end in thought and scientific knowledge, and the "motor ideas," which result in habitual action and the transformation of life and character.

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FROM COMTE TO BENJAMIN KIDD. *The Appeal to Biology or Evolution for Human Guidance.* By ROBERT MACKINTOSH, B.D. (Edin.), D.D. (Glasg.), Professor of Lancashire Independent College, Author of *Christ and the Jewish Law*. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1899. Pp. viii + 310. \$1.50.

THE contents of this book are sufficiently indicated by the title and subtitle. It consists of a series of chapters devoted to the study of writers upon social evolution, with *the express purpose of determining what guidance (if any) for human conduct and social life can be found in biology and in "evolution."* With the exception of Comte (the father of the sociological idea) and Weismann, and one or two others (who receive but a reference) like John Fiske and Professor Baldwin, the writers discussed are all British: Herbert Spencer, Leslie Stephen, Frances Power Cobbe, Walter Bagehot (*Physics and Politics*), Huxley,

Alexander, Ritchie, Mackenzie (the last three all of them men who approach naturalism and social questions from the point of view of the well-known British Hegelian movement), Mr. A. Sutherland (author of a recent book upon the *Origin and Growth of the Moral Instinct*), and Mr. Benjamin Kidd, being the chief. A section or series of chapters is devoted to each of these writers, and the whole book is divided into four parts: Part I deals with "Comtism and Altruism;" Part II, with "Simple Evolutionism" (Spencer and Stephen); Part III, with "Darwinism Proper or the Struggle for Existence;" and Part IV (an extremely useful and important section, as the author therein shows a praiseworthy familiarity with the facts of the controversy between "Weismannism" and the "Darwinians" regarding heredity), with "Hyper-Darwinism" (Weismann, Kidd, etc.). The average reader will thus find, within comparatively short compass (not at all an easy thing to procure, even in the case of Herbert Spencer, not to mention the others), a reliable, positive, and critical account of British social philosophy, by one who knows it from the inside, and who sees facts and theories in their true setting and true perspective. This account is, at the same time, a careful study of the questions that are at issue between the "biologist" and the "social philosopher." The author may be said to stand midway between the naturalism and the idealism that have been the two distinctive trends in the British reflective thought of the last fifty years, and one cannot but admire the freshness and the candor and the judgment with which he states and examines positions that are not exactly his own, but which he has, in common with many inquiring minds of today, been obliged to study for light upon the social question.

A particularly serviceable feature of this book is the exactness and the care with which different forms and phases of the "evolution philosophy" are distinguished from one another. One of the best chapters shows us, *e. g.*, how in Spencer's *Sociology* three incompatible accounts of human welfare or of evolution are to be found. And there is a chapter on "The Metaphysics of Natural Selection" that clears up many difficulties. Of course, the outcome of the book ought to be interesting to readers of this JOURNAL. It is that naturalistic evolution, by reason of the many contradictions in the teachings of its upholders, and by reason of the difficulties inherent in its assumptions, and by reason of the presence, to say the least, of *reason* in men, cannot be said to give us the last word upon our social life. Dr. Mackintosh indeed thinks that a scientific sociology is still a "hope" rather than

a "fact"—an opinion with which the reviewer has already (elsewhere) expressed his agreement. The author believes, in other words, in a true *social philosophy*, in accordance with *the very idea of which* "moral" and "spiritual" (*Christian*, he declares), as well as merely natural and biological, factors are implied in the nature and constitution and "progress" and "destiny" of human society. This conclusion, be it remembered, is not shot in a dogmatic manner at the reader's head, for the bulk of the book is taken up with the instructive examination of biological sociology upon which I have laid emphasis. There are in it a self-repression and a scientific objectivity that are admirable when we remember that its author's deepest interest in sociology is naturally from the theological side. His results and his method may well stimulate both theological and philosophical students to examine, not only biology, but also economics and social psychology, in the hope of throwing some fresh light upon the moral and spiritual struggle of men; for in denying the undue influence of the "biological" factor Professor Mackintosh has not intended to eliminate all struggle from the life of man. He has, in fact, a contempt for the foolish philanthropy and the semi-scientific "practical" sociology that fail to recognize both struggle and law.

Scholars may seriously object to the ranking of men like Drummond and Kidd along with Comte and Spencer and Stephen. In defense it may be said (1) that "from Comte to Kidd" has merely a chronological significance, and (2) that the author has the merit of examining whatever purports to be an attempt at a sociology along "evolution" lines. The freshness and fairness and utility of the book will secure for it many readers.

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**LONGINUS ON THE SUBLIME.** The Greek Text edited after the Paris Manuscript with Introduction, Translation, Facsimiles, and Appendices. By W. RHYS ROBERTS, M.A., Professor of Greek in the University College of North Wales, Bangor; late Fellow of Kings College, Cambridge. Cambridge: At the University Press, 1899; New York: The Macmillan Co. Pp. x+285. \$2.75, *net*.

For the information of the general reader one is compelled to begin an account of this book with the rather startling paradox that it is neither the work of Longinus nor is it "On the Sublime." The

weight of modern criticism is against its authorship by the historical Longinus of the third century and in favor of the view that it is the work of some author, not certainly known, of the first century A. D., and as for the title, "On the Sublime" is manifestly a misleading translation of *περὶ ὑψους* as here employed. Professor Roberts simply follows in this matter the established English usage of many generations. The work itself deals with the essential elements of a noble and elevated literary style.

The present edition is admirable both in plan and execution. After an introductory essay the text of the treatise is given with a parallel English translation. Extended appendices, which cover the whole field of textual, linguistic, and literary criticism, are added.

To the general reader the chief interest of the book will be found in its contributions to the field of literary criticism. It has been pronounced to be the "most important single piece of literary criticism produced by any Greek writer posterior to Aristotle." It contains references to about fifty Greek writers, whose dates range over a period of many centuries. These writers are quoted for illustrations both of excellencies and defects in the art of expression. Homer is oftenest mentioned, and always with a just appreciation. "In the Odyssey," the author says, "Homer may be likened to a sinking sun, whose grandeur remains without its intensity;" but he hastens to add: "If I speak of old age, it is nevertheless the old age of Homer." Not only Greek, but also Roman and Hebrew literature, are laid under contribution. The reader will find scattered through the book not a few pieces of literary criticism which will repay a careful reading.

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ESSAY ON THE BASES OF THE MYSTIC KNOWLEDGE. By E. RÉCÉJAC, Doctor of Letters. Translated by Sara Carr Upton. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1899. Pp. xi + 287. \$2.50.

WITH due deductions for obvious Roman Catholic influences, it is probably correct to class this work as one of the many witnesses to the so-called spiritual reaction in France, a movement that has accomplished much already, and from which more possibly may be hoped. The movement itself does not seem to me to have justified expectations that were once formed about it in connection with pure philosophy;



but for the border land of *Culturgeschichte* that everywhere impinges upon philosophy, despite ill-defined boundaries, it has proved no small blessing. As contributing to this general result, Dr. Récéjac's achievement assures him of his fair share of praise. For, on the whole, this *Essay* is the best systematic, as distinguished from historical, consideration of the subject available now. It ought to be added that the translation is unusually good.

The work is divided into three principal parts, entitled respectively the "Absolute," "Symbols," and the "Heart." Under the "Absolute" are considered the various attitudes of mind toward the Absolute; and the mystic consciousness, offering a capital section on philosophical and religious mysticism. The second part, dealing with "Symbols," originates in the author's definition of mysticism: "Mysticism is the tendency to draw near to the Absolute in moral union by symbolic means" (p. 64). The subjects reviewed are inspiration (including the identity of reason and inspiration; the intellectual transcendence called inspiration; reason; and the divine Word); and symbolism (including mystical expression; mystic intuition; mystic alienation; and degraded forms of mysticism). This portion forms, as it were, the keystone of the discussion. Under the "Heart" we have an original presentation, first, of the Absolute and freedom, where special emphasis is laid upon the relation of mysticism to morals; and, secondly, almost as a pendant, the ethical function of symbols. This outline may serve to show the systematic and highly suggestive, not to say important, character of the *Essay*.

Throughout, the work is marked by masterly analysis, such as we have been accustomed to expect in French treatises; so much so, indeed, that, if the initial criticism of other points of view, with its positive implications, be granted, the rest follows inevitably.

Yet this portion illustrates clearly the pervading defects of the book. Dr. Récéjac treats the facts of experience from which mysticism springs as if they were "in-themselves" (in the Kantian sense); although, despite himself, he is compelled to view them occasionally as elements integral to a larger whole. For this reason his presuppositions happen to be rather paradoxical. They consist (1) of a series of criticisms—criticism upon Kant and rationalism, upon science and dogmatism (*e. g.*, pp. 22, 28, 33, 38, 44, 122-3)—which, while acceptable as such, immediately transform themselves into fresh dogmas; (2) of a group of dogmas that tend to neutralize each other (*e. g.*, pp. 36, 39, 40, 47, 53, 73, 108, 245, 279). As to the criticism of other systems,

Kant never taught that "we have the power to *think* distinctly the unknowable . . . although without any sort of empirical determinations" (p. 22). If he had thought so, the Dialectic would have been unnecessary. No "rationalist," not even Hume, held that "the value of knowledge lies in the exclusion of the will" (p. 28). A systematic account of experience would have been impossible on such terms. It is not true to history to say that "dogmatism is animated by the hope of discovering original being whence all things proceed logically and really" (p. 33). Read "substance" for "being," and the truth begins to appear. On the other hand, the inference our author draws from such statements is correct. He bends his energy to show that these standpoints leave a certain *residuum* unexplained, and this he holds to be the peculiar sphere of mysticism. Here he at once lapses, and necessarily so, into the serried dogmatism of the doctrines to which he has so justly taken exception.

His "universal mysticism" (p. 5) involves a return to the mediæval attitude which substitutes "*fiat* for the copula" (p. 11), and to the uncritical analytic of the seventeenth century—"the understanding does not include all the facts of consciousness in the field of its discursive work" (p. 7). To these errors, results possibly of a Roman Catholic environment, one cannot but refer the strange affirmations that often stagger the reader: "Mysticism claims to be able to *know* the *unknowable* without help from dialectics" (p. 7), yet "there is nothing in mysticism whereby to extend experience" (p. 24; *cf.* pp. 31 f.). Categories, as "forms," are opposed to "such wholly interior acts as I will, I ought, I am" (p. 39)—as if these were not themselves categories. "Mystic experience is neither the work of the senses nor of the understanding" (p. 40), yet it trusts "in the rationality of desire" (p. 53), and holds that "only in nature is God possible for us and appreciable by us" (p. 65). Obviously the senses and the understanding have nothing to do with nature! Again, "the paths of science and mysticism never meet at any point" (p. 47), yet "the scientific Infinite has its own prestige of superstition, and its own mysticism" (p. 74). Further, "a man, *in himself alone*, is worth the whole order of empirical things" (p. 279)—as if there ever were or could be such a forlorn being! These, and many like them, are direct issues from the basal fallacy of the work—a denial of the unknowable, but with a relative affirmation (constantly contradicted in the text, however) that the unknowable furnishes the basis of mysticism (*cf.* pp. 19, 24, 32, 119-21). No doubt some palliative may be extracted from the astonishing admissions

made from time to time. "Mystic consciousness can be only imperfectly realized" (p. 129); the Infinite is "him" (p. 133); "the principle of this intuition is no other than the active intellect" (p. 149); "freedom in man is only trying its wings" (p. 193); "practically and definitively there is no apparition of the Absolute except in the human personality" (p. 218).

The truth is that the work, though admirable as an analytic of mystic elements, abounds too much in unelaborated suggestions which, by their very lack of elaboration, have missed integration. The author has not thought through to any tangible and operative conclusions. Nevertheless some good points are scored, to which I can but refer (*e. g.*, pp. 8, 87, 95, 114-18, 157, 176, 186, 274). The best of them possibly is the epigram, "The Absolute is person raised to the *nth* power" (p. 198). The positive errors are few: "objectivate" for "objectify" (p. 15), the misspelling of Whitney's name (p. 121, note), and the misreading of the title of Fouillée's great work (p. 239, note). Far more serious are the occasional lapses into what comes perilously near meaninglessness: "irruption" (p. 127); the "unconditioned and unknowable Absolute" which yet manifests itself as "human" (pp. 130, 131); the unmitigated individualism of mysticism (p. 143); the fanciful account of modesty (pp. 228 f.); and the weird natural history of enthusiasm, as it might be called (pp. 250 f.). Some idea of these defects that mar a somewhat unusual performance may be gathered from the following statement, which is typical: "The Absolute, according to the mystic hypothesis, makes answer to the appeals of moral Desire; and it is the Absolute itself which is posited, by means of 'Grace, under purer and better-chosen symbols than it would have been possible for Freedom to have given to herself" (p. 243). The atmosphere of this hardly serves to sustain the modern man. He asks for sustenance and is given gas—after its kind.

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THROUGH NATURE TO GOD. By JOHN FISKE. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1899. Pp. xv + 194. \$1.

THIS little book is similar in standpoint and mode of presentation to its predecessors, *The Destiny of Man* and *The Idea of God*, but it makes the impression that the author finds it increasingly easy to use the language of Christian theism for the expression of his thought. The book contains three essays, the first on "The Mystery of Evil,"

previously published in the *Atlantic Monthly*; the second, "The Cosmic Roots of Love and Self-Sacrifice," originally delivered as the Phi Beta Kappa oration at Harvard, 1895; the third, "The Everlasting Reality of Religion."

The first essay presents the familiar consideration that knowledge of evil is essential to the development of moral character, but supplies new illustrations from the general evolutionary process. The second essay urges, in opposition to Huxley's famous Romanes lecture, the argument that the cosmic process has, after all, its ethical side in spite of its seeming cruelty and relentless struggle for existence. Family life is the source of love and self-sacrifice, and this is a part of the cosmic process. The effect of the lengthening of infancy, which Mr. Fiske has previously brought to notice, is again forcibly stated. The third essay attempts to find in the doctrine of evolution an entirely new argument for theism. Starting with the general conception of life as response to environment, we find that at an early period of human life the soul began to put itself into relation with a supposed ethical world not visible to the senses. This fact is the most important in human development. If this "is a relation of which only the subjective term is real and the objective term is non-existent, it is something utterly without precedent in the whole history of creation." It would be to suppose that in this case progress was achieved, not by adjustment to reality, but by adjustment to non-reality. But the argument in this form would surely prove too much, and applied at various times in the past would have justified many a hard-dying superstition. The fact that an unseen ethical world has become a reality *for the human mind* is certainly a fact of prime importance in determining our theory of the mind, and hence our theory of that reality of which the mind is the crowning expression; but it is too short and easy a method to assume that every belief valuable to human progress has an objective correlate.

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ASPECTS OF RELIGIOUS AND SCIENTIFIC THOUGHT. (The Eversley Series.) By RICHARD HOLT HUTTON. London: Macmillan & Co.; New York: The Macmillan Co., 1899. Pp. xi + 425. \$1.50.

THE title "Aspects" indicates precisely the strength and the limitations of this book. There is no logical construction of a theological

system in this collection of articles from the *Spectator*. They give fifty or more random points of view, for the most part controversial, revealing the author's own doctrine only so far as it comes out in refutation of this or that writer who comes under his review. For the past thirty years every writer of note who has ventured to discuss religious topics has had to run the gauntlet of the searching criticism of the *Spectator*. Professors Clifford, Tyndall, Huxley, Sidgwick, Jowett, and Wace; Drs. Martineau and Abbott; Canons Liddon and Kingsley; Cardinal Newman; Messrs. Gladstone, John Morley, Herbert Spencer, Frederic Harrison, John Stuart Mill, George MacDonald, Matthew Arnold, Clough, Tennyson, Browning, and a host of lesser lights, are called to account for the faith, or lack of faith, that is in them. Such subjects as "Creeds and Worship," "The Various Causes of Scepticism," "The Spiritual Fatigue of the World," "God and Ideas of God," "The Limits of Free Will," "Inspiration," "Atonement," "Natural and Supernatural," "Science and Mystery," "Reasonable Prayer," are lighted up with shrewd spiritual insight and happy literary expression.

The author's own position is unique and suggestive. A man of the most positive faith, to whom what he said of Browning was applicable, "He believed, from his heart, that Christ revealed God, and was personally the divine son of God, in a sense a great deal deeper and a great deal more vivid and personal than most orthodox Christians;" who says, "I am not ashamed to feel far more sympathy with the nobler aspects of unbelief than with the ignobler and shiftier aspects of so-called faith;" one who prizes the recital of a creed as an act of intellectual worship which fortifies the soul, yet who favors the frank confession by all thinking laymen of the points on which they find difficulty in accepting creeds; one who finds the truest explanation of the shortcomings of skepticism in our generation in the faults of the orthodoxy of the previous generation; a man who delights in the keenest intellectual gymnastics, yet deprecates the tendency to "habitual inhabiting of a merely intellectual world;" a believer in miracle, yet who refuses to pin his faith to every particular event supposed to be such; a strenuous antagonist of every form of unbelief, yet so unwilling to call any man an atheist that he says: "To speak of those who do not themselves see God as 'living without God in the world' is itself atheism. You might as well suppose that before the atmosphere was recognized as having weight and substance, men who did not know the difference between it and a vacuum lived without the air they breathed;" he is

admirably fitted to lead the reader through the intricate labyrinth of recent religious speculation into the promised land of a faith at once intellectually clear and spiritually deep.

The man who can afford but few books should never buy a sketchy book of any kind. The man who wishes to make his theological library complete cannot afford to leave out this book of contemporary controversial comment on the most significant spiritual movements of the last third of the nineteenth century.

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GRIECHISCHE GÖTTERLEHRE, in ihren Grundzügen dargestellt.  
Von OTTO GILBERT. Leipzig: Verlag von Eduard Avenarius,  
1898. Pp. iii + 516. M. 10.

HERE is a work of erudition and imagination all compact, and it would be no easy thing to say which of the two predominates. Certainly no more venturesome excursion into the upper air of old Greek thought has recently been made, nor has any earlier æronaut taken in more ballast. Since Max Müller determined that mythology was a mere disease of language, and so unlocked the secret of the universal sun-myth—a solution in good part anticipated by Theagenes of Megara four and twenty centuries ago—we have had nothing more consistent and thoroughgoing than this theogony of Otto Gilbert.

Short work he makes of the crass old mythology: "Es hat keine Götter gegeben, die auf der Erde sich umhergetrieben, am irdischen Weine sich berauscht, auf irdischen Böcken und Stieren geritten, mit irdischen Dingen Spiel und Unfug getrieben haben. . . . Das Leben der Götter ist ein himmlisches: am Himmel ziehen sie ihre Bahnen; aus der Höhe des Himmels offenbaren sie sich. . . . Mythen sind Erzählungen von den Geschehnissen seiner Götter, die 'heiligen Geschichten' von den Personen des Himmels." (P. 3.)

In short, the religion of the oldest Hellene is a pure *Himmels-glaube*. He regards the blue vault above him as a divine person, from whom all blessings flow and all bane as well; for Heaven himself is ruled by two eternally warring powers, Darkness and Light. This is the Hellenic trinity: the Heaven-Father (*Zeus πατήρ*) and his offspring, Darkness and Light, two persons manifest in many forms and under many names; and about this trinity revolves the total life of heaven.

Man watches the play of these heavenly powers and translates it all in terms of his own terrene experience ; and this is mythology. Instead of raising mortals to the skies he draws his deities down. And yet the exponent of this pure *Himmels Glaube* cannot forbear the trite observation : "Nicht Gott hat die Menschen nach seinem Bilde : der Mensch hat die Götter nach *seinem* Bilde geschaffen."

To review a work like this within our limits and with any thoroughness is out of the question ; it is too original for that, and too close-packed with matter. The author does not even take time to indicate his post or quality (only he must not be mistaken for Gustav Gilbert of the *Staatsalterthümer*) ; and, without a word of preface, and with but a page for contents and abbreviations together, he plunges into his subject, and reserves at last but eight pages for a too meager index. Following a brief introductory chapter on "Mythologie" comes an *Allgemeiner Theil*, with chapters on "Weltanschauung," "Mythogenie," "Mythopoesie," and "Zeitauffassung ;" and this is followed by a *Spezieller Theil*, comprising chapters on "Himmel und Erde," "Dunkel und Licht," "Dunkel," "Sonne," "Nacht," "Mond," "Sonne und Mond," and "Göttersysteme."

In the first part Gilbert sketches with a bold, free hand the evolution of religion as he conceives it on the lines above indicated, while in the second he has given us a new theogony—alluring in its boldness and originality, but suspicious in its very symmetry. No polygonal masonry was ever more perfectly jointed than this mosaic of gods, among whom the simple student of Homer and Hesiod finds so many misfits. Even the philological mythology with its easy equations is less smooth. There is but one *Himmelsgott*—Zeus, lord of the ægis (or storm-cloud) and the thunderbolt ; but he has a double. Poseidon is only another Zeus, originally bearing the same name (Poseidon = *Poti-dan*, i. e., Zeus in his relation to the heavenly wet !). So there is one mother-god, Gaia, of whom Demeter, Dione, Themis, Leto, and all the heavenly harem are but so many doubles—thus vindicating the Olympian morality which has suffered in the poets' hands. This process of reduction is the key to the work. Orpheus, for example, "ist der gestorbene aber nicht im Tode gehaltene Dionysos selbst" (p. 306). "Hermes und Pan sind von Haus aus identisch" (p. 231)—a fact mercifully hidden from Praxiteles and his colleagues of the chisel. So Hermes is but another Hades ; and indeed Hermes-Hades is his style in the new theogony until we are led up to a Hermes-Pan-Hades as "*der* echt hellenische Dunkelgott." And in

this connection it may be noted that Gilbert regards the Homeric hymn to Hermes as the weightiest authority on the history of old Greek religion which has come down to us.

We cannot dwell on our author's handling of the "Göttersysteme" (chap. xii), but he maintains stoutly (as against Ernst Curtius) that the ground-stock of the Greek gods is of Hellenic origin. Zeus-Poseidon, Gaia-Hestia-Demeter, Hermes-Hades, Helios-Apollon, Kore-Athene-Persephone (this last equation may surprise the reader) are old Hellenic gods, and in spite of manifold foreign influences have in the core and in all their main features remained Hellenic. On the other hand, Kronos, the sun-god Zeus, Rhea, and Hera are Creto-Phrygian; Demeter, Thessalian; Ares, Artemis, Dionysus, Scytho-Thracian; Hephæstus and Prometheus (possibly Athene as well), Tyrrhenian; Aphrodite alone of Phœnician stock, though already in the Homeric poems completely Hellenized.

Of all these but one has profoundly influenced the development of Greek religion, and that is the Phrygio-Thracian sun-god Dionysus, who has imported into Greek thought the idea of the son of God dying, but in his death prevailing over hell ("Dionysos hat Hölle und Tod überwunden und ist damit für alle Herzen der leuchtende Hoffnungsstern geworden"). Erwin Rohde, whose *Psyche* is a far nobler contribution to the history of religious thought in Greece, had already found the spring of all Greek *Mystik*, not in the Eleusinian mysteries, but in the Dionysiac religion, in whose ecstatic rapture the human spirit burst its prison-house and man became god (*Religion der Griechen*, p. 21). If Gilbert has grasped this higher spiritual conception and interpreted it in terms rather too sacred for us, the pagan in him verges on the dithyrambic in praise of the Dionysus we have always known. Few of the poets have sung the sunny wine-god in strains that rise above our author's glowing prose (pp. 312 f.); but, indeed, the poetic note is not infrequent with him.

The bane of the book is over-symmetry. As mythology is nothing but the adventures of the heavenly powers as seen by the human eye and reported in human speech, so worship is only those adventures dramatized. "Der Cult ist die mimische Darstellung der himmlischen Vorgänge, die dramatische Aufführung der Götterhandlungen." The generalization is entirely too broad. Again, of the wondrous works of art which Homer ascribes to Hephæstus we are told: "Es kann keinem Zweifel unterliegen, dass hier nicht von irdischen Werken die Rede ist, sondern von jenen himmlischen Wolkengebilden in denen und



zwischen denen die Götter selbst wandelten und thaten." And Achilles' shield is cited in illustration. Now, this is simply preposterous ; the scenes on the shield are (with one sole exception) purely human and mundane, while the processes as well as the subjects are actual Mycenæan.

For so sumptuous a book and so learned the proof-reading is astonishingly bad.

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**AUTHORITY AND ARCHÆOLOGY, SACRED AND PROFANE: Essays on the Relation of Monuments to Biblical and Classical Literature.** By S. R. DRIVER, D.D.; ERNEST A. GARDNER, M.A.; F. LL. GRIFFITH, M.A.; F. HAVERFIELD, M.A.; A. C. HEADLAM, B.D.; D. G. HOGARTH, M.A. Edited by DAVID G. HOGARTH. New York: Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons, 1899. Pp. xvi + 440. \$5.

THIS is a very useful volume. In a series of essays it discusses the effect of recent archæological discoveries upon the trustworthiness of biblical and classical writers. Such summaries of results should be welcome aids to the general Bible student. Even scholars may find valuable information here, if not in their own, at least in adjoining fields. It was a happy idea to bring together in one book the chief results of archæological research in Hebrew, Egyptian, Assyrio-Babylonian, Greek, Roman, and Christian antiquity. In the main, the purpose has been well accomplished.

It must have been somewhat of a task to find a suitable title to cover such a collection of essays. But Mr. Hogarth has been singularly infelicitous in his choice. "Authority and archæology" is bad ; "sacred and profane" is worse. Archæology is defined by the editor as "the science of the treatment of the material remains of the human past." These "material remains" are placed over against the "literary remains" or "documents of letters." Yet the whole cuneiform literature, the hieroglyphic inscriptions, and even the written papyri, are classed as "material remains." A version of the deluge myth is preserved by Berosus, Alexander Polyhistor, and Eusebius ; another is inscribed on a clay tablet. The former is counted as a literary document, the latter as material remains. Is there not something palpably artificial in this distinction ? There is a vast field of material remains

expressing human intelligence in other ways than by the symbolism of letters. This field belongs legitimately to archæology. But it is not apparent why this science should claim one part of literature while excluding another. Mesha's stone belongs to the material remains of antiquity. But the inscription upon it is just as much a literary document as the parallel narrative in the book of Kings. A book which has been covered by a heap of dirt, and happens to have been written on clay, is not less a book than one which has only been covered by library dust and happens to have been printed on paper.

These comments upon the title in no way, however, affect the value of the essays. Professor Driver's contribution is extensive enough to form a volume of its own. And this volume should be in the hands of every pastor and teacher, were it only for the excellent translations it contains of such inscriptions as the Babylonian creation and deluge stories, the Merenptah inscription, the Marseilles tablet, the Mesha inscription, the references to Israel in Assyrian annals, the Nabunaid Chronicle, the Sinjirli inscriptions, and various Nabatean, Palmyrene, and Phœnician inscriptions. Nowhere else is there so handy a collection of these important writings in English. Professor Driver's attitude is one that should command respect and confidence. He is conservative in the best sense. No item of cherished belief is likely to be thrown away by him if it has even the most precarious chance of justifying its existence. Often he will leave the reader to draw his own conclusion rather than even suggest what the necessary inference must be. Thus the question whether the patriarchs were historic personages is left hanging in the air. All the more weight attaches to the results boldly stated. "The early narratives of Genesis," he says, "are not, in our sense of the term, historical" (p. 35). He thinks that the monuments have brought the four kings of Genesis, chap. 14, into the light of history, and shown us that they were contemporaries, and that three of them ruled where they are said to have ruled. This is affirming too much. Kudur Lagamar has not yet been found. Eri-ékua and Tudchula are not represented as kings. That Amraphel is Cham-murabi is far from certain. The inscriptions on which the suspected names occurred are not earlier than the Persian period. Kuenen states the real difficulties with the Joseph story more convincingly than Driver. Even the identification of Pithom with Tell el Maskhuta I hold with Revillout to be quite doubtful. On the other hand, the identification of the Aperiu with the Hebrews is, as it seems to me, too lightly set aside. It is quite possible that the Aperiu represent Ibrim,

which may mean "nomads." Occasionally these nomads would be pressed into service. The Chabiri of the Amarna tablets may be the cuneiform rendering of the same general designation of the "wanderers," those who pass from place to place, the Bedawin. The Merenptah inscription clearly presents "Israel" as living in Syria. The term probably indicates a Palestinian tribe afterward giving its name to a congeries of tribes. One misses in the discussion of the exodus a consideration of Winckler's important hypothesis as to the northwest Arabian Muṣri being the original home of some of those tribes that worshiped at Sinai and afterward became a constituent part of the Bene Israel. As Professor Driver is inclined to the view that Sinai was east of the Ælanitic Gulf, there was additional reason for considering Winckler's hypothesis. It affects the later history also. The second chapter is called "The Kings and After," but the "after" receives scant attention. Yet the evidence of the monuments has had much to do with exposing the untrustworthiness of that construction of post-exilic history which meets us in the chronicler and Daniel, and there are many questions in this realm on which it would have been interesting to have Professor Driver's views. While the judicious criticism of Professor Sayce may profitably be heeded, not only by this brilliant scholar, but also by many of his indignant critics who do the same things, it should not be forgotten that science is advanced as much by the opening up of new vistas, by the bringing together of fresh material for comparison, by bold conjecture and audacious reconstruction, as by the careful, sifting process of criticism in which Professor Driver is a master.

Part second deals with "Classical Authority," and under this head discusses "Egypt and Assyria," "Prehistoric Greece," "Historic Greece," and "The Roman World." Mr. Griffith, as might be expected, treats in an admirable manner the relative value of the information concerning Egypt which we possess through Herodotus and the Manethonian fragments, and that secured through the native literature. There are numerous observations that are of value to the student in this essay, though the author's faithfulness to the general plan of the work deprives the reader of that clear-cut sketch of the progress of Egyptology of which the graphic and discriminating account of the labors of Akert, Young, and Champollion gives so fine a promise. It is of interest to notice that Mr. Griffith accepts the identification of *Mn* on the tomb at Nagadeh as Menes. The Assyriological part of Mr. Griffith's paper is less satisfactory.

An excellent piece of work is Mr. Hogarth's chapter on "Prehistoric Greece." His conclusion that "we have probably to deal with a total period of civilization in the Ægean not much shorter than in the Nile valley," well illustrates the revolution wrought by archæological research in this field. It was Eduard Meyer, that prince of historians, who first clearly discerned the bearing of the facts brought to light by Schliemann and his successors. Authority is, of course, represented chiefly by Homer. One would have been grateful to Mr. Hogarth for a succinct account, in this place, of the present status of the Homeric question. The reader does not get a clear conception of how far archæological study has thrown light upon the date and composition of the poems.

Professor Gardner's essay on "Historic Greece" is a masterly treatment of the material remains of post-Mycenæan Greece. The methods as well as the results are here set forth with a lucidity, strength, and dignity calculated to convince the student that classical archæology is not only an indispensable adjunct to the study of classical literature, but also a model for students of the material remains of other peoples.

This impression is greatly strengthened by the splendid contribution made by Mr. Haverfield. He points out the striking fact that, while for our knowledge of the Roman republic we depend almost exclusively on literary sources, the bulk of our information concerning the Roman empire is derived from material remains. That archæology should be our chief guide for the so-called prehistoric period is less strange. Mr. Haverfield thinks that the Italian tribes drove the Ligurian population out of the Po valley some twelve or fourteen centuries before the Christian era. The Etruscan immigration from the Ægean he regards as later than the Mycenæan age. It Eduard Meyer is right in identifying the Tursa appearing in the time of Merenptah, in the thirteenth century, with the Tyrrhenians-Etruscans, a much earlier date must be assumed both for the Latin invasion from the north and the Etruscan from the east. While indicating that archæology has strengthened the presumption that a nucleus of fact occasionally lies behind a legend, he wisely remarks that it does not follow that there is such a basis everywhere. "Such coincidents between fact and legend are, after all, little more than encouragements to the explorer." Mr. Haverfield shows in an interesting manner, by the aid of epigraphical material, the extent of local self-government accorded by Rome to the provinces, and how this policy of home rule was only checked by the

extension of the Italian town system, which was of a superior type, through the western provinces.

Part third deals with "Christian Authority." It is divided into three chapters, on "The Early Church," "Remains in Phrygia," and "The Catacombs at Rome." Mr. Headlam seeks "to estimate the gain accruing to our knowledge and conception of early Christianity from archæological discovery." The attention is first turned to the Greek papyri. The Rainer fragment, the gospel and apocalypse of Peter, the Oxyrhynchus Logia, the *libelli*, and the "enrolment" documents are introduced. Everywhere the writer's conservative attitude is seen. Even Ramsay's flimsy apologetic structure is allowed to furnish a corroboration of Luke. The conclusion reached is that we learn little, if anything, which is new concerning the life of Jesus or the apostolic age from the literary and monumental remains which have been recently discovered. Nevertheless they contribute much indirectly by filling in the background to Christianity during the first and second centuries of the Christian era. The provincial administration of the empire, the worship of the emperor, and the pagan organizations for religious worship are understood mainly through archæological material.

The discussion of the Phrygian epitaphs is drawn chiefly from Ramsay's *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, and is a valuable summary for those who have not the original work at hand. The large number of inscriptions found in this district of Asia Minor belong to the second century, and show the extent, status, and ideas of Christianity in this locality in a most interesting way. The famous epitaph of Avircius, dating from about 200 A. D., is well discussed, and is held to be Christian, against Ficker and Harnack, probably correctly.

The last chapter deals instructively with the catacombs at Rome, which Mr. Headlam holds were excavated by the Roman Christians for burial places, beginning as early as 100 A. D. The work was done by a regular order of professional tomb-diggers. The underground cemetery was not chosen for concealment, but for convenience. The catacombs were used chiefly during the second and third centuries, and the inscriptions and paintings throw much light on the Christian ideas, rites, practices, and membership of the Roman church. We see how the churches were organized as burial societies in order to be able to hold property, and also how Christian influences reached the imperial family as early as the first century.

The book is provided with a good index. It is excellently printed, and presented to the public in a very attractive form.

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HANDBUCH DER GESCHICHTE DES ALTEN UND NEUEN BUNDES. I. Geschichte des Alten Bundes; ein Handbuch zum geschichtlichen Verständniss des Alten Testaments. Von LIC. THEOL. DR. C. THOMAS. Magdeburg: Verlag von S. Böhling, 1897. Pp. xii + 819. M. 9.

HISTOIRE DU PEUPLE D'ISRAËL. Par C. PIEPENBRING. Strasbourg: Librairie J. Noirel, 1898. Pp. iv + 730. F. 8.

HISTORY OF THE PEOPLE OF ISRAEL. From the Earliest Times to the Destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans. Written for Lay Readers. By CARL HEINRICH CORNILL, PH.D., S.T.D. Translated by W. H. Carruth. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Co., 1898. Pp. 325. \$1.50.

A HISTORY OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE. During the Babylonian, Persian and Greek Periods. By CHARLES FOSTER KENT, PH.D. With Maps and Chart. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1899. Pp. xx + 380. \$1.25.

GESCHICHTE DES VOLKES ISRAEL. VON DR. HERMANN GUTHE. (=Grundriss der theologischen Wissenschaften, zweiter Theil, dritter Band.) Freiburg i. B. und Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1899. Pp. xii + 326. Bound, M. 7.

EVIDENTLY interest in the history of the people of Israel is not on the wane. Never has the investigation of its problems been more active and widespread than within the last few years. The above-named list of works is sufficiently illustrative thereof. The list also distinctly attests another important point, viz., that this interest of inquiry is spreading beyond the ranks of scholars and professional students in biblical and theological lines. At least three out of the five books are intended for popular reading. One especially declares its *raison d'être* to be in the interest of "lay readers." Professor Kent's *History of Israel*, of which the present volume is an organic part, is meeting with large acceptance among the great body of biblical students and is designed for popular reading. It is interesting also to observe that Thomas states in his preface that he writes for the great body of teachers in German common and high schools who wish to

keep abreast of the best work done in biblical investigation, in order to prepare themselves better for the religious education of youth. These are significant facts.

The work of Thomas has many attractive features. It is remarkably full and well-rounded. The setting of the scene is given much attention. The history of the ancient world in which Israel's life was passed is narrated in detail. Much space is given to the literature as illustrating the life. Two styles of type are employed: a larger, in which the main narrative is given; a smaller, in which questions of detail and of literary and historical criticism are printed. The page is large and clear, and contains a great quantity of matter. The subject is pursued down to the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus. The point of view is moderately advanced. While the author, for example, regards the patriarchal narratives as legends, he recognizes a historical basis in them. Abraham is to him a historical character. Altogether this is one of the completest and most useful single-volume histories of Israel that have been produced. One thing is curious, the complete absence of references to modern writers. In the preface acknowledgment is made of indebtedness to the best German scholars, but not one suggestion to readers as to their discussions appears in the body of the book. The plan of the book embraces six grand divisions: (1) the age of the patriarchs, (2) the age of Moses, (3) the age of the heroes (Judges), (4) the age of the prophets (Samuel to Jeremiah), (5) the age of the priests, (6) the age of the scribes.

Piepenbring has given to French readers the first reasonably satisfactory history of Israel in a single volume. The style is simple and clear. The point of view is that of modern criticism. The author holds that the narrative of Israel's history may safely be begun with the exodus. Abundant references are given to the literature of modern German, French, and English investigation. The best feature of the book is the series of summaries of the social and religious life given at the end of each period. The two defects are the failure satisfactorily to present contemporary history and the lack of originality in the presentation, exhibited not so much in the absence of new solutions of old problems as in the manifest dependence of the author upon the writings of other scholars, and the impression thereby created that he is simply reproducing the best things that other men have written. Perhaps, however, if some other popular writers on the subject were equally honest in indicating their sources, the same impression would be created.

Cornill stands, in some respects, in a class by himself. He combines originality, which is sometimes paradoxical, with evangelical fervor, that passes into mysticism. The three hundred pages in which he seeks to portray his theme force him to strike at salient points, to omit much, to generalize freely. His powers fit him admirably for this task. He has said many clever and suggestive things, often summing up epochs in a sentence, or parties and policies in a phrase. But there are dangers in this way which he has not escaped. These consist chiefly in the sacrifice of exactness to originality and effectiveness. He falls into extravagance, sometimes, and monotonous overemphasis. Almost every biblical hero is "the most ideal figure in all history." Bathsheba is a "demoniac creature." His Assyriology is not always accurate, and the careful student will pick him up in various minor slips. His point of view is that of a moderately advanced evangelical critic. He holds strenuously to the historical character of Abraham, but gives up the other patriarchs to legend. No one can read him without profit and stimulation, but he has not produced a practical single-volume book which can be recommended to general readers as the one with which to begin their acquaintance with modern investigations in biblical history. There is a complete absence of references of every kind, but a good index. The translation does not strike us as altogether accurate, but it is spirited and readable.

Israel in the post-exilic age is beginning to rise before us in something like its real greatness. One is tempted at times to fear that the enthusiastic delineations of some modern scholars are little more than fancy pictures. *All* the inspiring ideas, and *all* the greatest literature, and *all* the sublimest aspirations which are Israel's bequest to the future belong, if they are to be believed, to this epoch. It is fitting that the latest view in its best elements be presented to the larger world of unprofessional students. This service has been performed by Professor Kent in his volume on Jewish history from the exile to the Maccabees. That he has done it with success all who are familiar with his former volumes in this series will hasten to affirm. One may differ from him in points of detail and be forced in some cases to question the groundwork of his presentation of certain epochs. But his admirable clearness of exposition and his employment of the literature of the period to illustrate its life give firmness and broadness to his work, and will open the eyes of many readers of the Bible to new meanings in the often unintelligible chapters of the later Old Testament writings. In form



and adjuncts such as indices, maps, etc., the volume is thoroughly up to the modern requirements.

Guthe's history is the latest production of German scholarship. It belongs to the series which contains Cornill's *Introduction* and Benzinger's *Archæology*. It is thoroughly abreast of the most modern views. It may be said to represent radical scholarship. In it is covered the entire range of Israel's history to the last fall of Jerusalem in 135 A. D. This broad field is handled in brief space, not by emphasizing great epochs, as does Cornill, but by concise and condensed discussions. There are ninety-four sections organized under three main headings: (1) from the beginnings of the people of Israel to the kingdom of David, (2) Israel under kings, (3) the Jewish community (*das Judenthum*). To each section is prefixed a body of special references for more detailed study. Nowhere else has so much material for students been packed into so little space. Guthe's is not a book of genius and insight like that of Wellhausen, but it is more practical. Students will find it a better basis for further investigations. This is not to say that it does not contain much original work and new points of view. Perhaps the most striking thing is its assignment of Israel's absorption of Canaanite culture and religion, including the formation of the legends of the patriarchs, to the period between Solomon and the dynasty of Omri. On the whole the book seems a somewhat curious combination of wholesome skepticism and bold acceptance of advanced positions without adequate grounds.

One may conclude with two remarks: (1) There is a substantial unity reached by these scholars in the main points of Israelitish history. One does not find anything particularly new in these books. The variety lies in the mode of presentation, the emphasis, the breadth of view. (2) On the other hand, in a few points there is difference of opinion. One school of investigators seems to regard its task as unfinished, as demanding further radical reconstructions of the history and literature of Israel. There are others who regard this as unwarranted and an unhealthy straining after novelties. They are calling a halt and suggesting the folly of the abuse of good critical principles. These varying tendencies illustrate themselves in the attitudes taken by the writers of these works toward two debatable fields in Old Testament history. One of these fields is the patriarchal age. Guthe is the only writer who refuses any real historical character to the narratives of the patriarchs. The others find more or less history there. Another field is the time of Ezra and Nehemiah. Did Nehemiah precede Ezra or *vice versa*? It is interesting to observe

that, attractive as is the new view which places Ezra after Nehemiah, only Kent and Guthe accept it. Evidently it is not yet accredited among biblical scholars. Especially significant is the conclusion of Marti on this point in his article "Chronology" in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*. He decides against the new view chiefly on the ground of Ed. Meyer's investigations. Wellhausen's latest, somewhat petulant, utterance that he is getting too old to keep up with the new critical theories will find an echo in many circles of scholars, who prefer the solid acquisitions of established investigation conducted on sound principles to the more brilliant discoveries of advanced scholars whose dependence is too often upon their own subjective conceptions, whether in textual, literary, or historical lines.

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THE BOOK OF JOSHUA: *Polychrome Edition*. By REV. W. H. BENNETT, M.A., Professor of Old Testament Languages and Literature in Hackney and New Colleges, London. Eleven full-page and twenty-five smaller Illustrations. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co.; London: James Clarke & Co., 1899. Pp. viii + 93. \$1.25.

THE translation is an excellent rendering into modern English. It is sometimes rather startling, *e. g.*, 10:14: "So Joshua massacred the inhabitants of the whole land . . . he 'devoted' every living creature." Again it is often luminous, *e. g.*, 10:42: "Joshua conquered their land in a single season" (R. V., "at one time"). Words presumably implied in the original are added with some freedom. A notable instance is 17:18: "Ye shall have the hill country of *Gilead*." Such words as Negeb, Arabah, Shēōl, Joshua ben-Nun are left in the original, as being more intelligible than the colorless translations.

The book is divided into two main divisions: (1) "The Conquest," chaps. 1-12, (2) "The Division of the Land," chaps. 13-24. Each of these is subdivided into paragraphs with appropriate headings.

The text is that of the "Sacred Books of the Old Testament," edited by Paul Haupt. It often follows the LXX, especially in omissions. Chap. 20:4-6a, c is the most notable omission. The critical marks are a masterpiece of ingenuity. They are so unobtrusive as not at all to interfere with the reading of the text, yet so suggestive as to indicate immediately the nature of the emendation. The Polychrome Bible has shown the fine possibilities of typography to express thought in the most compact form.

The date, authorship, and composition of the Hexateuch are not discussed in this volume, beyond a brief summary. Three sets of redactions are assumed: RJE, RD, RP. By the use of nine colors and italics, fourteen different indications of authorship are obtained. It has not been felt by scholars in general that J and E can be distinguished in Joshua, although the composite character of JE is evident. Professor Bennett, however, has endeavored to divide most of the narratives between the two writers. In some cases he has indicated earlier strata within the documents. RD and RP follow generally the usual lines. The last verse is assigned to RP instead of E, as most scholars, chiefly on the ground that any reference to an Aaronic priesthood should be removed from E. This suggests the constant danger of the *petitio principii* to which the literary analysis is exposed.

The notes are chiefly textual and archæological. The scope of the work probably precludes the consideration of theological problems, but one would expect a fuller treatment of questions of historicity. A valuable feature is the alphabetical list of cities, with general location and, where possible, identification and modern equivalent. The illustrations of towns and sites are good.

Some interesting notes are as follows: Jerusalem=City of Safety (not peace); 10:12 indicates a time before noon, and the prayer is, "May God give us victory before the sun sets;" the cities of refuge were ancient sanctuaries; 5:2 records the *institution* of circumcision by Joshua (!); 17:14-18 indicates, in the emended text, that the Manassites conquered Gilead from the west; 22:33, 34 omit mention of the half tribe of Manasseh, and where it appears elsewhere in the chapter it is an addition.

The work contains an excursus of eight pages on the Tel el-Amarna tablets, with a number of illustrations. This is one of the best brief presentations of the subject, and has the merit of avoiding rash identifications and conclusions.

THEO. G. SOARES.

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DAS BUCH DER KÖNIGE (Reg. III, IV). Untersuchung seiner Bestandteile und seines litterarischen und geschichtlichen Characters. Von DR. CARL HOLZHEY, Privatdozent an der Universität München. München: Lentner'sche Buchhandlung, 1899. Pp. viii + 63. M. 1.40.

THIS straightforward and clearly written investigation into the books of Kings affords an excellent orientation in the general problems

of these books, as well as an admirable introduction into the methods and results of modern critical study of the Old Testament. That the beginner in the investigation of problems of criticism can have no better starting-point than these books has not been recognized as it deserves. At the same time they offer an unequalled opportunity for attacking the historical and archæological problems. Holzhey frankly allows that he contributes little that is new to the discussion of these matters; his results do not differ in the main from those presented in the writings of Kuenen or Driver. He argues for a pre-exilic book of Kings which has been worked over by an exilic priestly writer about 545 B. C. The most interesting parts of his discussion are (1) that in which he maintains on good grounds that the Elijah stories are in their present form much later than has been ordinarily thought, and (2) the grounding of the special theological and historical characteristics of the canonical books of Kings in the conditions of the exile, particularly in the reflections roused in the minds of the pious by the contemplation of Babylonian civilization and the comparison of it with their own. The large treatment which Holzhey gives suggests, however, the absolute necessity of more detailed investigation of the various conclusions reached. Here is a field as yet largely unworked, but one in which the results of investigation are sure to be significant and fruitful. Meinhold's work on Isa., chaps. 36-39, and 2 Kings, chaps. 18-20, is an example of what may be done in many sections of these books.

GEORGE S. GOODSPEED.

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TOD, SEELENGLAUBE UND SEELENKULT IM ALTEN ISRAEL. Eine religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung. Von MAG. THEOL. JOHANNES FREY, Privatdozent an der Universität zu Dorpat. Leipzig: A. Deichert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung Nachf. (Georg Böhme), 1898. Pp. vi + 244. M. 3.75.

THIS is an investigation into the origins of the ideas of death and the condition of the soul after death among the Israelites. The point of view is that of the most recent critical science as applied to the Old Testament. The author finds himself in accord with the critical school, both as to the historico-literary question of the nature, date, and credibility of the sources, and the philosophical one of the probable origin and development of religious ideas in general. On the latter point he recognizes the fact that the men of the critical school are not

of one mind. For while some refer the origin of all religion to the observation of nature, others find its root in the consciousness of power within man. But he considers this a mere superficial difference, inasmuch as both classes of thinkers agree in tracing the origin and growth of ideas in Israel, as among other nations, along a purely naturalistic path. Among the most important of these ideas are those which center in the subjects of death and the hereafter. These have never been subjected to a thorough and searching investigation. The path along which Stade made a beginning of such investigation (*Geschichte des Volkes Israel*), which was followed more consistently by Schwally (*Das Leben nach dem Tode nach den Vorstellungen des alten Israel*, u. s. w.) was not altogether safe, though yielding some satisfactory results. The chief difficulty lay in the necessity, under which these authors found themselves, of falling back upon pure conjecture by the setting aside of the written sources as altogether untrustworthy. Frey concedes that the written sources come from a much later age, and are, therefore, not usable as direct witnesses to the origin of religious ideas in the earliest period of Israelitish history. But he believes that they are very valuable as indirect witnesses. They contain information as to customs and rites practiced in the earliest ages. From the study of these customs and rites, he thinks, much may be gathered with reference to the original religious ideas underlying them. Particularly is this true of the subjects of death and immortality, as these subjects with their mystery and awe give rise to many significant and instructive ceremonies. It is along this line, accordingly, that he undertakes his investigation and passes in review all practices, whether directly or indirectly related to the subject of death. Such are forms of burial, modes of mourning and lamentation, fasting, burial meals, sacrifices, self-mutilations, and ceremonial uncleanness arising from contact with the dead. Then he adds, finally, a chapter on the portraiture of Shēōl and the grave as found in the Old Testament throughout. His conclusions are in many respects different from those of Stade and Schwally. Negatively, he finds that death was not considered among the early Hebrews a passage into a higher state of existence entitling the deceased to worship on the part of the surviving descendants. On the contrary, it is produced by an act of God which disjoins the soul from the body and casts it into a shadowy and inferior condition, a condition of weakness to be looked upon by the living with commiseration. The net gain, therefore, of the investigation is the refutation of the theory of Herbert Spencer, at least as far as it applies to the

religion of Israel, that belief in the existence of the soul in immortality, and consequently all religion, is rooted in veneration for deceased ancestors. Of course, we cannot regard Frey's essay as based on a sound philosophy and criticism, and therefore as final on this subject. Even its main conclusion, which we have called a net gain, will not remain unchallenged, but he has certainly made a genuine contribution to the subject by the original way in which he has pressed into service a large number of facts hitherto not utilized in the study of this subject.

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VETUS TESTAMENTUM IN NOVO. Die alttestamentliche Parallelen des Neuen Testaments im Wortlaut der Urtexte und der Septuaginta, zusammengestellt von W. DITTMAR, Pfarrer in Walldorf. Erste Hälfte. Evangelien und Apostelgeschichte. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1899. Pp. vii + 176. M. 3.60.

THE contents of this useful volume are fairly well described in the title-page, transcribed above. It differs from earlier books on the New Testament quotations, such as those of Toy, Böhl, Haupt, Vollmer, and Johnson, in two respects. On the one hand it presents the material for study much more fully than these other writers have done: its list of quotations—or rather of parallels to the Old Testament—is much fuller than that of these other books; it gives the leading variant readings of the New Testament and the Septuagint; and it indicates by expedients of underlining and spacing the agreements of the New Testament with the Septuagint and the Hebrew, and with variants of both. On the other side it does not enter at all into the interpretation of the texts or the consideration of the use made of the Old Testament by the New Testament writers. For this purpose other books will still hold their place. But for the student who wants the material before him in convenient form for his own study this is an admirable book, as the test of actual use has shown. It is to be hoped that its publication will promote the study of the New Testament parallels to the Old Testament, than which there is no better way of gaining an insight into the conceptions which Jesus and the New Testament writers had of the Old Testament, and that a second volume containing the

parallels for the remaining books of the New Testament may soon appear.

ERNEST D. BURTON.

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THE PALESTINIAN SYRIAC LECTIONARY OF THE GOSPELS. Re-edited from two Sinai MSS. and from P. de Lagarde's edition of the *Evangeliarium Hierosolymitanum*. By AGNES SMITH LEWIS and MARGARET DUNLOP GIBSON. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd., 1899. Pp. lxxii + 320. Large 4to. 55s.

EIGHT years ago the Palestinian Syriac Lectionary of the gospels was known in but a single manuscript. This was a codex written in the year 1030 (= Codex A, in this edition), and belonging to the Vatican library. It was published in 1864 by Count Mirriscalchi-Erizzo, and again edited by Paul de Lagarde, whose work appeared in 1892, after his death. In 1892 a second manuscript of the lectionary (= Codex B) was discovered by Mrs. Lewis in the convent of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai, where she had just found the palimpsest of the gospels which has so enlarged our knowledge of the Old Syriac text, and in 1893 a third (= Codex C) was discovered in the same convent by Professor J. Rendel Harris. These manuscripts were a little younger than the Vatican manuscript, being from the years 1104 and 1118 A. D., respectively; but, as supporting and supplementing its textual evidence, they were at once seen to be of great importance. Mrs. Lewis' volume embodies the evidence of these two manuscripts. She has not undertaken to create a critical text based on all three witnesses, but has contented herself with printing the text of Codex B, and flanking it with the readings of A (on the right) and C (on the left) in narrow columns.<sup>1</sup> The introduction deals with the story of the discovery of the manuscripts and the labors of previous editors of the lectionary. A thoroughgoing discussion of the value and significance of the text is not attempted.

The Palestinian lectionary seems to have been based on a Palestinian version of the gospels. Its first editor, Mirriscalchi-Erizzo, believed this gospel version to be older than either the Peshitta or Curetonian, in fact to be not far removed from the original of Matthew. Nöldeke holds the more reasonable view that the version was made not earlier than 300 A. D., and perhaps later. The

<sup>1</sup>On pp. 314-20 we find in a fourth column the fragments of a fourth codex, found at the same time with Codex B.

importance of the version as an early witness to the text of the gospels is in any case great. A useful feature of the book is the list of the chief variants between the text of the three codices and the text of Westcott and Hort. As these are presented in Greek, they will be available to scholars who do not use Syriac, and anyone may thus form a judgment as to the character of the text. The editors remark (p. lv) upon a singular colophon after John 8:2, which they render Ἐτελειώθη τὸ εὐαγγέλιον Ἰωάννου (A B) ἑλληνιστὶ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ: (C) βοηθεία τοῦ Χριστοῦ instead of ἑλληνιστῇ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ. The following verses 8:3-11 are missing in both B and C, the codices found at Sinai. This is suggestive. The explanation of Professor Harris (p. xv) would perhaps be adequate if the colophon stood after 8:11. As it is, students of that fugitive pericope have here a new series of complications to reckon with.

EDGAR J. GOODSPEED.

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**HORAE SYNOPTICAE:** Contributions to the Study of the Synoptic Problem. By REV. SIR JOHN C. HAWKINS, Bart., M.A. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press; London and New York: Frowde, 1899. Pp. xvi+183. 7s. 6d.

THIS volume is an aggregation of material, largely of a statistical character, for the study of the synoptic problem, rather than an attempt at the solution of the problem itself. The book falls into three parts: Part I, "Words and Phrases Characteristic of Each of the Synoptic Gospels;" Part II, "Indications of Sources;" Part III, "Further Statistics and Observations Bearing on the Origin and Composition of Each Gospel." The tables in Part I bring into relation to one another facts the value of which is likely to be overlooked in a paragraph-by-paragraph, word-by-word comparison of the gospels, and while in themselves they do not prove, perhaps scarcely suggest, any theory of the relation of the gospels, yet as supplementary to other study they are decidedly helpful. In Part II the lists of "Identities in Language," "Words Differently Applied," "Transpositions and Doublets," are each of value, but present facts less likely to be overlooked in the continuous study of the text in parallelism than those set forth in Part I. Section v of Part II, treating of the logia of Matthew as a probable source, contains, as the author says, "a speculative element . . . absent from the previous tables," and adds, in our judgment, but little to the value of the book. Part III deals in a less statistical way with the characteristics and peculiarities



of each of the three gospels separately, beginning with Mark. Respecting this gospel the writer says in closing: "On the whole it seems to me that such an examination of the Marcan peculiarities as has now been attempted supplies results which are largely in favor of the view that the Petrine source used by the two later synoptists was not an *Ur-Marcus*, but St. Mark's gospel almost as we have it now. Almost, but not quite." The section on Matthew in this part treats of the quotations, the shortening of narratives, signs of compilation, traces of numerical arrangement, transference and repetition of formulas, and is perhaps the most significant and valuable portion of the whole book. Whether the facts point, as the author suggests, to oral processes of preservation and transmission, or rather to freedom of editorial handling of sources, is a question to be considered. The section on Luke deals with the resemblances and differences between Luke and Acts, especially between Luke and the we-sections of Acts, and shows that the argument from vocabulary is decidedly in favor of identity of authorship for the gospel and the Acts, most especially for the gospel and the we-sections. Appendix B contains a most careful and instructive study of the "Alterations and Small Additions in Which Matthew and Luke Agree against Mark." The book as a whole is a most painstaking and valuable piece of work—valuable, however, not as an introduction to the synoptic problem, but as a collection of material and studies for one who has already worked his way well into the heart of the problem.

ERNEST D. BURTON.

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DES APOSTELS PAULUS UEBERLIEFERUNG VON DER EINSETZUNG  
DES HEILIGEN ABENDMAHLES (1 Kor. 11:23 f.). Nach  
ihrem litterarischen und biblisch-theologischen Verhältnis  
zu den synoptischen Berichten. Von AD. LICHTENSTEIN.  
Berlin: Verlag von Martin Warneck, 1899. Pp. iii + 68.  
M. 1.50.

THIS is one of the numerous and fast multiplying brochures stimulated into existence by the researches of Jülicher and Spitta on the origin of the Lord's Supper. The author takes the ground that as a religious institution the Lord's Supper must be interpreted through the religious consciousness. Purely scientific analysis can never succeed in fathoming the full depth of its meaning. Only the heart enlightened by the spirit of the Son of God can do that. Nevertheless every spiritual

interpretation must be grounded in a true view of the historical facts of its origin; and therefore the literary and biblico-theological method must serve as a starting-point of every fresh investigation of the institution. But the application of the biblico-theological method to the subject yields the following results: We possess four accounts of the institution of the Lord's Supper. These fall into two groups—Matthew and Mark constituting one, and Paul (1 Cor. 11:23) and Luke the other. These represent two slightly divergent traditions. But the traditions agree in their main content. The fact that in the Matthew and Mark account there is no injunction to repeat the Supper is of minor consequence. Such an injunction is conveyed by the nature of the case and the words of institution. From the biblico-theological point of view, both the accounts connect the eucharist with the Jewish passover. Yet they both represent Jesus as radically changing the nature of the passover festival; and both give it a particular significance for the Christian church until the second coming of the Lord. What this significance is may be gathered from the association of the observance with the death of Christ. By participation in the life and sacrificial death of Jesus, Christians are to strengthen their spiritual life and refresh their assurance of the redemptive work. Upon the whole this essay is a highly commendable effort to reinterpret the subject of the eucharist in the light of the recent spirited discussion. It is conceived and carried out from the conservative point of view, and though not meeting the contentions of Spitta and Jülicher point by point, it results in the reassertion substantially of the old view of the eucharist.

A. C. ZENOS.

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THE DOCTRINE OF ST. JOHN. By WALTER LOWRIE, M.A., Mission Priest in the City Mission, Philadelphia. London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1899. Pp. xx + 216 \$1.50.

IN attempting to exhibit the theology of John, two problems must be decided at the very outset: first, what are its sources, and, secondly, what use will be made of the speeches of Jesus as reported in the fourth gospel? Mr. Lowrie decides the first by adopting what at present is the only safe position: "The authorship of the Apocalypse is so widely disputed . . . that it would seriously impair the value of

the study of St. John's theology to assume its genuineness" (p. 14). He therefore does not use it as a source of the Johannine theology.

In using the fourth gospel as a source for John's theology, the question is: Do the speeches of Jesus express the ideas of John? Either the speeches of Jesus are *verbatim* reports, or they reflect the teaching of Jesus which John has assimilated and made his own. Mr. Lowrie does not try to separate the teaching of John from the ideas of Jesus; he takes the stronger position that the speeches of Jesus represent John as much as his comments do.

The author arranges the theology of John under the following topics: (1) "God;" (2) "The Logos;" (3) "The Kosmos Lying in Darkness;" (4) "The Life Manifested." The treatment of these topics is, in the main, scholarly; at times, lack of definiteness is a serious fault. This, however, is not entirely the fault of the author, for John himself is not infrequently mystical.

By far the most valuable part of the book is the last section, "The Life Manifested." Mr. Lowrie concludes that, according to John, "Christ's gift to the world is primarily the revelation of the truth" (p. 174); and "the revelation of the truth in Jesus is therefore life, because it is the way to the Father" (p. 191). "Salvation is . . . the establishment of a relation between God and man . . . a relation between person and person" (p. 172).

HENRY T. COLESTOCK.

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DIE JOHANNISCHE CHRISTOLOGIE. Von LIC. THEOL. W. LÜTGERT.  
(= "Beiträge z. Förderung christl. Theologie," Vol. III, Heft  
I.) Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1899. Pp. viii + 139. M. 2.

THE author holds the Johannine origin of the fourth gospel and the epistles which bear the name of John. He makes no reference to the Apocalypse. His point of departure in presenting the Johannine Christology is the Jewish conception of the Messiah. The investigation cannot begin with the doctrine of the Logos, for while the evangelist presupposes an acquaintance with the Logos idea among his readers, the conception is now a subject of debate; and, furthermore, it would be misleading to begin with the Logos, because then the impression might be given that the entire Johannine Christology was as peculiar as this opening section. We must, therefore, study the Christology of the gospel, and then the Logos doctrine in its light. The author presents his subject under the following heads: "The Son of God,"

"The Heavenly Origin of Jesus," "The Humanity of Jesus," "The Love of Jesus," "The Gifts of Jesus to the World," and "The Logos Doctrine."

The title *Son of God* is regarded as equal to Messiah, and the Johannean Christology, like that of the synoptists, is a transference of the Messianic conceptions to Jesus. The sonship of Jesus is derived from the Spirit of God. Jesus is God's Son because he is the bearer of God's Spirit. He came into this relation to the Spirit at his baptism. Thus the name *Christ* is grounded in the person of Jesus, and is not a mere external title. The term "Son of God" has not two significations in John, one Messianic and the other metaphysical.

To the earthly life of Jesus belong his hearing and seeing the Father.

Because Jesus is the bearer of God's Spirit he can say: "I and the Father are one." The author holds that Jesus claimed the predicate of deity in a special sense, because, while the prophets, who are called gods, only received the word of God as something external, Jesus brought that word with him into the world.

The heavenly origin of Jesus does not mean that he was in heaven before his earthly existence, and then, through the incarnation, left heaven. The conception is neither local nor temporal. The mark of heavenly origin is the fact that Jesus does the will of God. Since his entire activity originates in God, so his person is from God. The author in speaking of the preëxistence of Jesus does not discriminate between the teaching of John and that teaching which John attributes to Jesus.

A fundamental difference between the heavenly origin of Jesus and the origin of his disciples is assumed to exist, but its existence is not made plain.

The descent of Jesus out of heaven and his ascent into heaven (John 3: 13) are not local conceptions, but spiritual. Jesus can declare heavenly things because he can raise himself to heaven, and he can do this because he is from heaven. Jesus stands in the sphere of God. His inner experience embraces heaven. There is no obstruction between heaven and his soul.

The author defines the glory which Jesus possessed as the life-form (*Lebensgestalt*) of God. It is eschatological, though seen in single deeds of Jesus.

In discussing the humanity of Jesus the author denies that his person is divided in the gospel. The two factors of his person stand

in causal relation to each other. Deity and humanity are not opposites. The consciousness of Jesus is truly human, and the power and knowledge which he had were, to his consciousness, divine gifts.

Because human, Jesus received authority to judge, for if judgment is accomplished in the earthly life—as in the fourth gospel—it must be through a man.

It is in his love, first toward God, then toward man, that Jesus stands before us as the Son of God. His obedience was grounded in his love, and his love of God rested on his consciousness of God's love. In the love of Jesus there was unlimited willingness to help joined with an unlimited power. The ability of complete self-denial was the highest revelation both of the might and the grace of his will. The death of Jesus was the completion of his service, the final sacrifice of his will. Therefore Jesus was the Lamb of God, not only as dying, but already at the beginning of his career; and not only his death, but he himself, his person, was the atonement.

The Johannean Christology emphasizes the assertion that the great gift of God to the world is not something separate from Christ, but Christ himself.

Jesus has life in himself, and therefore requires men to believe that he *is*, that he exists in an absolute sense.

Finally, the author holds that the Logos doctrine was received rather than originated by John, and that its roots are in Palestinian rather than Alexandrian Judaism. The term *Logos* most fittingly expressed the relation of Jesus to God, as appears from the entire Christology of the gospel. The Logos Christology of John does not exclude the pneumatic Christology of Paul, but explains it. The motive of the Logos doctrine is found in the desire to guard against reducing the Spirit to a mere natural force. His unique product is the word, and not any physical work.

Space does not permit any detailed judgment on this monograph of Professor Lütgert. In general, I think it marks an advance in the German treatment of this section of New Testament theology, and is a contribution of very especial value.

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DIE APOKALYPSE DES ELIAS. Eine unbekannte Apokalypse und Bruchstücke der Sophonias-Apokalypse. Koptische Texte, Übersetzung, Glossar. Von GEORG STEINDORFF. Mit einer Doppeltafel in Lichtdruck. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1899. Pp. x+190. M. 6.50.

THIS publication forms part of the second volume of the new series of von Gebhardt and Harnack's *Texte u. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*.

The subject is not entirely new. Most of the Coptic fragments to which Dr. Steindorff's publication refers have been edited twice before this; first in 1884, by M. U. Bouriant, in Vol. I (1881-4) of the *Mémoires de la Mission archéologique française au Caire*, with a French translation; and again, more accurately, in 1886, by Ludwig Stern, with a German translation and a most valuable philological and lexicographical apparatus. The work of Steindorff, however, marks a considerable advance on that of his two praiseworthy predecessors. Besides the fragments published by them, it includes eight more leaves acquired, in 1888, by the Royal Museum of Berlin, and, moreover, owing partly to that important addition and partly to the author's keen sense of criticism, it enables us to locate more accurately those precious relics in the frame of ancient literature. We learn, for instance, that, with the exception of one leaf in Sahidic dialect, those fragments have nothing to do with the Apocalypse of Sophonias, as supposed by Bouriant and Stern. They belong to two distinct MSS., both on papyrus. The one, in Akhmimic dialect, dates from the fourth century, and contained (1) the long-lost Apocalypse of Elias and (2) another apocalypse, the name of which seems to have escaped the attention of both Nicephorus and the author of the so-called anonymous list. In the other, somewhat later, were preserved, in Sahidic, another recension of Elias' Apocalypse and the Apocalypse of Sophonias, of which, however, as we have said, one leaf only has been, so far, discovered. The conclusions of Steindorff on the authorship and date of composition of these interesting documents are, briefly, as follows: All three apocalypses were originally composed in Greek by Jews, settled in Egypt. Such, at least, is certainly the case for the unknown apocalypse and that of Elias. The former seems to be entirely a first-hand document, and betrays no Christian interpolations; the latter, on the other hand, was strongly corrected, or at least adapted, by a Christian, possibly by the Coptic translator himself. Its author, besides, though Hellenistic, as far at least as language goes, may have borrowed some ideas from

the same source as the author of the *Sepher Eliā*. The unknown apocalypse may have been composed as early as 100 years B. C. Dr. Steindorff is not quite so positive on the date of the Apocalypse of Elias; he thinks, however, that the Christian adaptation can be located between the first epistle of St. John and the letter to Diognetus (third, possibly second, century A. D.). The Akhmimic and Sahidic recensions of that document are independent, but they can be traced back to a first Akhmimic translation from the original Greek. As for the fragment of the Apocalypse of Sophonias, it is too short to say what it was. The author can only surmise that it was also the creation of an Egyptian Jew, modified later by a Christian.

We need not insist on the importance of such a publication as this. The very fact that it appears under the auspices of such scholars as von Gebhardt and Harnack is a sufficient proof that it deserves the attention of all lovers of early Christian literature. The author, it is true, is not a professional critic in matters of history, and such as go by that name may find fault with his conclusions, logically deduced as they be, or seem to be.<sup>1</sup> At any rate, he is a good and reliable Coptic scholar, and as such he certainly has done justice to himself by his edition and translation of those difficult texts. On that score, we are glad to say, we may congratulate him without reserve.

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DIE SOGENANNTKE KIRCHENGESCHICHTE DES ZACHARIAS RHETOR,  
in deutscher Übersetzung herausgegeben von K. AHRENS,  
Gymnasialoberlehrer in Ploen, und G. KRÜGER, Professor  
der Theologie in Giessen. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1899.  
Pp. xlv + 42 + 417. M. 10.

THIS volume is a good specimen of German learning, but not of German bookmaking. The division of labor between the two authors

<sup>1</sup> Professor E. Schürer, reviewing Dr. Steindorff's publication in the *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 1899, No. 1, holds that the folio of the Sophonias Apocalypse may very well be considered as introductory to the Akhmimic text of Steindorff's anonymous apocalypse, which consequently would be nothing but a recension of the said Sophonias Apocalypse; furthermore, what Steindorff calls the Elias Apocalypse cannot be the document thus designated by Origen, as the latter was certainly Jewish, while the former clearly betrays a Christian authorship. Schürer concludes that, in that case, nothing would prevent us from considering the two documents as one; so that, after all, the hypothesis of Bouriant and Stern would be right.

was so complete that there could be no clashing. Ahrens made the translation from the original Syriac and the index, while Krüger, who is one of the younger scholars, wrote the introduction and the commentary, and had the general oversight. This translation is confessedly not complete, because portions of the history have been already, and that recently, translated into Latin or German. We are referred to these translations in the commentary, but it seems a pity that they were not incorporated into the volume. Although the language of the work was originally Syriac, it was derived from Greek sources, and so we have here a translation of a translation. It will be noticed that the work is only said to be called that of Zacharias Rhetor, and as a matter of fact it is not his except in part, and then only as a source which the compiler translated. We have then to do with a compilation from different sources. The first book carries us back to the creation, but happily does not dwell long upon biblical matters, for the second book takes us to the fifth century, and makes no pretense to connect it with biblical times. Curiously enough it was not at first intended to include the first two books in the publication, so they were printed after the rest of the book, and are separately paged. The history is avowedly a compilation in continuation of the well-known histories of Socrates and Theodoret, which are now accessible to English readers in Vols. II and III of the *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, second series, edited by Drs. Schaff and Wace, published now by Charles Scribner's Sons; and extends into the lifetime of the compiler, or from the thirty-second year of the emperor Theodosius (*i. e.*, 449) to 568/9 A. D. It takes in, therefore, the period of the fourth and fifth ecumenical councils. The author was a Monophysite, and his attention is absorbed in oriental church affairs. He supplies some new information and supplements some old, and thus takes his place among our sources. Krüger has laid us all under contribution by his commentary, which gives a great amount of information in brief compass. One point in view of recent discussions upon the date of Christ's birth started by Ramsay's book, *Was Christ Born in Bethlehem?* deserves mention: the compiler puts the birth of Christ in the second year before our era.

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WALAFRIDI STRABONIS LIBER DE EXORDIIS ET INCREMENTIS, Quarundam in Observationibus Ecclesiasticis Rerum. Textum recensuit, adnotationibus historicis et exegeticis illustravit, introductionem et indicem addidit DR. ALOISIUS KNOEPFLER, SS. Theologiae in Universitate Monacensi Prof. P. O. Editio altera. Monachii: Sumptibus Librariae Lentnerianae (E. Stahl Jun.), 1899. Pp. xvii + 114. M. 1.40.

(= Veröffentlichungen aus dem kirchenhistorischen Seminar München, No. 1.)

AMONG the men who contributed to the theological literature of the ninth century was Walafrid Strabo—the squint-eyed. He was born of humble parents about 808 A. D. He very early gave promise of productiveness in literature, both general and theological, and the actual number of his writings amounted to fourteen, among which are Latin poems of considerable merit, lives of the saints, and the work before us.

This pamphlet is the first number of the publications of the church-history seminar at Munich.

Dr. Knoepfler has revised the text, illustrated it with historical and exegetical notes, and added an introduction and index.

The object of the work was to clarify matters pertaining to the ecclesiastical cultus—seeking especially to explain their origin. Among these were church bells, images, pictures as aids to devotion, but not as objects of worship.

In chap. xvi he says: "Christ after the paschal supper gave to his disciples the sacraments of his body and blood, in the substance of the bread and wine, and taught them to celebrate in memory of his passion."

J. W. MONCRIEF.

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ST. THOMAS OF CANTERBURY: His Death and Miracles. By EDWIN A. ABBOTT, M.A., D.D. 2 vols. London: Adam & Charles Black; New York: The Macmillan Co., 1898. Pp. xv + 333; vii + 326. \$7.50.

THE reader who takes up these volumes expecting to find a complete biography of St. Thomas will be disappointed. They are nothing of the kind. They rather deal with two events in his biography: his

death and his miracles; and this treatment is not in the usual way. The book is a work on evidence, and as such its particular and general value is very great.

The origin and growth of the book were purely incidental. It originated in a few paragraphs, which, gradually and unconsciously to the author, grew into the two attractive volumes before us. It all came about in this wise: Mr. Abbott was preparing a critical commentary on the four gospels, and, feeling the necessity for comparative study, he was led to look into the materials for the life of Thomas Becket. Here he found a rich mine which, when worked, "seemed to present parallelisms to problems of New Testament criticism so exact and so helpful that, instead of forming a few paragraphs in the proposed work, the extracts and notes grew, first into a chapter, and then into a separate section," and at last into its present form.

The historico-theological character of the book renders it somewhat confusing at first, but when one understands its purpose and limitations, it immediately becomes a most interesting and instructive study.

In general it is to be said that in treating of the saint's death the examination of the original sources of information seems as thorough as it could possibly be made. Every one of the documents that could have any bearing on the subject has been given. No doubtful point has been overlooked. The documents have been classified. The reader has therefore all the evidence before him, and without useless expenditure of time may decide for himself as to the truthfulness of "the conclusions." It should, moreover, be added that the Latin has been translated into English.

The author proceeds, in the second place, to an exhaustive study of the subject of the miracles in its origins and in its later developments. The legends of the saga, and the works of Benedict and William of Canterbury, receive the closest attention. When he comes to the eighteen miracles mentioned by both William of Canterbury and Benedict, he gives the Latin text with an English translation, and adds excellent critical notes.

But the especial interest lies in the question of the truthfulness of the miracles. There is much shifting of evidence in the sources. Benedict does not attempt to cover anything up. He grants that there was much skepticism at the time; that some of the cures were gradual, some imperfect; and that there were some total failures. He even mentions the case of one man who, failing to receive the water of Canterbury, was given ordinary water, and was cured.

But when all these failures have been admitted, there are still left so many genuine cases that the evidence warrants us in accepting them as true.

The influence of these miracles extended far and wide. "This," says Dr. Abbott, "is one of the many triumphs of mind over matter. Through ballads, sermons, pictures, and, above all, through stories of pilgrims passing to and from the Martyr's Memorial, there was gradually conveyed to almost all the sick and suffering folk in England, and to their sympathizing households and friends, the image of St. Thomas before the altar, clothed in white, with the streak of blood across his face. This vision, or this thought, resulted in a multitude of mighty works of healing, rescue from agony, restoration to peace and health." (Vol. II, p. 305.)

The book closes with an interesting chapter on "The Martyr and the Saviour," into which our space does not permit us to enter. Its captions are: the parallel between them; the parallel in facts; the parallel in documents; and its bearing on New Testament criticism.

J. W. MONCRIEF.

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**DIE WIEDERTÄUFER.** Die socialen und religiösen Bewegungen zur Zeit der Reformation. Mit 4 Kunstbeilagen und 95 authentischen Abbildungen. Von DR. GEORG TUMBÜLT. Bielefeld und Leipzig: Velhagen & Klasing, 1899. Pp. 96. M. 3.

THIS is one of a series of monographs designed to make more widely known some of the results of certain scientific historical studies that otherwise would not come to the notice of the general reader. With a wealth of pictorial illustration that makes his pamphlet exceedingly attractive, Dr. Tumbült, in *Die Wiedertäufer*, calls attention to the Anabaptist movement of the Reformation period. During the past half-century much study has been given to this very interesting social and religious movement by such men as Cornelius, Beck, Egli, Loserth, Keller, and others. Going back to the sources, they have brought together much material that heretofore has been inaccessible to the general student, and the new facts thus obtained have placed the movement in a much more favorable light. Indeed, not a little that has long been regarded as true concerning the Anabaptists has been shown to be untrue, and the movement in which the Anabaptists played so conspicuous a part has received worthier treatment. Dr.

Tumbült's aim to give to the general reader the results of these more recent studies is a praiseworthy one. It is to be wished, however, that he had been more successful. By his failure to observe the law of proportion, the movement, as a whole, is not rightly represented. Nothing is now clearer than that the great body of the Anabaptists of the Reformation period were peaceful, law-abiding citizens. The Münster excesses characterized only a small portion of the various parties known as Anabaptists, and these excesses were denounced and repudiated by the great body thus designated. Yet in Dr. Tumbült's sketch of the movement nearly two-thirds of his one hundred pages are devoted to the Münster Anabaptists. This is not a worthy representation of that great social and religious movement of the sixteenth century, which extended from the Alps to the Baltic, and from the borders of France to the borders of Russia. In its mechanical execution the monograph leaves nothing to be desired. Especially valuable are the illustrations, which are as numerous as they are excellent.

HENRY S. BURRAGE.

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THE STORY OF THE PALATINES. An Episode in Colonial History.  
By SANFORD H. COBB. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons,  
1899. \$2.

THIS is a carefully prepared contribution to American colonial history by an intelligent clergyman whose former parishioners were the children of the Palatine immigrants in Schoharie and Saugerties. To these "old parishioners" the book is dedicated. The Rhenish Palatinate, with Heidelberg as its capital, was the center of the German Reformed church, though a minority of its Protestant population was Lutheran. In this admirable historical outline of the Palatinate we are told that in the twelfth century the title of their rulers became hereditary, and until nearly the end of the thirteenth century the Palatines of the Rhine were the dukes of Bavaria. The last ruler to bear both titles was Louis the Severe, who died in 1294. His eldest son, Louis, became duke of Bavaria, while Rudolph, the younger, founded the Rudolphine line of counts or electors Palatine. This line ceased with the death of Otho, the twelfth in the succession, who died 1559 without issue.

The religious significance of Mr. Cobb's book consists chiefly in the author's claim that frequent changes of religion on the part of the

Palatine rulers, the ravaging wars of Louis XIV., and the want of religious liberty under the Romanist elector John William, 1690 to 1716, were the principal causes of the large emigration from the Palatinate during the first half of the eighteenth century.

In 1546 the elector Frederick II. declared himself a Protestant. He favored Lutheranism, though more of his subjects adhered to Reformed than to Lutheran doctrine. The accession of Frederick III., of the middle or Zimmern line of rulers, in 1559 was marked both by a change of dynasty and by a distinct avowal of the Reformed faith by the ruler. Soon after the Heidelberg Catechism was framed. The rulers of the Zimmern line continued until 1685; sometimes Lutheran, and sometimes Reformed. Upon the death of the first in the third line of rulers, Philip, of the house of Neuburg, in 1690, his son, John William, a bigoted Romanist, succeeded. He avowed his intention to bring his Protestant subjects into submission to the Roman church, and though he did not venture to use the most extreme measures, he found numerous channels for the expression of his intolerant spirit. To this suffering from their own ruler was added the invasion by the French army of Louis XIV. in his effort to join the Palatinate to France. The war of the Grand Alliance continued for nine years, until the peace of Ryswick in 1697. The Palatinate was ravaged; its villages and cities were burned; its palaces and fortresses were destroyed. In 1692 the tower at Heidelberg was blown up, and the superb castle was converted into "the most picturesque ruin in Europe." In 1701 the war of the Spanish succession again brought a French army into the Palatinate to resume the work of plunder and destruction. Louis XIV. gained the crown of Spain for his grandson; in 1704 England acquired Gibraltar, which she still retains; but the only reward of the Palatinate was the sad fate of being made a bloody battle-ground of the nations. At last, in 1707, Marshal Villars marched with a desolating army into the Palatinate, and the exodus of thousands to America soon began.

A large number of the early immigrants went by way of Holland to England, and appealed to the sympathetic aid of the Protestant Queen Anne. Mr. Cobb's book treats particularly of the strange fortunes of that portion of these immigrants to England who finally came to New York, and were induced to settle on the banks of the Hudson in order to prosecute the unsuccessful experiment of producing from the primitive forests stores of tar and pitch for the British navy. After untold suffering and disappointment the survivors of the three thousand

who landed with Governor Hunter in 1710 were scattered from the banks of the Hudson. Many went to Schoharie and large numbers to Pennsylvania. In both localities their descendants reside to this day.

After this early and disheartening attempt in New York, large numbers of both Lutherans and Reformed from the Palatinate established themselves by direct immigration in Pennsylvania, whither they were attracted, not only by the agents of that colony, but by a determination to flee from their misfortunes at home, and to avoid, if possible, such disasters as had befallen their countrymen in New York.

The theory that the German colonists in New York could be profitably employed in the production of vast supplies for the British navy was dropped as suddenly as it originated. Then the responsibility of the English authorities for the welfare of the suffering Germans was evaded by the report of a committee of the House of Commons, which declared that the exodus from the Palatinate "was entirely due to land speculators who had obtained patents in the colonies and had sent agents into Germany to induce the colonists to emigrate to America" and settle upon these lands.

This book shows convincingly that these Palatines were not merely deluded "objects of speculation," the ignorant prey of agents for the colonists, but that the pressure of political and religious complications in their European home impelled the great exodus from the Palatinate and from Swabia at a time when there were comparatively few emigrants to America from other parts of Europe.

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GEORG BLAUROCK UND DIE ANFÄNGE DES ANABAPTISMUS IN GRAUBÜNDTEN UND TIROL.<sup>1</sup> Aus dem Nachlasse des Hofrates Dr. Joseph R. v. Beck. Herausgegeben von JOH. LOSERTH. Berlin: R. Gaertners Verlagsbuchhandlung, Hermann Heyfelder, 1899. Pp. 30. M. 0.75.

THIS is one of the publications of the Comenius-Gesellschaft. The late Dr. Joseph R. von Beck made a special study for many years of the sources of the history of the Anabaptists of the Reformation period, especially in Switzerland and southern and western Germany, and in 1883 his *Geschichts-Bücher der Wiedertäufer in Oesterreich-Ungarn* was published by the historical commission of the Imperial

<sup>1</sup>"Vorträge und Aufsätze aus der Comenius-Gesellschaft," 7. Jahrg., 1. u. 2. Stück.

Academy of Sciences in Vienna. It was found to be a treasure-house of information, containing a large amount of original materials, largely chronicles, pertaining to the Anabaptist movement in Switzerland, Salzburg, Upper and Lower Austria, Moravia, Tyrol, Bohemia, southern Germany, Hungary, and southern Russia, to which were added many helpful comments in footnotes. In 1889, after Dr. Beck's death, his papers concerning the Anabaptists were placed in the hands of Joh. Loserth, a scholar who has made the best possible use of the materials gathered with so much painstaking investigation. Loserth's life of Hubmeier is by far the best biography of Hubmeier that has been published. This appeared in 1893, and other Anabaptist writings have since been published by him. From the papers of Dr. Beck, Loserth now adds a monograph on Georg Blaurock and the beginnings of the Anabaptist movement in Graubündten and the Tyrol. His own labors in connection with the work are confined to slight emendations, with such references to Anabaptist literature as serve to bring the work in this respect to date.

Blaurock was one of the most forceful personalities developed by the Anabaptist movement. To his brethren he was known as the "Strong George" and the "Second Paul." His earnest and eloquent public address made him a welcome messenger of the new faith, and the common people, wherever he went, heard him gladly. Dr. Beck, in his study of the Anabaptist movement, brought together in this valuable monograph whatever could be learned concerning Blaurock's eventful history, and Loserth has done a good service in its publication.

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AN INTRODUCTION TO THE CREEDS AND TO THE *TE DEUM*. By A. E. BURN, B.D. London: Methuen & Co., 1899. Pp. xiv + 323. 6s.

THE author takes up first the earliest phrases in Christian literature which have been regarded as the beginnings of formal creeds. Through these he works his way to the Old Roman Creed and the Old Creed of Jerusalem, where he finds firmer ground. He then traces the formation of the Nicene Creed as we have it, a task more difficult than one might suppose. He treats next of the so-called Athanasian Creed, or "*Quicunque*." The Apostles' Creed follows, and then the *Te Deum*. Many local and temporary creeds are also brought before us in the

process of presenting to us these great landmarks of the Christian faith. The author gives us an abundance of tabulated statements, in which the growth of the creeds is traced from their beginnings in such a manner that we readily see the process of gradual accretion. The closing chapter is on the use of creeds, a subject which the author discusses in a temperate spirit and with much good sense. Throughout the book he draws largely from Kattenbusch, and somewhat from other German investigators, while always preserving his independence of judgment. The work is altogether critical, and hence it does not escape a certain dryness which will limit the number of its readers.

The Apostles' Creed, as we have it, the author dates about 700 A. D. But he regards it as an expansion of the Old Roman Creed, and this he pushes back near to the apostolic age, though he shows that this also underwent a process of enlargement before it took the form of our Apostles' Creed. The Old Roman Creed, which was thus the basis of the Apostles' Creed, "may fitly be called an apostolic creed," he writes, "because it contains the substance of apostolic teaching, and is the work of a mind separated only one generation from the apostles."

When the Old Roman Creed was enlarged, about 700 A. D., and became our present Apostles' Creed, whence were the added phrases derived? It has been the common opinion that they came from Gaul, and that our Apostles' Creed in its present form was first used there, and was borrowed from Gaul by the Roman church. This supposition the author rejects, maintaining that the expansion took place in Rome itself.

The history of the Nicene Creed, as we have it, is not free from perplexity. The "*Filioque*" clause is usually attributed to the third council of Toledo, 589 A. D., but the author gives us good reasons to doubt the correctness of this opinion.

The so-called Athanasian Creed, or the "*Quicumque*," was produced, according to the author, in the south of France between 420 and 430 A. D. The purpose of its writer was "to warn men against the loose pietism of the Priscillianists." The author has the support of some great critics as to the date, but he frankly admits that his theory of the object of the writer, which he has set forth in an earlier book, "has not been received with any favor."

The *Te Deum* he attributes to Niceta of Remesia, following the majority of its recent students. This would make the date of its origin about 400 A. D. No one any longer refers this great credal hymn to Ambrose of Milan.



The views of critical historians concerning the origin and growth of the early creeds have changed greatly with the investigations of recent years, and the author has rendered a valuable service to Christian scholarship by giving us in a single volume of moderate compass the results of their researches, with enough of the processes to enable us to judge of the evidence upon which their conclusions rest. Other changes of opinion will probably take place in the near future, and the author regards his work as tentative in a certain degree. "It is a question," he says, "whether the time has yet come when a complete history of the Apostles' Creed can be written." A great mass of evidence concerning all the early creeds has been collected, and now waits to be sifted. But, as this book shows, much progress has been made in the study of these materials, and the reader will be thankful for this clear report of the present state of the investigation.

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CHRISTLICHE DOGMATIK. Von WILHELM SCHMIDT, Dr. und ordentlichem Professor der Theologie in Breslau. 2 Bände. Bonn: A. Marcus & E. Weber's Verlag, 1895 und 1898. M. 22.

Bd. I: Erster Theil: *Prolegomena*; pp. xvi + 452. Bd. II: Zweiter Theil: *Der evangelische Glaube*; pp. xiii + 543.

"Sammlung Theologischer Handbücher." 4. Theil, 1. und 2. Abtheilung.

THIS work is the *Erstlingsfrucht* of the author's academic labor, and is dedicated to the theological faculty in Halle, in consideration of the doctorate received therefrom. As indicated above, the first volume—about one-half of the entire work—is devoted to prolegomena, a disproportionately large part. The second volume divides dogmatics into only three sections, viz., theology (in the narrower sense of the word), pp. 43–239; anthropology, pp. 239–302; and Christology, pp. 302–524. Schmidt discusses the work of the Holy Spirit under Christology. It is in this third section also that he discusses the doctrine of the trinity. Likewise soteriology, ecclesiology, and eschatology are all treated under the caption of Christology. Inasmuch as this is an unusual procedure, one would naturally expect to find in so voluminous a prolegomena some justification or vindication of it; but there does not seem to be any. One notes the meager treatment of anthropology, which, moreover, is historical and

apologetic, for the most part, rather than constructive. In eschatology there is the entire absence of a doctrine of hell — the word even is never used.

In his preface the author expresses his discouragement as to the old unbridged opposition, almost as yawning as ever, between sense and thought, faith and knowledge, Christianity and culture. To work at the bridging of this gulf, the reconciliation of these two, is the task to which Schmidt feels himself obligated. “‘Gläubig *und* verständig, verständig *und* gläubig,’ dieser Combination, noch richtiger dieser Coincidenz, nicht nur einem Neben-, sondern einem Mit- und Ineinander, dem möchte ich dienen.” Sound Christian feeling has nothing to fear from thought, and *vice versa*. But the above is a fair statement precisely of the apologetic, as against the dogmatic, task of Christian theology. Indeed, these volumes, under the definite title of *Dogmatik*, are a conglomeration of philosophy of religion, apologetics, history of dogma, and of theology, metaphysics, and dogmatics. Schmidt has given us, not the evolution of an idea, but an aggregation of thoughts on all sorts of subjects, more or less closely allied, to be sure. The book is encyclopædic, not systematic. It lacks *Tiefsinn*, *Geschlossenheit*, and *Denknotwendigkeit*, in consequence of which it is not surprising that his German contemporaries in theological endeavor have been rather severe in their reviews of his work. And it is evident that he has written some years too soon. Had he bided his time and digested his material, the result would doubtless have been better for him and the public.

G. B. FOSTER.

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DIE SATISFACTIO VICARIA, das ist Die Lehre von der stellvertretenden Genugthuung des Herrn Jesu. Von DR. THEOL. WILHELM KÖLLING. 2 Bände. Gütersloh : Druck und Verlag von C. Bertelsmann, 1897, 1899. M. 10.50.

I. Band. *Die Vorfragen*. Pp. xiv + 286. II. Band. *Der Aufbau*. Pp. xvi + 428.

IN these two volumes we have a vigorous presentation of the Anselmic view of the atonement, as contained in the creed of the Lutheran church.

In the first volume the arguments are drawn chiefly from the Old Testament, and in the second chiefly from the New. The doctrine which the author endeavors to substantiate from Scripture may be

briefly stated as follows: God regards every child of Adam as guilty (*schuldig*) for the sin of Adam, and for the moral nature inherited from him, as well as for his own sins, and the *Satisfactio Vicaria* is God's provision whereby he may be delivered from the wrath of God to which he is justly exposed. This provision consists in the substitution of the Son of God to endure the punishment (*Strafe*) deserved by every child of Adam.

The author finds the foundation (*Grundlegung*) of the doctrine in the expression אַתְּ הוֹרֵתָנוּ in Hebrew and ὀργὴ τοῦ Θεοῦ in Greek, rendered in our English version "the wrath of God." This expression, he claims, has in it no anthropopathic element, but is the beaming forth (*Ausstrahlung*) of the inmost nature (*Wesen*) of the living God toward sinners, and the bitter fruit of Adam's fall. Having in the first volume presented his proof from Scripture that every child is born into the world under the wrath of God, the second volume is occupied chiefly in the endeavor to show from Scripture the literal substitution of Christ in the place of sinners to endure this wrath. In his exegesis of proof-texts he accepts without questioning the interpretations of the old theologians, Athanasius, Augustine, Anselm, Chemnitz, and especially Luther. A few examples of his exegesis may be given. He cites, of course, Rom. 5:12 in proof of original guilt (*Erbschuld*). He admits, with Luther, that the Vulgate rendering of ἐφ' ᾧ by *in quo* cannot be defended grammatically, but argues from 1 Cor. 15:22 that, as in Adam all die, therefore all sinned in Adam, and hence that ἐφ' ᾧ is equivalent to ἐφ' ᾧ ἐν αὐτῷ. On Luke 22:19, 20, where our Lord (instituting the supper) gives the bread to the disciples with the words, "This is my body which is given for (ὑπὲρ) you," and the cup with the words, "This cup is the new covenant in my blood, even that which is poured out for (ὑπὲρ) you," our author says that ὑπὲρ here has two meanings, viz., instead (*anstatt*) and for (*für*), the sacrificial meaning lying in *anstatt* and the sacramental in *für*.

In the discussion of the Savior's last utterance on the cross, "Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit," our author gives παραθήσομαι (the future) as the word used by Jesus, and argues at length from it for the interpretation of 1 Peter 3:19, which makes Peter assert that Jesus preached to the spirits of those who perished in the flood. Is it possible that our author does not know that the reading παραθήσομαι is not found in any manuscript approved by textual scholarship, nor in the text used by any version in present use?

In the judgment of the reviewer a false conception of the nature and purpose of the divine government underlies our author's whole system of *Satisfactio Vicaria*. It is the conception of Athanasius and Anselm, and other old theologians, who regarded the divine government as the prototype of the monarchies of their days. It is true that the Scriptures declare that God is a great king, but they also as clearly represent him (in the Old as well as in the New Testament) as a Father. His subjects are his children, and the paternal element in the divine government is as manifest as the regal. And it is just because of this parental element that vicarious redemption is possible. The divine ideal of the family as set forth by Paul in 1 Cor., chap. 15, is a body in which, if one member suffer, all the members suffer with it. The chief sufferer in every well-ordered family is the head of the family. The relation of God in Christ to the human race is the prototype of the relation of the human parent to his children. The divine government is not that after which civil governments on earth are modeled. It is the human household that is the (imperfect) copy of the divine government.

We look in vain through these two volumes for any recognition of a paternal element in the divine government. The author's *Satisfactio Vicaria* is commercial and regal, not parental and ethical. It represents God as a creditor dealing with a debtor, or as a sovereign dealing with a criminal, not as a father seeking to reclaim and save a prodigal child. A tender father's anguish of soul over a sinning child is vicarious suffering, and there is no possible suffering which he would not willingly endure to save his child. Our author represents God as pouring out the full measure of his wrath against sinners upon the head of Christ in Gethsemane and on Calvary. The sufferings of Christ were not endured alone in Gethsemane and on Calvary. The sins of the antediluvians grieved him at his heart, and the sins and sufferings of all the members of the race have been a grief to him. During his incarnation he was subjected to all that Satan and sinful men could inflict on a sinless man, and Gethsemane and Calvary were but the consummation of his vicarious suffering.

That the Scriptures teach the doctrine of vicarious redemption through Christ does not admit of a doubt. The Son of Man came to give his life a ransom for many. We have redemption through his blood, the forgiveness of sins. He tasted death for every man. There is salvation in no other. But instead of seeing in Christ our substitute to endure the wrath of God in our place, we would see him as the

head of our race voluntarily making himself responsible for us, suffering when we sin, and in his incarnation coming into our earthly life and sharing with us the evils which sin inevitably produces, and yet bearing with us in our sinfulness that he may win us back to holiness.

Our author's work is valuable as a thorough presentation of the doctrine of the atonement held by many of the old theologians, and still embodied in church creeds. He is thoroughly loyal to the Lutheran church, and contends earnestly for the faith which he professes. He has a deep sense of dependence on Christ for salvation, and the indispensableness of faith in him. But the strongly controversial tone of the whole book, the harsh, and sometimes contemptuous, terms applied to those who differ from him, and the extravagant praise of the theologians whose views he accepts seriously mar his work.

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DIE PERSÖNLICHE HEILSERFAHRUNG DES CHRISTEN, und ihre Bedeutung für den Glauben, nach dem Zeugnisse der Apostel. Von PH. BACHMANN, Gymnasialprofessor in Nürnberg. Ein Beitrag zur neutestamentlichen Theologie. Leipzig: Verlag von A. Deichert Nachfolger (Georg Böhme), 1899. Pp. viii + 246. M. 3.60.

STARTING with the assumption that theology, the scientific form of Christian consciousness, must accustom itself to seek the point of departure for its statements, not as formerly in supposedly objective sources, but in the soul of the believer, the author finds it necessary, since the point of departure differs in different men, to ascertain at the outset "what place the personal experience of salvation takes in the testimony of the first and canonical proclaimers of Christian truth, namely, the writers of the New Testament" (p. 3). Accordingly, after the fashion of biblical theology, the testimony of the epistolary writers touching their most individual and personal experience is reported, and an astonishing unanimity in the phenomena of their religious life revealed. We learn (1) that their Christian life is made possible by a change wrought, not by their own power, but by the divine Spirit; (2) that the Christian experience verified and possessed is not the total Christian experience; that beyond the conscious present experience (*Heilsbesitz*) there is belief in God's loving will unto forgiveness in Christ, and the hope for a future possession

far surpassing the present experience (*Heilsstand*); (3) that the experience of salvation is not thrust upon the writers from without, but arises only when by faith one freely yields obedience; (4) that the experience of salvation depends upon the reality of a history accomplished in Jesus Christ both in his existent and pre-existent state, a history which makes him the mediator of divine grace; (5) that the truth, namely, the fact of the person and work of Jesus Christ, remains fixed before it is experienced, and whether or not it is experienced; that is, the writers do not pass from the subjective experience of salvation to the truth about Christ and his work, but pass from the revelation of God in Christ given objectively in the gospel to the experience of the same as the final support of faith and the highest norm of truth.

Though the method of the author is historical, his interest is dogmatic, namely, the relation of objective truth to subjective experience. He has reached the result that the personal experience of the Christian is not the final canon of the truth as it is in Christ, that is, is not purely subjective, and this, not because of the personal equation, the differences of the ego, but because the standard lies outside of the writers, namely, "in the divine history and the divine word (*i. e.*, the gospel message), the recognition of which is the foundation of the Christian status and the way to all experience and certainty of salvation" (p. 245). It did not lie within the aim of the book to raise the question whether the Christian religion is the only way to attain unto salvation and filial communion with God, or whether it is simply the best known way. The author deals solely with the experiences of some of the early Christians, and probably his results will be generally acquiesced in. The reader is struck by the controlling influence of Paul in the conclusions, and wonders how much the other writers have contributed. James is treated apart, then 1 and 2 Peter together,<sup>1</sup> then the thirteen letters of Paul, Hebrews, and the three letters of John. It is noteworthy, again, how similar the experience of 1 Peter and Paul is, and one asks whether the result had not been more fruitful if other fragments, like James for instance, had been treated as a whole, yielding together large witness to a similar personal experience of salvation. Within the letters of Paul it is not always easy to discover just why certain sections are treated and others omitted. Would it not have been better to present the total experience of Paul as a unit, by

<sup>1</sup> 1 Peter receiving next to Paul (pp. 46-214) the greatest attention (pp. 14-43), while 2 Peter has but two pages.

means of all the hints in the letters, rather than to aggregate selected fragmentary bits as specimens upon which to make observations? The reader finds the book lacking in steadiness just because of the fragmentary foundation. Text-criticism and detailed exegesis disturb the constructive movement, and should have been more largely relegated to footnotes.

In the interesting discussion of the problem of suffering (Rom. 8:18 ff.) the distinction between *Heilsbesitz* and *Heilsstand* comes out clearly. The author would have avoided the awkward construction in Rom. 8:23, had he seen that the contrast in the section is not generally between present imperfection and future perfection, but specifically between incomplete and complete redemption. Once the *σῶμα* is redeemed by actual resurrection, there will be the glory of the perfect. Compare Gal. 5:5, where Paul is waiting for the hoped-for, that is, the complete, righteousness; also Phil. 3:10 ff., where Paul longs for the resurrection from the dead which shall complete his redemption (*ἐξανάστασις*), consciously aware that in the present existence he cannot become perfect because of the *σῶμα*. He waits for (3:20; Rom. 8:23; Gal. 5:5) the Lord Jesus Christ, whose function as Savior here is to transform the body of our humiliation that it may be conformed to the body of his glory.

Readers will be indebted to Professor Bachmann for marshaling the old facts from a modern point of view, and, in addition to many fertile exegetical suggestions, for emphasizing the pertinent distinction between *Heilsstand* and *Heilsbesitz*.

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New York, N. Y.

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RICHARD ROTHE ALS PRAKTISCHER THEOLOGE. Denkschrift des praktisch-theologischen Seminars in Heidelberg zur hundertjährigen Wiederkehr von Roth's Geburtstag am 28. Januar 1899, verfasst von DR. HEINRICH BASSERMANN. Freiburg in B., Leipzig und Tübingen: Verlag von J. C. B. Mohr, 1899. Pp. 102. M. 1.60.

THIS brochure, as the title-page informs us, is a contribution to the literature growing out of the celebration of the one-hundredth anniversary of the birth of Richard Rothe. Rothe has been known to the theological public chiefly as a speculative theologian. Those who have studied his *Theologische Ethik* and his *Dogmatik* will remember

how intensely scientific and speculative these works are, and how apparently remote from the practical tendency which we are accustomed to observe in English and American theological writings. Hence, to have put into one's hand a work treating of Rothe as a practical theologian excites at first something like a feeling of surprise. But one need not read very far into the pages of Dr. Bassermann's pamphlet to be convinced that to regard Rothe merely as a speculative thinker, without practical adaptation and value, would imply a very one-sided conception of him. That speculative genius has, in fact, given birth to quite a number of most practical ideas which cannot but bear fruit in the actual life and work of the church.

The author of the pamphlet before us has confined himself entirely to the work of setting forth the ideas and views of the man about whom he is writing. He claims no originality for himself, but in language clear and concise, and generally with a warmth of feeling that implies approbation, he presents those of his subject. He first reviews Rothe's theory of the church, which, as is well known, makes not the church but the state to be the most adequate form of Christianity, and supposes the former to be destined to pass away in the advancing process of Christian development. This view, with its implications, we understand Dr. Bassermann to approve. Then in successive sections he presents Rothe's doctrines of cultus and the liturgy, of the sermon or homiletics, of the cure of souls and of missions, of church organization and administration, and of the education of ministers and the organization and conduct of theological seminaries. The last subject will be particularly interesting to many American theologians at the present time.

WILLIAM RUPP.

THE THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY OF THE REFORMED CHURCH,  
Lancaster, Pa.

THE CHRISTIAN CONQUEST OF ASIA. Studies and Personal Observations of Oriental Religions. By JOHN HENRY BARROWS, D.D. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1899. Pp. xvii + 258. \$1.50.

THE eight chapters of this book are made up of the lectures delivered by Dr. Barrows, in New York, during the winter of 1898, on the *Morse Foundation* of the Union Theological Seminary, and are sent forth as a supplement to his previous publications pertaining to the subject of comparative religion.



He first draws attention to the fact that western Christendom is united by great truths drawn from Christianity, Græco-Roman civilization, and modern science, while Asia is divided by the lines of diverse religions; then, in successive lectures, he discusses "Israel and Christianity," "Mohammedanism," "Popular and Philosophic Hinduism," "Difficulties in the Hindu Mind in Regard to Christianity," "Buddhism," "Confucianism," and "Success in Asiatic Missions."

All the lectures are characterized by a genuine catholic spirit. The blessings conferred by Israel on mankind are faithfully portrayed; cordial testimony is borne to all that there is really good in Mohammedanism, while popular Hinduism is grossly corrupt, a conspicuous example of retrogression and degradation, and philosophic Hinduism is indefinite in thought and at bottom pantheistic; and while in its later and present philosophy there can be discovered little or nothing that is at all akin to any truths of the gospel, yet in its deliverances during its earlier or Vedic age are found the doctrines of incarnation and sacrifice, which furnish points of contact for Christianity. In the same liberal manner the author treats Buddhism and Confucianism. All in them that is praiseworthy, and the good that they have conferred on men, receive the fullest, frankest acknowledgment.

Moreover, the personal element in these lectures makes them unusually interesting, and greatly adds to their worth. The author is not simply a historian giving us the results of his study of historical documents, but an eyewitness testifying to what he has recently seen in Asia. The picture that he draws of the corruptions of heathenism today is as dark and repulsive as that depicted by the pen of Paul in the first chapter of Romans; and his intense conviction that Asia needs above all else the gospel of Christ finds in these lectures abundant and emphatic expression. The following is one among many of the author's utterances on the point in hand: "The notion that Asia does not need the gospel of Christ because there are fine and lofty sentiments in the books of the East, or because oriental speakers, trained in Christian schools and shaped by Christian environments, are able to make an agreeable impression, expounding their faith on American platforms, is born of ignorance."

The oft-repeated declarations of superficial tourists that Asiatic missions are a failure have, according to our author, no foundation in fact. He shows from incontestible evidence that, in spite of such imperfections as usually inhere in all human activities, these missions are simply marvelous successes.

This book should be in all our church libraries, in the hand of every Christian pastor, and the information which it contains should be utilized by every mission circle throughout Christendom. Our only criticism is that the rhetoric of the book is at times too exuberant.

GALUSHA ANDERSON.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

RELIGION. By REV. W. C. E. NEWBOLT, M.A., Canon and Chancellor of St. Paul's. London, New York, and Bombay: Longmans, Green & Co., 1899. Pp. 301. \$1.

WE have here the first volume of the proposed "Oxford Library of Practical Theology," in which there will be offered to the devout layman sound and edifying teaching concerning the Christian faith and the Christian life. In the compass of three hundred pages *Religion* defines religion, orthodoxy, and morality, describes the "higher life," points out the external and internal obstacles to religion, shows how the atonement and the church offer a divine help to the religious, and how religion finds expression in worship and "goodness."

Here, to every religiously disposed person, is an attractive table of contents. But he will quickly discover that the book is not written for him unless he is a "churchman," and a churchman who accepts, in its rigor, the sacramental system. For religion, as Canon Newbolt conceives of it, is bound up indissolubly with the church. The faith which is essential to salvation consists in the acceptance of the instruction offered by "a teaching and dogmatic church." Spiritual life, "by the orderly communication of the covenanted indwelling of the Holy Spirit," flows into the church, and through the church and its sacraments to the individual soul.

But to the reader who can accept without dissent the high-church point of view the author has not a little grave, wise, practical counsel to offer. Indeed, every thoughtful reader, whatever he may think of the church and its high claims, must be impressed by Canon Newbolt's lofty and uncompromising moral appeal. He attaches very great importance to the forms of religion; but his religion nevertheless is not a form, but a life of sincere and reverent worship, and of the diligent, well-ordered doing of duty.

Canon Newbolt is far from thinking that the religious life can dispense with the support of definite theological conceptions. No dogma, no religion. His theology is of the conservative type, accepting a personal Satan, defending the doctrine of the two natures in

the person of Christ, of a vicarious atonement, and of the absolute supremacy of Holy Scripture.

The least satisfactory chapter in the book is that entitled "Doubts." After a pretty full account of religious doubt and the sources from which it springs, little or nothing is offered in remedy but "evidences" and "experience" and prayer—and these remedies are put in vague, indefinite language. It would have been briefer and more to the point to have appealed to authority. Listen to the teaching of the church, and find in it the final answer to every question concerning the faith which is salvation.

A. K. PARKER.

CHICAGO, ILL.

THE CHRISTIAN MINISTER. His Aims and Methods. Lectures on Pastoral Theology at the four Scottish Universities, sessions 1897-98 and 1898-99. By JAMES ROBERTSON, D.D. Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1899. Pp. 184. 3s. 6d.

THE main thing which distinguishes these lectures is that they contain the experiences and opinions of a country minister. In Scotland more perhaps than in any other Protestant land the country church contains not a little of the intellectual ability of the pulpit, and this because nowhere else are there such intelligent and interested congregations. It is well, therefore, that one of the ablest of the country pastors of Scotland should be invited to address the candidates for her ministry. The differences between the country ministers in one part of the world and those in another are not radical. From Holland, Germany, Sweden, and France we have had volumes dealing with the life of a pastor in a rural parish which are of service under similar circumstances in New Hampshire and Iowa. Dr. Robertson's volume contains little that is new or striking, but it is almost always practical, and through it all runs a fine vein of common-sense which students in theological seminaries will do wisely to work with care. The style is Scottish, which is as much as to say that it is more remarkable for strength than for beauty, and we must be allowed to deprecate the author's use of italics, and still more decidedly his omission of both index and table of contents. It is also a blemish in Dr. Robertson's six lectures that they cover, or attempt to cover, too much ground. They hover where they should rather pitch. But for all that they may with advantage be added to the row of books dealing with practical

theology. Dr. Robertson has the true conception of what a preacher and pastor should be. He has a wholesome dread of multiplying machinery and failing to develop character. He is fully alive to the changes which are passing over the whole activities of the church. He notes the altered doctrinal emphasis in the sermon; the new conception of what a preacher needs to say and to be. He is not afraid to warn his hearers that we are tempted at the present time to refrain from putting "such meaning as there ought to be put into what the Scripture calls the revelation of the 'wrath of God,' or 'the wrath to come.'" Yet he is evidently well read in the theology of today, and he commands a wealth of anecdotes and illustrations which puts life and vigor into his pages, and all the more because he draws from his own resources, and chiefly from his own reading and observation, during many years of pastoral experience.

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*Early Israel and the Surrounding Nations.* By Rev. A. H. Sayce, Professor of Assyriology at Oxford. (New York: E. R. Herrick & Co., 1899; pp. xxvii + 337; \$1.50.) Professor Sayce's popular little books on ancient oriental history and archæology are being turned out at the rate of one or more a year with great regularity. Each succeeding one serves up the old material with a few new facts and hypotheses in so clever a way that we have to buy it and enjoy the reading thereof. The absence of references, the repetitiousness, and the want of an index are unscholarlike and evidence the haste and carelessness with which these books are prepared. It is unnecessary to call attention to the assertion of unfounded new theories and the tacit withdrawal of old ones which these successive volumes disclose. They are essentially ephemeral affairs.—*The Messages of the Later Prophets:* arranged in the order of time, analyzed and freely rendered in paraphrase. By Frank Knight Sanders, Ph.D., and Charles Foster Kent, Ph.D. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1899; pp. xx + 382; \$1.25.) The success of this series has been assured by the popular favor shown to the former volume, *Messages of the Earlier Prophets*. And why should it not be successful, since its clearly written introductions, admirable plan, careful analysis, and well-wrought paraphrase open up the secret of Old Testament prophetic literature in a thorough and satisfactory way? Some may object to placing Joel and

Jonah among the "later prophets," as is here done, and others may quarrel with other critical views of the authors. But the value of the book does not rest upon the critical positions taken by them, but upon the light which is thrown upon the writings themselves by the paraphrase and notes. The prophets thus handled here are Ezekiel, Isaiah, chaps. 40-66, Joel, Obadiah, Jonah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, besides some isolated passages in Jeremiah and Isaiah, chaps. 1-39.—G. S. GOODSPEED.

*Mélanges d'histoire et de littérature religieuse.* Par Jacques Thomas. Recueillis et publiés par l'Institut Catholique de Toulouse. (Paris: Librairie Victor Lecoffre, 1899; pp. xxxi + 349.) This is a collection of posthumous papers of the brilliant and saintly Jacques Thomas who occupied the chair of Holy Scriptures at the Catholic Institute of Toulouse from 1881-93. The introduction, prepared by Pierre Batiffol, rector of the institute, is a sketch of the life of M. Thomas. He pictures in glowing terms the zeal and earnestness of a man whose spiritual and intellectual life was an ornament and an inspiration to the church. The intensity of his efforts was heightened by the fact that he was running a hopeless race with a fatal disease. He made every stroke count, and did a truly heroic service for the cause of biblical learning among his own church-men. The papers that constitute this volume have all appeared in earlier years, in one or other of the French Catholic journals. The largest and most elaborate, showing at the same time the scholarly instincts and popular character of his work, is a treatise of almost 200 pages on "The Church and the Jews in the Age of the Apostles." His familiarity with the literature of the subject, his fairness of treatment, and his clear statement of results make it a permanent contribution to the subject. Of the remaining eight themes, the most notable are "An Introduction to the Study of Hebrew," "A Plan of Study on the Prophets," and "A Study of Isaiah." It is apparent that, if M. Thomas had lived out his three-score and ten years, instead of laying down his work at thirty-nine, he would have done an inestimable service for his church in methods of Scripture study and investigation.—*A Short History of the Hebrew Text of the Old Testament.* By Thomas H. Weir, B.D., Assistant to Professor of Oriental Languages in the University of Glasgow. (London: Williams & Norgate, 1899; pp. xv + 149; 5s.) The Hebrew Bible of today presents many troublesome Massoretic points to the non-professional Hebraist. Mr. Weir's little book aims to

brush away these difficulties and "to explain everything which meets the eye on the printed page." Of the twelve chapters contained in the book the first four, on "The Earliest Form of Writing in Israel," "The Two Hebrew Scripts," "The Change of Script," and "The Preservation of the Text," are mainly hypothetical, and necessarily so, because of the meagerness of the data. The presentation of the numerous theories, without reaching satisfactory conclusions, will be enlightening, but not satisfying, to the initiate in Hebrew lore. The discussion of the rise and growth of the Massoretic system of vowel-points, and the origin and purpose of the various letters, divisions, and readings scattered through the text, is concise, clear, and helpful. The different systems of punctuation, the significance of marginal readings, and the most important manuscripts receive due attention. The book is illustrated by drawings of some ancient Phœnician inscriptions, and of reproductions of important Hebrew manuscripts.—*The Tabernacle and Its Priests and Services*: described and considered in relation to Christ and the church. By William Brown. Sixth edition, revised and enlarged. (Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1899; pp. 315; 3s. 6d.) This excessively elaborate discussion leaves the reader in no doubt as to the author's conceptions of the ancient tabernacle. But the sober interpreter of Scripture must seriously question that method of procedure which extracts from all the various parts of the tabernacle foregleams of every New Testament gospel truth. We look in vain for any discussion of the tabernacle such as recent criticism would seem to require.—IRA M. PRICE.

*Markus-Studien.* Von Dr. H. P. Chajes. (Berlin: C. A. Schwetschke & Sohn, 1899; pp. 78; M. 2.) The thesis of the author is that prior to the synoptic gospels there were Christian documents written in the Hebrew language, probably for use in the synagogue; that portions of these documents were incorporated by the synoptists through translation (or mistranslation) into their writings. Thus in Mark 3:5 they erroneously rendered "with anger" for "with pity;" in 3:17, "sons of thunder" for "sons of trembling;" in 10:21, "loved him" for "wished him well." Hence the hypothetical original Hebrew documents become a means through manipulation of which the desired meaning of a difficult passage may be obtained, or the harmonization of variations effected. Not only do the particular results of the author appear doubtful, but the thesis itself seems far from being established.—*Theories of the Resurrection of Jesus Christ.* By James Marchant.

(London: Williams & Norgate, 1899; pp. viii + 122; 2s.) The author examines in succession three theories of the resurrection of Jesus: (1) the swoon theory—first advocated by Paulus, and still having English adherents; (2) the vision and apparition theories—advocated by Strauss and Dr. Martineau; (3) the theory of conspiracy—advocated by John Vickers in a book entitled *The Real Jesus: A Review of His Life, Character, and Death, from a Jewish Standpoint*. In answer to these theories the author does not attempt to meet theory with philosophy, but instead urges the historic facts narrated in the gospels. Herein lies the value and strength of the book. It is, however, also the place of its greatest weakness, for, though appealing to history, it does so uncritically, or rather ignoring criticism. All statements of the gospel writers are regarded as having equal historical value. Thus the usefulness of the book is limited to a great extent to the class of uncritical readers.—WM. R. SCHOEMAKER.

*Christenverfolgungen.* Geschichte ihrer Ursachen im Römerreiche. Von J. E. Weis, Dr. phil. (= Veröffentlichungen aus dem kirchenhistorischen Seminar, München, No. 2.) (München: J. J. Lentner'sche Buchhandlung, 1899; pp. xii + 179; M. 2.40.) The problems connected with the attitude of the Roman empire toward the Christians have been subjected during the past decade to a very careful reëxamination from many quarters. They have been attacked largely in detail, however, and therefore a summary of results, with the presentation of the subject in its historical development, such as is given in this treatise, is most welcome. It is the outcome of work done in the church-history seminar at Munich. Weis has made a very thorough study of the sources and of recent literature. English works like those of Hardy and Ramsay receive careful consideration. The only omissions of importance in the references are the later articles of Mommsen, Sanday, and Ramsay in the *Expositor* of 1893-4. The conclusion of Weis on the contested problem of persecution "for the name" is that Christians were persecuted as such even under Nero. He holds that under Trajan the milder policy consisted in the endeavor to secure from the accused Christian a renunciation of his faith with the assurance that his past would not weigh against him. From that time on the policy of the administration was to induce apostasy in every way. This purpose of repression yielded to a policy of oppression under Decius. Weis emphasizes very strongly the view that the mere fact of being a Christian was in practically every case the ground of imperial action. It is

very probable that he has failed to give credit to the evidence in favor of the accusation and punishment of Christians as guilty in some cases of actual crimes.—*Étude sur le cénobitisme pachomien pendant le iv<sup>e</sup> siècle et la première moitié du v<sup>e</sup>.* Dissertation présentée à la faculté de théologie de l'université de Louvain pour l'obtention du grade de docteur. Par Paulin Ladeuze. (Louvain: J. Van Linthout, 1898; pp. ix + 390.) The beginnings of Christian asceticism in its various forms of eremitism, cenobitism, and monasticism strictly so called are found in Egypt in the early Christian centuries. The study of them forms an obscure and difficult subject. The documents are in at least four languages, Latin, Greek, Coptic, and Arabic, and have been worked upon by few scholars. M. Amelineau in France and Herr Grutzmacher in Germany have in recent years made the most important contributions to the problems involved. This thesis is the most recent discussion, and is written with an admirable combination of clearness and scholarly scientific method. The original documents have been carefully studied, and independence of judgment is shown throughout. The author has specially in view the conclusions of M. Amelineau, which he vigorously combats on several vital points. He holds that the Greek life of Pachomius is the fundamental document rather than the Coptic or Arabic texts. A strong argument is made against the assertions of Amelineau concerning the moral corruption of the Egyptian monks. Certainly a charge of exaggeration in this particular is successfully maintained. The author is a Roman Catholic, and his inclination may bias his judgment, yet his evident desire to be fair and his command of the materials leave the impression that he has advanced our knowledge upon this important subject.—G. S. GOODSPEED.

*Das Recht des Bekenntnisses zur Auferstehung des Fleisches.* Von Lic. theol. Karl Bornhäuser, Divisionspfarrer in Rastatt. (—"Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie," herausgegeben von H. Schlatter und H. Cremer, Vol. III, Heft 2b.) (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1899; pp. 63; M. 1.) Our author believes in a "resurrection of the flesh," and furthermore prefers its most unmitigated expression to the use either of an almost coëval credal variant, "resurrection of the dead," or a modification preferred by Luther, "resurrection of the body." He finds, however, this *Fleischesauferstehung* rejected by liberal and almost surrendered by conservative theologians, while the common people so little understand it that they would without compunction abridge the church year by observing Holy Thursday or Good



Friday with Easter. As a protest this monograph appears. Since the author's opponents claim Paul as their protagonist, he devotes the principal part of his work to an investigation of those passages in which that apostle treats of resurrection. This section he introduces by an examination of the claim of the risen Christ to have "flesh and bones," occurring in Luke, "the Pauline gospel." He follows it by a survey of the facts of the "forty days," and concludes with a brief study of the letters of Clement and Ignatius, which, as emanating from churches deeply imbued with Paulinism, help in its interpretation. The tractate presents a strong argument in a small space.—ROBERT KERR ECCLES.

*Saladin and the Fall of the Kingdom of Jerusalem.* By Stanley Lane-Poole, M.A. (= Heroes of the Nations Series, No. 24.) (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1898; pp. xxiv + 416; \$1.50.) That one may understand a great historical character of a different civilization, it is necessary that one see the character from the point of view of his own civilization. This is perhaps best accomplished when the biographer is of the same civilization as the reader, but at the same time thoroughly familiar with the civilization of the subject of his sketch.

In this story of Saladin we have such a fortunate combination of circumstances. Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole, an Englishman, deeply read in Saracenic affairs, writes for English-speaking people a biography of Richard Cœur de Léon's great adversary, who is so celebrated through the romance of Sir Walter Scott.

The result is not only the first biography in English of this distinguished personage, but one that is entirely reliable in outline and in details, since it is written from full knowledge of the contemporary sources.

Mr. Lane-Poole's sympathy with the sultan and the Saracens is so full and so warm that, to say the least, he does them no injustice when he compares them with their Christian adversaries.

The book contains numerous maps and illustrations, which add very much to its value. — J. W. MONCRIEF.

*Caspar Borner in seiner Bedeutung für die Reformation und für die Leipziger Universität.* Von Dr. Richard Kallmeier. (Leipzig: Emil Gräfe, 1899; pp. 78; M. 1.50.) The enterprise of housing the university of Leipzig in its magnificent new buildings has led the professors

and students to a warmer interest in its history. Its archives have been searched once more for any possible additional knowledge of the great men who have made it what it is. The search has resulted in giving Caspar Borner, the subject of this sketch, a higher place among them than that before assigned to him. It was under his guidance that the university was transferred from the control of the Roman Catholics to that of the Lutherans, and was placed on a firm financial basis. Dr. Kallmeier, the author of the pamphlet, casts a clear light, not only on the man, but also on the condition of education in Germany during the period of transition from the scholasticism of the Middle Ages to the humanism of the new era.—*Michel Stüeler*. Ein Lebens- und Sittenbild aus der Zeit des dreissigjährigen Krieges. Von Professor Rudolf Knott. Sonderabdruck aus dem Jahresberichte des k. k. Staats-Real- und Obergymnasiums in Teplitz-Schönau. (Teplitz: Verlag von Adolf Becker, 1899; pp. 37; M. 0.50.) This sketch is based chiefly on items recorded in the diary of a plain citizen of Graupen, a small town of Bohemia, during the Thirty-Years' War. Michel Stüeler, who kept this record, was a versatile man, and hence was called on by his neighbors to do all sorts of things, so that he saw much of the limited world in which he lived. It was his custom to jot down the events of every day, with brief reflections, and his memoranda, made for his own use, and without a thought of the prying historian of the nineteenth century, possess a certain value and an even greater interest. One sees in them a picture of the common people of the time, their superstitions, their vices, their excellences, their manner of living, and their manner of dying. One learns the prices of various commodities, the character of the seasons, and the condition of the crops. One has brought before him the tragedies and the comedies enacted in the town during the entire generation. There was far more of tragedy than of comedy, for the Thirty-Years' War swept over the place again and again, and the journal shows it to us as it was seen by its unresisting victims.—FRANKLIN JOHNSON.

*The Apostles' Creed*. A Sketch of its History and an Examination of its Contents. By Theodor Zahn, Dr. and Professor of Theology at Erlangen, Hon. Litt.D., Cambridge. Translated by C. S. Burn and A. E. Burn, B.D. (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1899; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons; pp. xi+232; 5s.) This book represents a conservative view of the origin and growth of the Apostles' Creed. It is a "historical truth that the first outline of the creed arose in the

time of the apostles, and therefore most certainly not without their aid. History, and not legend, gives us a right to the ennobling thought that in and with our creed one confers that which since the days of the apostles has been the faith of united Christendom" (p. 222).—J. W. MONCRIEF.

*The Origin of Sin.* By Rev. E. W. Cook, A.M. (New York and London: Funk & Wagnalls Co., 1899; pp. 387; \$1.50.) The author, not recognizing a continuous divine revelation shown in racial historical religious development, but basing everything upon interpretation of biblical proof-texts, endeavors to show that sin, which is unmitigated evil necessitating endless punishment, is an individual origination due, through absolute freedom of will, to desire in conflict with law.—*Essai philosophique sur l'efficacité de la prière.* Par A. Philippot. (Paris: Librairie Fischbacher, 1899; pp. 100.) This is a carefully written, suggestive, and helpful essay. Efficacious prayer is defined as the cause, direct or indirect, of the event prayed for. Fervent prayer for spiritual well-being is always efficacious and is susceptible of continuous indefinite progression; for physical health it always cures or gives amelioration; but for an external event, if efficacious, it must be so indirectly. The immediate cause of external phenomena is the totality of material, potential energies termed nature, to which God is transcendent and in which he is immanent, not by a supernatural order superimposed upon a natural, but in such manner as to produce a supernatural and natural aspect. As God is the supreme law of the universe and his activity the object of material experience, he cannot derange or violate natural laws by intervention. The miracle, then, is a natural fact due to extraordinary divine activity, which, being rare, attracts attention and through lack of knowledge is inexplicable. God's operations yield a distinguishable enlargement and enrichment of psychical and physical development, limited, however, by the non-spirituality of matter, in overcoming which we, through the auto-suggestive influence of prayer, render possible the communication of divine life irrespective of erroneous intellectual theological notions.—JOHN STAFFORD.

*Das Wesen des evangelischen Glaubens.* Von H. C. Tamm. (Berlin: C. A. Schwetschke & Sohn, 1899; pp. 195; M. 3.) The author of this book acknowledges that the subject of justifying faith has been exhaustively treated from almost every point of view by the very ablest

Protestant theologians since the Reformation; but progressive evangelical theology, he thinks, makes a restatement of this very important article of Protestant faith desirable from time to time. In the book before us the author has given us a candid and lucid presentation of the nature of saving faith from the point of view of the more liberal German theology of today: justifying faith does not include a belief in an inerrant Scripture, nor, in fact, in any theological system; it is a faith in a personality, and this faith, in order to have any justifying character, must have become in the believer a strong conviction which impels him to right action. The author is no friend of dogmatic theology, for, while expressing his belief in the supreme necessity of faith in Christ, he holds that evangelical Christianity should be non-dogmatic. He is very severe in his arraignment of the theological dogmatism of Hengstenberg and his disciples of today, whose lament over the growing abandonment of faith on the part of many German Protestants, he holds, is not so much an honest expression for the loss of true faith as it is a desire again to foist upon evangelical Christianity a certain theological doctrine of justification. The book shows wide reading in German theology, is suggestive and, by reason of its style, not so wearisome to read as books on this subject usually are.—ALBERT J. RAMAKER.

*Ist eine religionslose Moral möglich?* Eine Zeitfrage, untersucht von Karl Lühr, Pfarrer in Gotha. (Berlin: C. A. Schwetschke & Sohn, 1899; pp. 61; M. 1.) Is a religionless morality possible? Yes, says the author, but it is of an inferior kind. *Either*, it is still undeveloped, in the beginning of its becoming, when formations and feelings similar to morality take shape; *or*, if, being fully developed, it again detaches itself from religion (whether turning aside from all influence of religion, or accepting the aid of religion only in the *fulfilment* of its moral task, but knowing nothing of religious ideas in the *grounding* of the moral), it must decay in the end. Its *principle*, autonomy, would gradually sink back into a selfish arbitrariness, or into the heteronomy of a foreign commandment, or into lower motives still. Its *aims* would flatten out (*verflachen*). Its *value-judgments* (*Werturteile*) would become pale and faded. "Religionless morality has no deep ground, no high aim, no infinite feeling of worth." An entirely religionless morality veils, finally, the sources of supreme power for the actualization of the moral.

Such is the condensed statement of an argument that is well sustained, and freshly put. He also traces the way in which such a

problem has come to be precipitated upon modern Christendom. The book is to be commended as a fair and helpful discussion of a most timely and difficult subject.—GEORGE B. FOSTER.

*Über die christliche Vollkommenheit.* Von Lic. theol. Ernst Cremer, Professor der Theologie in Marburg. (= "Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie," herausgegeben von A. Schlatter und H. Cremer, II, 2a.) (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1899; pp. 41; M. 0.80.) This pamphlet proposes to give to the New Testament words "perfect" and "perfection" a meaning which will satisfy contextual requirements, and yet not trench on certain related doctrines of the "reformatorische Lehre." It is worthy of a Cremer. Its findings may be presented in a few extracts: "The consciousness of perfection presented in the New Testament is never that of 'an active moral perfection,' but that of one who enjoys the 'gift' received in Christ. It is, therefore, a consciousness which can be entertained without antagonizing the doctrine of persistent moral imperfection, can be professed without setting up the subject's righteousness, and can be advocated without presenting an unattainable ideal. This perfection is not an outcome of so-called sanctification processes; nor is it itself a process, or even a goal. It is neither a 'stand' nor a 'step,' but a 'possession.' It comes through faith, because thereby the believer secures the perfect gift of God. It imports nothing of moral quality. But the faith, however, which conveys it is, as James has it, ultimately 'by works made complete.'"—ROBERT KERR ECCLES.

*University and Other Sermons, Historical and Biographical.* By Henry Montagu Butler, D.D., Hon. LL.D., Glasgow; Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Hon. Canon of Ely; formerly Head Master of Harrow School. (Cambridge: Macmillan & Bowes, 1899; pp. xi + 351; 5s.) These twenty-seven sermons were all preached in England; about half of them before the university of Cambridge; the remainder in different places and on special occasions. More than half of them are historical and biographical. Many of these discourses were addressed to students, and were exceedingly appropriate to such auditors. They must have stimulated those that heard them to strive after the things that are noblest and best. The large and wise use of biography to illustrate and enforce great truths merits the warmest commendation.

The style of these sermons is clear and simple. We did not find an obscure sentence in the entire volume; nor is there a single

paragraph given to philosophical discussion ; there are no technical theological terms, nor phrases, but everywhere pure, idiomatic English. There is not what would generally be called a great sermon in the whole book, and this, to any ordinarily appreciative reader, is a distinctive excellence. The day of ponderous theological preaching has gone. God grant that in all the coming cycles of time it may never return ! But the everlasting verities of the gospel with which metaphysical theology has attempted to deal should find the largest place in all Christian sermons, but should be presented as great revealed facts and in the simple but eloquent language of the people. In that way the prince of preachers, Jesus Christ, proclaimed the truth. The servant, in this as in all other respects, should strive to be like his Master.—GALUSHA ANDERSON.

*Between Cæsar and Jesus.* By Professor George D. Herron. (New York : T. Y. Crowell & Co., 1899; pp. 278; \$0.75.) We give credit to Professor Herron for sincerity, aptness, pungency, and moral earnestness. We object to calling this passionate, one-sided appeal to feelings scientific. The book has neither the spirit, nor the method, nor the information which should characterize a treatise on social themes. It is dogmatic in tone, it uses selected facts for rhetorical purpose, and it keeps out of sight immense ranges of material essential to an impartial view. It is simply an invective against Catholicism and a plea for socialism. The author does not claim to be scientific, but many of his admirers and enemies regard him as a sociologist. Hence sociologists are compelled to declare that he does not belong in their ranks. He may be doing a better work ; he is not doing their work. New Testament students must say whether his interpretations of Jesus' teaching are reliable.—C. R. HENDERSON.

# THEOLOGICAL AND SEMITIC LITERATURE

## A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SUPPLEMENT

TO THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF THEOLOGY, AND THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SEMITIC LANGUAGES  
AND LITERATURES

BY W. MUSS-ARNOLT

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## ORIGIN AND EARLY TEACHINGS OF THE WAL- DENSES, ACCORDING TO ROMAN CATHOLIC WRITERS OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

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THERE is a large literature of the sect known as the Waldenses, much of it in English, still more in French and German, but it has one defect that is at once curious and inexplicable. Few of those who have written on the subject show any acquaintance with our earliest sources of knowledge regarding the origin and primitive teachings of this interesting people. And even from books that contain some reference to these sources little is to be learned of their actual content. Certainly, in no work accessible to English readers is there an adequate account of the early Waldensians, based upon this material. It will not be a work of supererogation, therefore, to set forth somewhat in detail the considerable body of testimony regarding the beginnings of this sect—material which, though long known to a few scholars, has been so generally disregarded by those who have produced the bulk of the literature of the subject.

Properly to estimate the value of testimony, we must know something regarding the intelligence, industry, and honesty of

the witnesses. None of our testimony comes directly from the Waldenses. Our witnesses are all Roman Catholics, men of learning and ability, but as deeply prejudiced against a heretic as men could possibly be. This establishes at the outset a presumption against the trustworthiness of their testimony, and is a warning to us that we must weigh it most carefully, and scrutinize every detail before receiving it. But, on the other hand, our witnesses were men who had extraordinary opportunities for discovering the facts; some were inquisitors for years, and give us the results of interrogating a large number of persons. One at least was in his early life a member of the Waldensian sect, and obtained his knowledge from within. And it should also seem that our witnesses had no motive to misstate facts, but rather the contrary. Our documents, with a single exception, are not polemic, not intended for the general public, but composed for the information and direction of fellow-inquisitors and administrators. Evidently, the writers did not knowingly set down that which would mislead those whom they were trying to assist. They may have misunderstood, they did not deliberately lie—such is the inevitable conclusion from a careful study of the writings. And when we come to combine and compare the statements, the agreement is so remarkable on all matters of importance as to compel the conviction that the testimony is substantially correct. Where there is error in the accounts it is comparatively easy to detect and correct it. And of one thing we may be certain: any evidence that is to the credit of the sect may be accepted as worthy of implicit faith.

The documents from which quotations will be made, with few exceptions, are believed by the most competent scholars to have been composed by the year 1250 A. D., several of them before the year 1225. As the beginning of the events related by them cannot be placed earlier than the year 1170, it is evident that we have in this case as nearly contemporary accounts as could well be expected.

Probably the earliest mention of the Waldenses is that which occurs in a decree of Pope Lucius III., issued in 1181, in which he says:



We decree to put under a perpetual anathema the Cathari and Patarini and those who falsely call themselves Humiliati or Poor of Lyons, the Passagini, Josephini, Arnaldistae.<sup>1</sup>

There seems to be no room for doubt that the name "Poor of Lyons" (*pauperes de Lugduno*) is intended in this decree to describe those heretics known to us as Waldenses, since this was one of the earliest and most common names of the sect. This decree is chiefly valuable as affording us a date (approximate) for the origin of the sect; it cannot, of course, be placed later than this; apparently it need not be placed many years earlier. From this time onward mention of these heretics, under a great variety of names, becomes more and more frequent in the official documents of the church,<sup>2</sup> but from these sources we obtain few facts regarding their origin and teachings. We must go to private writings for fuller information.

The first witness to be called is a writer named Alanus. The name was not an uncommon one, and the treatise *Contra Haereticos* has been assigned by scholars to different men bearing that name. The general opinion is, however, that its author was a highly esteemed monk of the Cistercian order, a voluminous writer, whose learning and abilities gained for him the surname of *Universalis*. He died in 1202.<sup>3</sup> His treatise is supposed to

<sup>1</sup> MANSI, *Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, Vol. XXII, p. 476. This decree was confirmed by the council of Verona; *ibid.*, p. 488.

<sup>2</sup> For example, the synodal statutes of Odo, bishop of Toul, 1192: "Concerning heretics who are called Wadoys, we order all the faithful, both clerics and laymen, for the remission of their sins, that whosoever shall find them shall keep them bound with chains and bring them to the see of Toul to be punished." Alphonso, king of Aragon, in 1194 issued this perpetual decree: "We command that the Waldenses or Insabati, who call themselves by another name, Poor of Lyons, and all other heretics, of whom there is no number, anathematized by the holy church, to depart and flee from our entire kingdom and domain, as enemies of the cross of Christ, violators of the Christian religion, public enemies of ourselves and of the kingdom. If anyone therefore, from this day forth, shall presume to receive into his house the aforesaid Waldenses and other heretics, of whatever profession they may be, or to listen to their deadly preaching in any place, or to give them food, or any other aid, let him know that he will incur the wrath of Almighty God and ours; and his goods shall be confiscated without remedy of appeal, and he shall be punished just as for the crime of treason." For these and other like documents see D'ARGENTRÉ, *Collectio Judiciarum de novis erroribus*, Paris, 1728, Vol. I, pp. 83 f.

<sup>3</sup> This we know from the "Chronica Albrici Monachi Trium Fontium," in PERTZ, *Monumenta Germ. Hist.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 881: "Anno 1202. Apud Cistercium mortuus est hoc anno magister Alanus de Insulis, doctor ille famosus," etc. It is explained by some that he received his surname, *de Insulis*, because of his birth at Lille, Flanders.

have been written not long before his death, and thus belongs to the opening of the thirteenth century. In the second book of this writing, devoted especially to the Waldenses, he says:

There are certain heretics who feign themselves righteous when they are wolves in sheep's clothing, concerning whom the Lord speaks in the gospel, "Beware of false prophets," etc., Matt. 7:15. These are called Waldenses, from their heresiarch, who was called Waldus; who, led by his own spirit, not sent by God, invented a new sect, that is, without the authority of a prelate, without divine inspiration, without knowledge, without learning, he presumed to preach. Without reason a philosopher, without vision a prophet, without being sent an apostle, without instructor a teacher; whose disciples, rather mousetraps,<sup>4</sup> in various parts of the world, seduce the simple, turn them away from the truth, do not turn them to the truth; who to satisfy the belly rather than the mind presume to preach.<sup>5</sup>

Our next witness is Bernard, in his treatise *Adversus Waldensium Sectam*, written about 1209, it is supposed. This is neither the famous Bernard of Clairvaux nor the less famous Bernard of Clugny, but a comparatively unknown man, chiefly distinguished as the abbot of a monastery of the Premonstrants or White Canons, known as *Fons Callidus* or Hot Spring, in the diocese of Narbonne. He says:

Under Lucius [III.], of renowned memory, the presiding lord of the Holy Roman church, suddenly new heretics raised their heads, who, by a certain presage of things to be, received a name and were called Waldenses, that is, from a dark valley (*a valle densa*),<sup>6</sup> because they are involved in the profound and dense darkness of errors. These, though condemned by the aforesaid pope, by bold daring spewed out far and wide over the world the poison of their falsehood.<sup>7</sup>

Our next witness is one Peter, described as *Monachus vallium Carnati*, or Vaux Sernai, in the diocese of Paris, who wrote a

<sup>4</sup> The pun in Latin, *discipuli* — *muscipuli*, is feeble, even for a mediæval monk, and fortunately cannot be imitated in English.

<sup>5</sup> MIGNÉ, *Patrol. Lat.*, Vol. CCX, pp. 306 f.

<sup>6</sup> The names and doctrines of the heretical sects afforded Roman writers endless opportunities for the making of vile puns. I have met with one even worse than the above: "But certain ones are called Waldenses, because they remain in the valley of tears." This is the handiwork of Ebrard Bethunensis, of Flanders, in his *Liber anti-hæresis*, cap. 25; *Bib. Max.*, PP. Vol. XXIV, pp. 1525 f.

<sup>7</sup> MIGNÉ, *Patrol. Lat.*, Vol. CCIV, p. 793; also GALLANDI, *Vet. Pat. Bib.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 520 f.

*Historia Albigensium* covering the years 1206–17, supposed to have been completed not later than 1218. He refers briefly, but quite significantly, to this sect:

There were besides other heretics who were called Waldenses, from a certain Lyonese, Waldius by name. These indeed were wicked, but in comparison with other heretics were far less perverse. For in many things they agreed with us, but in many things they differed.<sup>8</sup>

One of the most valuable accounts among all those available is that of Stephen de Bourbon, also known as Stephen de bella villa. He was a member of the Dominican order, spent much of his life in the very region where the Waldenses had their origin, personally knew many of the chief actors, and died at Lyons in 1261. Part of his materials were thus gathered at first hand; the rest he obtained as an inquisitor—"as I know and have found out by many inquisitions and confessions of theirs under trial," he tells us, "as well of the perfect as of the believers, written down from their mouths and received from many witnesses against them." This use by Stephen of the terms *perfecti* and *credentes*, as applied to Waldenses, affords ground for suspicion that he, as well as other writers of the period, did not clearly discriminate between Waldenses and Albigenses. Stephen's chief work, *De Septem Donis Spiritus Sancti*, composed about 1225, has never been published in full, and still exists only in a MS. in the library of the Sorbonne; but the part relating to the Waldenses has been printed. The author says:

Fourthly, we must speak of the heretics of our time, namely, the Waldenses and Albigenses . . . . The Waldenses are named from the first author of that heresy, who was named Waldensis. They are also called the Poor of Lyons, because there they began with the profession of poverty. But they call themselves the poor in spirit, because the Lord says, Matt. 5 : 3, "Blessed are the poor in spirit." And truly they are poor in spirit, in spiritual goods and in the Holy Spirit. However, this sect began after this manner, as I have heard from many who seemed to be chief among them, and from that priest who was greatly honored and rich in the city of Lyons (and a friend of our Brothers) who was called Bernard Ydros. Who, when he was a youth and a scribe, wrote for the aforesaid Waldensis for money the first books that they had in Romance (a certain Stephen de Ansa translating and dictating to him); who, after he had received a benefice in the greater church at Lyons,

<sup>8</sup> D'ARGENTRÉ, Vol. I, p. 92; MIGNE, Vol. CCXIII, p. 548.

was promoted to the priesthood, and, falling from the balcony of a house he built, ended his life by a sudden death — whom I have often seen.

A certain rich man in the aforesaid city, called Waldensis, hearing the gospels, as he was not very literate, and being curious to understand what they said, made a bargain with the aforesaid priests — with one that he would translate them for him into the vernacular (*in vulgari*), with the other that he should write what the former would dictate, which they did. They also wrote many books of the Bible, and many extracts (*auctoritates*) from the saints, arranged by title, which they called sentences. When the aforesaid citizen had often read these and learned them by heart, he purposed to keep evangelical perfection as the apostles kept it. Having sold all his goods, and in contempt of the world cast his money in the mire to the poor, he usurped the office of the apostles, and presumed by preaching through the streets and squares the gospels and those things that he retained in his heart. And calling many men and women to him to do the same, confirming the gospels in them, he also sent them through the surrounding towns to preach in the meanest possible manner. These, men and women equally, entering houses and preaching in the streets and even in the churches, incited others to do the same.

But, since they through boldness and ignorance spread abroad many errors and scandals, they were cited by the archbishop of Lyons, whose name was John, who prohibited them from expounding the Scriptures or preaching. But they took refuge in the response of the apostles, Acts 5:29. Their leader usurping the office of Peter, as he replied to the chief priest, said, "One must obey God rather than man; God commanded the apostles in the last of Mark, 'Preach the gospel to every creature.'" As if God said this to them that he said to the apostles; who nevertheless would not have presumed to preach, had they not been endued with power from on high, had they not been most perfectly and fully illumined with knowledge and received the gift of all tongues.

They therefore, that is, Waldensis and his people, in consequence of presumption and usurpation of the apostolic office, at first fell into disobedience, then into contumacy, but last under sentence of excommunication. Afterward, driven from that land, being cited to the council held at Rome before the Lateran,<sup>9</sup> and proving persistent, they were afterward adjudged schismatics. Later, in the land of Provence and Lombardy, mingling with other heretics and imbibing their errors, and sowing them, they were adjudged the most pestilent heretics, the most corrupt (*infectissimi*, most deeply dyed) and dangerous, running everywhere and feigning a likeness of holiness and

<sup>9</sup> "The Lateran council," without further qualification, would mean to every reader at the time these words were written the great council of 1215, under Innocent III. The one before that would, of course, be the third Lateran, of 1179. This agrees perfectly with the statements of other authorities quoted or to be quoted.

faith, but not having the reality — the most dangerous because hidden, changing their appearance by various dresses and trades.

Sometimes a great one among them was taken who bore about with him the tokens (*indicia*) of many trades, by which like Proteus he was accustomed to change his appearance (*se transfigurabat*). If he was sought for under one disguise, and he became aware of it, he chose another. Sometimes he bore the dress and signs of a pilgrim; sometimes the staff and iron implements (*ferramenta*) of a penitent. Sometimes he pretended to be a shoemaker, a barber, a reaper, etc. Others do the like.

This sect began about the year 1170 from the incarnation of the Lord, under John, called Bolesmanis, archbishop of Lyons.<sup>10</sup>

Another witness of almost equal value has until recently been identified with Reinerus Sachonus Placentius, a learned writer who was in youth a member of the Cathari or Waldenses,<sup>11</sup> but afterward became a Catholic. He entered the Dominican order and became one of the most zealous persecutors of his former associates, being for some years an inquisitor in Lombardy. His *Summa de Catharis et Leonistis* is not a polemic, but a treatise for the information of other inquisitors. What he writes is therefore not only founded on knowledge of the most accurate kind, but is evidently honest in intent, and from it we gain valuable information regarding the Waldensian teachings. It was until lately supposed that, having written this treatise in the year 1230, Reinerus added to it certain other things about the Waldenses about 1250. Gieseler was the first to point out<sup>12</sup> that this second part was by another writer altogether, whom he called pseudo-Reinerus. Dr. Preger<sup>13</sup> has since made it clear

<sup>10</sup> D'ARGENTRÉ, Vol. I, pp. 87-9. The surname Bolesmanis, given by Stephen to Archbishop John of Lyons, is a corruption of his true title, *de bellis manibus*.

<sup>11</sup> Our only information is a sentence in the *Summa*: "*Ego autem frater Ranerius olim haeresirarcha*." He is speaking at the time of the Cathari, but it is by no means plain to me that he intended to distinguish clearly between them and the Poor of Lyons.

<sup>12</sup> *De Rainerii Summa Commentatio critica*, Göttingen, 1834.

<sup>13</sup> *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Waldesier im Mittelalter, Abhandlungen der königl. bayer. Akademie der Wissenschaften*, III. Classe, XIII. Bd., 1. Abth.; also separately, München, 1875. The pseudo-Reinerus or Passau anonymous document in its original form is the third in his collection. But I have called by the same name, in default of a better, the extracts made by Gretser and copied by D'Argentré, though some are from other sources.

that the original document was compiled by an ecclesiastic, evidently an inquisitor, in the diocese of Passau, whom he named the Passau anonymous; and by that title the author is likely henceforth to be known, unless his true name transpires. On the origin of the sect he writes as follows:

Observe that the sect of the Poor of Lyons, who are also called Leonistae, arose after this manner. When some of the chief citizens were together in Lyons, it happened that one of them died suddenly before them. On which account one of them was so greatly terrified that he immediately spent a great treasure on the poor, and on account of this a very great multitude of the poor flocked to him. These he taught to maintain voluntary poverty, and to be imitators of Christ and the apostles. But since he had little knowledge of letters, he taught them the text of the New Testament in the vernacular (*vulgariter*). When he was reproved for this temerity, he despised [reproof] and began to insist upon his doctrine, saying to his disciples that the clergy, since they were of evil life, hated their holy life and doctrine. But when the pope pronounced sentence of excommunication upon them, he persistently despised it. And so to this day in all those lands their doctrine and rancor increases.

Our next witness is a chronicle of the period that ends abruptly with the year 1219, and gives every indication in its contents that its compilation was finished at about that time. Nothing is known of its author, except that he was a citizen of Lodi, but the chronicle gives internal evidence of his diligence and usual accuracy. What he says about the Waldenses has at least this significance: it gives the account that was current in his day of the origin of the sect; beyond this he may or may not have had access to first-hand sources of information:

In the same year (1173) of our Lord's incarnation there was at Lyons, in Gaul, a certain citizen, Valdesius by name, who through the wickedness of usury had accumulated great wealth. He on a certain Sunday, when he was turning away from a crowd that he saw gathered about a jester (*joculatorem*), was pricked by his words, and, bringing him to his house, was solicitous to hear him carefully. For there was a passage in his story in which the blessed Alexis rested at his happy end in the house of his father. When it was morning, the citizen hastened to the celebrated schools of theology, to seek counsel for his soul; and, being taught about many ways of going to God, inquired of the master which of all the ways is surer and more perfect. To whom the master returned our Lord's saying: "If thou wouldst be perfect, go and sell all thou hast," etc. And coming to his wife, he gave

her the option whether from all his property—on land and sea, groves, meadows, houses, revenues, vineyards, as well as millhouses, and bakeries—she would choose to keep the real or personal estate. She, although very sad that it was needful to do this, kept the real estate. He indeed from the personal property made restitution to those he had wronged, but a great part of his money he gave to his two little girls, whom he transferred without their mother's knowledge to the Abbey of Fontevrault (*Fons-Evrardus*); but a great part he expended for the use of the poor. For a mighty famine was then moving through all Gaul and Germany. But the celebrated citizen Valdesius gave bountifully, from Pentecost to the [feast of the] chains of St. Peter,<sup>14</sup> to all who came to him, bread and a portion of flesh. On the Assumption of the blessed Virgin he distributed a certain sum of money through the streets among the poor, and called aloud, saying: "No one can serve two masters, God and mammon." Then the citizens, running together, thought he had lost his reason. And ascending into a higher place, he says: "O citizens and friends of mine! I am not insane, as you think, but I am avenged upon these my enemies, who have made me their slave, since always I have been more anxious about money than about God, and have served the creature rather than the creator. I know that most blame me because I have done this openly. But I have done it for my own sake and for you: for myself, in order that they who may see me hereafter possess money may say that I am mad; but also for your sake in part have I done this, that you may learn to put your trust in God and not trust in riches."

But on the following day, returning from church, he begged a certain citizen, a former associate of his, for the sake of God to give him something to eat. The latter brought him to his guest-chamber, and said: "As long as I live, I grant you the necessities" [of life]. When this affair came to the notice of his wife, she was not a little grieved, but as one distracted she ran to the archbishop of the city and lamented that her husband should beg bread from another than her. Which thing moved to tears all who were present, with the prelate himself. Then, in accordance with the command of the prelate, the burgher brought his guest with him to the presence of the prelate. But the woman, seizing her husband by the coat, says: "Man, is it not better that I should atone for my sins by charity to thee, than a stranger?" And from then it was not permitted him, by command of the archbishop in that city, to take food with others than his wife.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>14</sup> A feast celebrated at Rome August 1, and in the West generally. The eastern church has a different date, owing to the use of the Julian calendar. The Assumption is celebrated August 15. For the origin of these feasts and the ideas connected with them see ADDIS and WRIGHT's *Catholic Dictionary*.

<sup>15</sup> *Ex Chronico universali anonymi Laudensis*, in PERTZ, *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 447 f.

The last witness we shall call<sup>16</sup> is the author of the *Tractatus de inquisitione Haereticorum*. This was formerly supposed to be the work of a Dominican friar and inquisitor, named Yvonetus, of whom little else was known. Of the three MSS. of the writing known to exist, one in Stuttgart ascribes the tract to David of Augsburg, a Franciscan. Drs. Pfeiffer and Preger have now established the authorship of David beyond reasonable doubt, and the latter scholar has published a critical text of the tract.<sup>17</sup> In the text as hitherto printed there is a paragraph prefixed, which internal evidence shows clearly enough to be no part of the document itself; and it is so nearly verbally identical with the account by Stephen of Bourbon as to be almost certainly derived from that source.<sup>18</sup> The genuine account of David begins thus:

The rise of this sect, which is called *Pover de Leun*, or *Pauperes de Lugduno* (as I have heard from several sources, also from some of them who seem to have returned to the faith, for I was present at their examinations), is said to have been on this wise: At Lyons there were certain simple laymen who, inflamed by a certain spirit and setting themselves above others, boasted that they wished to live altogether according to gospel doctrine and to keep it to the very letter. They demanded from the lord pope, Innocent [III.], that this mode of life should be confirmed to them and their followers by his authority, until this time acknowledging that the primacy of apostolic power resided with him. Afterward they began of themselves—that they might show themselves more fully as disciples of Christ and successors of the

<sup>16</sup>This is not, however, for lack of further material. D'Argentré gives a number of similar accounts by other writers, mostly later than 1250. For example: Guido de Perpiniano, a Carmelite, who wrote about 1342; Eymericus, in his *Directorio Inquisitorum*, about 1376; Robertus Gaguinus in his *Historia Francorum*. As many more names might be added. None of these writers can be said to contribute anything to what is already recorded; the few additional particulars in their accounts are probably false; some are certainly so, as when Guido charges promiscuous immorality against the Waldenses. On the testimony of Moneta see note 20, below.

<sup>17</sup>*Der Tractat des David von Augsburg über die Waldesier*, von DR. W. PREGER, in the *Abhandlungen der k. bayer. Akademie der Wiss.*, III. Cl., XIV. Bd., 2. Abth., pp. 183–235. Also separately, München, 1878.

<sup>18</sup>It will be found in MARTÈNE and DURAND'S *Thesaurus novus Anecdotorum*, Vol. V, pp. 1777 f., printed as an inseparable part of the document attributed by the editors to Yvonetus. On grounds of internal evidence alone one would be inclined to agree with Dr. Preger that this is an error; but when this paragraph is missing from the three extant MSS. of the tractate, there is no case left to be argued.



apostles — boastfully to take to themselves even the office of preaching, saying that Christ commanded his disciples to preach the gospel. And because they set themselves up to interpret the words of the gospel in the proper signification, seeing no others keeping the gospel according to the letter, as they boasted they wished to do, they said that they alone were true imitators of Christ. When the church saw them usurp the office of preaching, which had not been committed to them, since they were uneducated and laymen, she prohibited them, as was fitting, and excommunicated them when unwilling to obey. But they despised in this the keys of the church, saying that the clergy did this through envy, because they saw them (Waldenses) to be better than themselves, and to teach better, and in consequence of this to have greater favor with the people. For a good and perfect work, such as teaching the faith and doctrine of Christ, no one should or can be excommunicated, and against the doctrine of Christ no one ought by any means to obey anyone prohibiting such a good work. That excommunication they thought to be an eternal benediction for them, and gloried that they were successors of the apostles; that as they (the apostles) were put out of the synagogue by scribes and Pharisees for the teaching of the gospel, and were under their curse and persecution, so they also suffered similar things from the clergy. Thus haughty presumption in the garb and pretext of sanctity brought in the blindness of peculiar heretical wickedness. For evangelical perfection would rather teach to obey humbly the teachers and rulers of the church than to separate from Catholic unity through the pride of singularity.

From these accounts we gather certain facts that may be regarded as certainly established. The sect known as Waldenses, or Poor of Lyons, originated about the year 1170, in consequence of the teachings of a citizen of Lyons, whose name was probably Waldo.<sup>19</sup> The traditions of an earlier origin, stretching back even to the days of the apostles, are mere fables.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>19</sup> It is noteworthy that the name Peter is not given by any of the earlier authorities. It is not found, in fact, until the beginning of the fifteenth century. But it is traditional among the Waldenses as the real name of their founder, and the tradition may be accepted without much question.

<sup>20</sup> This conclusion from the documents already examined is strongly confirmed by the polemics of Moneta of Cremona, a Dominican inquisitor, in a treatise *Contra Catharos et Valdenses*, Romae, 1743, pp. 402 f. He says: "That the aggregate of the Poor of Lyons is not the church of God will be plain if its origin is considered. For it was not long ago that they began, since, as it appears, they take their rise from Valdesius, a citizen of Lyons, who began this way. They have been in existence not more than eighty years (if so many, rather less than more). Therefore they are not the successors of the primitive church; therefore they are not the church of God. But if they say that their way existed before Valdensis, let them show it by some proof, which they are not in the least able to do. . . . In the fourth place, the same appears

Not only are they utterly at variance with the unanimous testimony of the writers above quoted, but the one Waldensian document that can fairly claim an equal antiquity with these sources is equally clear in ascribing the origin of the sect to Waldo.<sup>21</sup> There is more than a possibility that some of the groups into which the sect was divided have an origin prior to from ecclesiastical orders, which they admit to be at least threefold, to wit, bishops, presbyters, and deacons. Without these threefold orders the church of God cannot and should not exist, as they themselves witness. Let us then say to them: If there is no church of God without these orders, your origin is certainly without them; therefore you are not the church of God. But if one says, Our origin had those orders, I ask from whom it had them, for who is your bishop? If they say, such a man, tell us who ordained him. If they say, a certain man, I ask also who ordained that other one, and so ascending they are compelled to come to Valdesius. Then let it be asked whence he had his orders. If they say, from himself, it is evident that if this is so it is opposed to the apostle, Heb. 5: 4. But if Valdesius has his order from himself, he has called himself to be high priest. He was, therefore, Antichrist, that is, opposed to Christ and his church. If they say that he had his order directly from God, they are able to offer no proof from Scripture; for by the same reasoning anybody pretending to be a good man might say the same, and so lead a sect of perdition. . . . But it should be known that some say that Valdesius had his orders from the whole of his brethren. But of those who have said this the chief was a certain heresiarch of the Lombard Poor, a perverted doctor named Thomas. He attempted to prove it thus: Anyone of that congregation could give Valdesius his right, to wit, to rule himself; and so the whole congregation could confer and did confer on Valdesius the rule of all, and so they created him high priest and prelate of all. But if that heresiarch had understood how foolish that is, he would never have let it come from his mouth. For every pontificate is a rule, but not every rule is a pontificate; whence then it follows they were able to give him the rule of themselves, but a pontificate—? Does it follow because I can give you one thing I can give you another? Not at all. . . . Fifthly, it appears that they are not the church of God, through the lack of preaching. For just as it was proved that they lack orders, so also it can be proved that they lack the office of preaching. By the word of the apostle, Rom. 10: 15, 'How shall they preach unless they are sent?' But they cannot show that they were sent by anyone having authority to send. At the last we come again to Valdesius who was the first of them. Concerning whom it is not known by whom he was sent, unless by the pope. They are not, therefore, the church of God, which has orders and the office of preaching, while they have neither." Moneta, who wrote about 1250, is perhaps of less value as an original authority than the other writers cited; we know little of his means of informing himself accurately, and his work is of a different character from those cited above. But his challenge indicates that the Waldenses themselves had little confidence in the validity of their claims of antiquity.

<sup>21</sup> The *Rescriptum Heresiarcharum Lombardie ad Pauperes de Lugduno, qui sunt in Alemania*, first published in the *Beiträge* of Preger. We owe the preservation of this document to the zeal of the Passau anonymous against the Waldenses.

Waldo. For myself, I regard it as satisfactorily established that the Poor of Lombardy, commonly identified with the Waldenses, had an independent origin, and were descended from that more or less evangelical party in Italy which, under the various titles of Humiliati, Arnoldistæ, Paterini, Pauliciani, existed several centuries prior to the time of Waldo. In southern France itself it is demonstrable that the Petrobrusians, who preceded the Waldensians by a half century, were even more evangelical than the followers of Waldo. My own conclusion from all the facts thus far established is that the Waldenses absorbed and gave their name to preëxisting sects of evangelical believers, like the Petrobrusians, and that thus, and thus only, can we satisfactorily account for the rapid growth and wide diffusion of the Waldenses and their teachings in the thirteenth century. Many bits of scattered evidence confirm this view, but there is no space for further discussion in this article.<sup>22</sup>

It is plain also that in the beginning of his work, at least, Waldo had no idea that he was a heretic, and no intention of causing a schism. He was not guilty of any offense in having the Scriptures translated or in repeating and explaining them to others. It was not until the synod of Toulouse, in 1229, that the Roman church, taught by its experience with the Waldenses the danger of letting the common people have the Scriptures in the vernacular, forbade laymen to have either the Old or the New Testament, save such portions as might be contained in the ordinary books of devotion.<sup>23</sup> The synod of Tarragon, 1234, followed up this prohibition by forbidding even priests to have the Scriptures in the vernacular and commanding all who owned

<sup>22</sup> For example, see the letter of Evervinus Steinfeldensis to Bernard of Clairvaux in D'ARGENTRÉ, Vol. I, p. 33, and note how the errors of these "new heretics" therein described conform to those of the Waldenses. Compare also their examination (as related in D'ARGENTRÉ, Vol. I, pp. 65 f.) held at Narbonne in 1165 (especially at the top of p. 66).

<sup>23</sup> *Concilium Tolosanum*, Anno 1229, Cap. XIV: "*Prohibemus etiam, ne libros veteris testamenti aut novi, laici permittantur habere: nisi forte psalterium, vel brevarium pro Divinis officiis, aut horas beatae Mariae aliquis ex devotione habere velit. Sed ne praemissos libros habeant in vulgari translatos, arctissime inhibemus.*" (MANSI, Vol. XXII, p. 196.)

copies to bring them to their bishop to be burned.<sup>24</sup> But no such *ex post facto* law of the church can be conceived to apply to Waldo. None of the accounts charge Waldo with teaching any false doctrine at first. The whole gravamen of the charges against him is that, being an ignorant layman, he presumed to preach. Everything points to the conclusion, as already hinted, that this preaching consisted in little or nothing more than the repetition of the words of Scripture to those who would hear. The story of the Lodi chronicler already related throws light in this matter. Waldo was first awakened, he tells us, by hearing a traveling "jester" (query, does not the *joculator* of the chronicler simply mean the *jongleur*, who in mediæval times combined minstrelsy with juggling?) recite the story of Saint Alexis—a story that is extant in the French of that period. It was easy for one who could recite such tales to gather a crowd about him, and Waldo found it equally easy, no doubt, to induce men to stop in the streets and hear the stories about Jesus that he had learned by heart from the gospels. This the jealous clergy construed as "preaching," and they hastened to put a stop to this trespassing upon their prerogative.

It was at this point that John *de bellis manibus*, archbishop of Lyons, interfered with the work of Waldo and his followers. There was then no other ground whatever for interference, as all the narratives agree. For the other features of the Waldensian manners were quite regular, and such as the church then and always approved. The vow of poverty, the going forth two by two, the black garb, the discarding of shoes in favor of sandals—these were then, had long been, and long continued to be, the common features of religious orders established under church patronage and receiving the highest approval of prelates of every rank. The Waldenses were treated as offenders only because they threatened collision with the priesthood and its prerogatives. Here was something that the church hated as much as any heresy.

<sup>24</sup> *Conventus Tarraconensis*, Anno 1234, Canon ii: "*Item, statuitur, ne aliquis libros veteris vel novi testamenti in Romanico habeat, infra octo dies post publicationem hujusmodi constitutionis a tempore sententiae, tradat eos loci episcopo comburendos, quod nisi fecerit, sive clericus fuerit, sive laicus, tamquam suspectus de haeresi, quousque se purgaverit, habeatur.*" (MANSI, Vol. XXIII, p. 329.)

It was built on a theory of salvation through certain sacraments, dispensed through a sacred priesthood, upon whom power to do this was conferred by "orders" sacramentally transmitted from the apostles. Permit a mere layman, to whom no sacred chrism had given this mysterious power of administering the sacraments, to engage in the almost sacramental work of preaching! It was not for a moment to be considered possible.

It is not fanciful to trace an exact parallel, to this point, between Waldo and Francis of Assisi. Francis was arrested in the midst of a frivolous career by the grace of God, and made a new creature. He like Waldo began to tell to others in a simple way, mostly in private conversation, what had been wrought in him by the power of God—taking the vow of poverty, clad in a simple robe girt with a rope, wearing sandals or going with bare feet. Francis had also gathered about him a few friends—twelve in all there are said to have been—and in his case also the jealousy of priests and prelates was aroused, and his work was in imminent danger of being laid under the ban of the church. The parallel is perfect, deed for deed, and that without any straining of the facts.

Waldo determined to appeal from Archbishop John to the pope. At this point the accounts that have thus far been cited fail us, whether from lack of knowledge on the part of the writers, or unwillingness to tell the facts, can only be conjectured. But we have from a very different source a full account of what occurred. Walter Mapes, or Map, an English delegate to the Lateran council of 1179, has described the appearance of the Waldenses in this body:

I saw in the Roman Council under the renowned pope, Alexander III.,<sup>25</sup> Waldenses, ignorant and unlettered, named from their chief, Valdis, who was a citizen of Lyons on the Rhone. They presented to the lord pope a book written in the Gallic tongue, in which was contained the Psalter and most of

<sup>25</sup> DIECKHOFF (*Die Waldenser im Mittelalter*, Göttingen, 1851, pp. 343 f.) argues that for Alexander III. in the above we must read Innocent III., and that the year of the council was 1210. This is an arbitrary change, for which no good reason is assigned, and makes necessary a chronology of early Waldensian history that is, to put it mildly, extremely improbable. Such handling of historical documents, though proposed in the name of critical scholarship, is a defiance of all genuinely critical treatment of sources.

the books of both laws, and a glossary. These people were asking with much insistence that their right to preach should be confirmed, because they considered themselves worthy, though they were mere dunces (*vix sciolis*). I, the least of the many thousands summoned, was laughing at them, because any consideration or delay was given to their petition; and being called by a certain great prelate to whom the pope committed the care of confessions, I took my seat prepared for the contest. And many who were learned in the canon law and wise being associated [with me], there were brought before me two Waldenses who seemed to be chiefs in their sect, to dispute with me concerning the faith, not for love of seeking truth, but that being refuted my mouth might be closed as hostile to the truth. I acknowledge I took my seat with perturbation, lest for my sins the grace of speech should be denied me in so grand a council. But the pontiff directed me to question them, which I was ready to do. I commenced with the easiest questions, of which nobody should be ignorant, knowing that when an ass is eating oats he does not disdain lettuce. "Do you believe in God the Father?" They answered: "We believe." "And in the Son?" They answered: "We believe." "And in the Holy Ghost?" They answered: "We believe." "And in the mother of Christ?" And they again: "We believe." At this the whole assembly burst out laughing.<sup>66</sup> Our friends retired in confusion, and properly; because they are ruled by no one and long to be rulers, resembling Phaëton, who did not even know the names of his horses. These people have no fixed abodes; they go about two by two, barefooted with a woollen tunic, possessing nothing, having all things in common like the apostles; poor themselves, they follow a Christ who is poor. They begin now in a most humble way, because they hardly know how to lift the foot; if we admit them, we shall be turned out.<sup>67</sup>

This account does not mention Waldo by name; indeed, it rather implies that he was not present. Another informant, the chronicler of Lodi from whom we have already quoted, tells us that Waldo went to Rome in person, and gives this account of the matter:

In the year of grace 1178. The Lateran council was summoned by pope Alexander, the third of that name. . . . This council condemned heresy and all promoters of heresy as well as defenders. Waldesius was embraced by

<sup>66</sup>The exquisiteness of this joke depends on the fact that the Waldenses should have replied: "No, we believe *on* the mother of Christ." *Credere in* is properly applied only to the three persons of the Trinity. That these Waldenses should be ignorant of a distinction by no means always observed even by trained Roman theologians is not surprising.

<sup>67</sup>MAPES, *De nugis curialium*, edited by Wright, "Camden Society Publications," 1850. Also quoted, as to the above passage, by USSHER, *De Christianum Ecclesiarum Successione et Statu*, Works, Dublin ed., Vol. II, pp. 244, 245.

the pope, who approved the vow of poverty he had voluntarily made, but commanded him that neither he himself nor his associates should assume the office of preaching, except at the request of the priests. Which precept they observed for a short time; but afterward becoming disobedient it resulted in scandal to many and to him in a threat [of excommunication?].

This does not claim to be the testimony of an eyewitness, but, as it does not positively contradict anything said by Mapes, it may be true, though it must be received with some dubiety.

So much for the testimony of contemporary (or nearly contemporary) documents to the facts regarding the origin of the Waldenses. The agreement of the sources is not less striking and instructive when we come to inquire of them what were the distinctive teachings of the sect in its early years. There are, to be sure, variations, but these mostly concern unimportant details, and are no greater than we should expect from independent witnesses. The variations are, in fact, such as to establish the good faith, independence, and general trustworthiness of the testimony. The documents are too long, and contain too many unimportant particulars, to render it advisable to print them here in full; but the more significant statements of the writers already quoted, and a few others, regarding the Waldensian teachings are summarized under a few heads. I have taken great pains fairly to represent, not only the general agreement, but the variations, in the testimony:

*The Scriptures.*—Everything preached that is not proved by the text of the Bible they hold to be fable. . . . They know by heart the New Testament and most of the Old Testament in the vulgar tongue. . . . They assert that the doctrine of Christ and the apostles, without the decrees of the church, suffices for salvation. . . . They oppose the mystical sense in the Scriptures. (Passau anonymous.)

They do not receive the Old Testament for believing, but teach only a few things from that source, in order that they may attack us and defend themselves; saying that when the gospel came all old things passed away. So also they select the words of the saints, Augustine, Jerome, Gregory, Ambrose, John Chrysostom, Isidore, and mutilated extracts (*auctoritates*) from their books, that by these they may fortify their inventions and withstand us, or more easily lead astray the simple, coloring sacrilegious teaching with the beautiful sentences of the saints. But those opinions of the saints that they see to be contrary to them, by which their error is destroyed, they pass by in silence. . . . They have also made some verses (*rithmos*) which they call the thirty steps of St. Augustine, in which they teach how virtue should be followed and vice detested, and cleverly insert their rites and heresies, so that they may be the better drawn to saying them, and fix them the

more strongly in the memory — just as we give to the laity the creed and the Lord's prayer — and they have for this purpose compiled other beautiful hymns (*carmina*). (David of Augsburg.)

*Salvation, purgatory.* — God alone can absolve from sin; God alone can excommunicate. . . . It suffices for salvation to confess to God alone and not to men; and external penances are not necessary to salvation; but whenever any sinner repents, however great and many the sins he has committed, if he dies he immediately rises (*statim evolat, i. e.,* to heaven). . . . They assert that there is no purgatorial punishment save in the present, nor do the prayers of the church profit the dead, nor does anything done for them. (Stephen of Bourbon.)

They say there is no purgatory, but all, when they die, immediately go either to heaven or to hell. Wherefore prayers offered by the church for the dead, they assert, do not avail; since those in heaven do not need them, and those in hell are not at all assisted. They say also that the saints in heaven do not hear the prayers of the faithful, nor the praises by which we honor them. They argue that since the bodies of the saints lie here dead, and their spirits are so far removed from us in heaven, they can by no means hear our prayers; because, absorbed in heavenly joy, they cannot take heed of us, or care for anything else. (David of Augsburg.)

They blaspheme those that dwell in heaven when they say that apostles, martyrs, and the citizens of heaven cannot aid those who pray. . . . There are, indeed, some heretics that say souls separated from the body at once ascend to heaven or descend into the punishment of hell. . . . There are, on the other hand, those that say souls cannot enter either heaven or hell before judgment. But the souls of the just are kept in pleasant refuges (*receptacula*), while the spirits of the wicked are in places of punishment. The refuges of the pious are called paradise, while the places of punishment of the evil are called hell. But after the judgment the elect will possess heavenly mansions, and the wicked will be tormented with the tortures of hell. (Bernard.)<sup>88</sup>

Prayers and alms cannot profit the dead, to remission of sins; nor do indulgences given by our lord the pope, or by other prelates, profit anyone. (*De Modo Procedendi*.)<sup>89</sup>

They deny purgatory, saying there are only two ways, namely, one of the elect to heaven, the other of the damned to hell. (Passau anonymous.)

*The church.* — They say that the Roman church is not the church of Jesus Christ, but is a church of wicked men (*malignantium*), and the true church ceased to exist under Sylvester, when the poison of temporal things was infused into the church. And they say that they themselves are the church of Christ, because in word and act they observe the teaching of Christ, the gospels and apostles. . . . All approved customs of the church that they do not read in the gospel they despise, as the feast of candles, of

<sup>88</sup> The treatise of Bernard is founded on an older document, a report of a disputation between Catholics and Waldenses at Narbonne, about 1190, under the presidency of the priest Raymond de Daventer. The original may be found in the *Max. Bib.*, PP. Vol. XXIV, and a quite full translation of it is given in COMBA, *History of the Waldenses of Italy* (London, 1889), pp. 47 f.

<sup>89</sup> Dieckhoff puts the date of this document in the time of Gregory X. (1271–6), but without assigning any satisfactory reason. It is quite as likely to be older. Dieckhoff is much inclined to adopt the latest possible date for a Waldensian document as the only tenable one.



palms, the reconciliation of penitents, adoration of the cross,<sup>30</sup> the feast of Easter; and they spurn the feasts of the saints on account of the multiplication of saints. And they say that one day is just like another, therefore they secretly work on feast days. (Passau anonymous.)

Error 33. That no one is saved except in their sect. (Reinerus.)

Especially they argue concerning disobedience: since they do not obey the Roman church, which has the fulness of power to bind and loose, and the authority to direct other churches. . . . Besides, they submit neither to bishops nor to priests. . . . Obedience should not be rendered to bishops, priests, nor, horrible to tell, to the Holy Roman church. (Bernard.)

They affirmed that they alone are the church of Christ and the disciples of Christ. They say that they are the successors of the apostles, and have apostolic authority, and the keys of binding and loosing. . . . The Roman church is the harlot of Babylon, and all who obey it are damned. . . . All laws of the church since the ascension of Christ they say are not to be obeyed, nor are they of any value whatever. Feasts, fast days, orders, benedictions, offices of the church, and similar things they altogether reject. . . . On feast days, where they can do it secretly, they work, arguing that, since it is a good thing to work, it cannot be bad to work on a good day. In Lent and on other fast days of the church they do not fast, but eat flesh where they dare, saying that God is not pleased by the afflictions of his friends, but is able to save them without these things. . . . In consequence of the same dissimulation they frequent with us the churches, they are present at divine service, they offer at the altar, they receive the sacraments, they confess to the priests, they keep the fasts of the church and observe the feasts, and bending their heads receive the benedictions of the priests, when nevertheless they laugh at these and all other similar institutions of the church, and pronounce them profane and condemnable — just as sometimes a wolf covers himself with a sheepskin, that the wolf may not be known from the sheep. (David of Augsburg.)

*The mass.*—The body and blood of Christ they do not believe to be really such, but only bread blessed, which by a certain figure is said to be the body of Christ; as it is said, "But the rock was Christ," and the like. But this [blessing] some say can only be performed by the good, but others [say] by all who know the words of consecration. They observe this in their conventicles, reciting those words of the gospels at their table, and participating together as in the supper of Christ. (David of Augsburg.)

Concerning the sacrament of the eucharist they say that priests in mortal sin cannot make [the body of Christ]. . . . They say that transubstantiation does not take place in the hands of the unworthy maker, but in the mouth of the worthy receiver, and can be made at a common table. . . . They say that transubstantiation takes place by words in the vernacular. . . . They

<sup>30</sup> "Neither the body of Christ, nor any other creature, such as images and crosses, is to be adored and worshiped with any sort of adoration, without idolatry." (*Disputatio inter Catholicum et Paterinum Haereticum*, MARTÈNE and DURAND, Vol. V, pp. 1727 f.) This is repeated, word for word, by Reinerus. His treatise appears to be, in fact, wholly founded on this report of the disputation, which is said to have occurred under Archbishop Bernard of Narbonne, known to have held the office from 1181 to 1191. This brings the testimony of Reinerus very close to the origin of the sect. Compare with the above teaching the third error attributed by Peter the Venerable to the Petrobrusians. MIGNE, Vol. CLXXXIX, p. 762.

say that the church singing is infernal clamor. . . . They say that the oblation made by the priest in the mass is of no value, and does not profit. . . . They say that the Holy Scripture has the same effect in the vulgar tongue as in the Latin,<sup>32</sup> whence they make in the vernacular and give the sacraments. (Passau anonymous.)

They say that in the sacrament of the altar the bread and wine after consecration are not made the body and blood of Christ, if the priest is a sinner; and they hold everybody to be a sinner unless he is of their sect. Again, that the consecration of the body and blood of Christ can be accomplished by any good man, even a layman, provided he be of their sect, although he has not been ordained presbyter by a Catholic bishop. (*De Modo Procedendi*.)

Besides, they asserted that when there was necessity, any one of them, if only he wore sandals, without accepting ordination from the bishop, could make the body of Christ. (Peter of Vaux Sernai.)

They believe firmly and confess that this is the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, and if anything remains of the sacrifice they keep it till Easter and then consume it all. . . . The aforesaid Poor of Lyons consecrate only once a year, that is to say, in the supper of the Lord, and then almost by night. He who is chief among them, if he is a priest, calls all of his family of both sexes, and causes a bench or single stool to be placed before them, and puts upon it a clean cloth, and afterward one good goblet of good and pure wine, and one unleavened loaf (*fugaziam azymam*). And after a while he who presides says to those standing by, Let us ask our Lord that he will forgive us our sins and offenses, because of his mercy, and those things that we ask worthily he should fulfil because of his mercy. And let us say seven times Our Father, to the honor of God and the sacred Trinity, as he himself does this. And then on bended knees all say seven times Our Father. Afterward they rise, and then he who consecrates shows the bread and cup, and having broken the bread gives his portion to each of those standing by, and after that gives to all to drink from the cup; and stands all the time on his feet, and so finishes the sacrifice. (Reinerus.)

*Baptism.*—They say that a man is then truly for the first time baptized, when he is brought into their heresy. But some say that baptism does not profit little children because they are not yet able to believe. (David of Augsburg.)

One statement of their error is, because they say that baptism does not profit little children to salvation, who have neither the motive nor the act of faith, because as it is said in the latter part of Mark, "He that will not believe will be condemned." . . . The heretic asserts that without the baptism of fire there is no salvation, Luke 3, "He will baptize you with the Holy Spirit and with fire." Wherefore they place the believers by themselves in some secret place, with lighted candles on every side of them, and some prayers, rather execrations, are spoken by the heresiarch, the other believers standing by. (Stephen).<sup>33</sup>

<sup>32</sup> Compare Reinerus, Error 19: "That prayers in Latin profit nothing, because they are not understood."

<sup>33</sup> This account is so fantastic that one is at first inclined to disbelieve it altogether; but, on the other hand, it is not likely to have been invented by Stephen. It was, perhaps, some ceremony in which the enlightenment of the believer by the Holy Spirit was symbolically represented. But compare the more simple and probable account by Peter of Vaux Sernai.

Concerning baptism they say that the catechizing is of no value. Again, that the washing that is given to infants does not profit. Again, that the sponsors do not understand what they answer to the priest. (Passau anonymous).<sup>33</sup>

The aforesaid heretics oppose the sacraments of the church: for they say baptism does not avail before years of discretion. But on this article of heresy there are different opinions among the heretics. For some say little children have no sin, and so baptism is not necessary for little children. Others say that little children have sin, but cannot have remission of sins or the virtue of baptism without faith. . . . Others of the heretics say that little children have sin, but baptism does not avail them before years of discretion, because they have not faith. . . . Without baptism faith avails not, nor faith without baptism. . . . There are those who say the sacrament of baptism that is celebrated in the church of God has no efficacy, either as to little children or adults. . . . He who comes to baptism either repents or does not. If he does not repent, baptism does not profit him; if he repents, he is already justified, and all his sin is remitted. Therefore baptism has no power of remitting sin for him, and water baptism is not at all necessary for remission of sins. . . . Others said baptism does not avail without imposition of hands. (Alanus.)

When anyone betakes himself to the heretics, he who receives him says: "Friend, if you would be one of us, you must renounce the entire faith that the Roman church holds." He answers: "I renounce it." "Then receive the Holy Spirit from the good men" (then he breathes upon his face seven times). Again he says: "Do you renounce that cross which the priest made on you in baptism, on breast and shoulders and head, with oil and chrism?" He answers: "I renounce it." "Do you believe that water secures your salvation?" He answers: "I do not believe it." "Do you renounce that veil that the priest put on your head when you were baptized?" He answers: "I renounce it." So he receives the baptism of the heretics and denies that of the Roman church. Then all place their hands upon his head, and kiss him, and clothe him with a black garment; and from that hour he is as one of them. (Peter.)

*Other sacraments.*—Some assert that no penance avails for remission of sin. Which they try to prove thus: God remits sins freely, therefore not for good works, therefore not through penance. (Alanus.)

Concerning penance they say that which the priest enjoins is nothing, and they assert that confession is not to be made to them, but only that confession is to be made which God enjoins in Mark, chap. 1; Acts, chap. 3. Yet the good priest, which the heretic says he is, can pray for a sinner, James, chap. 5. Let the priest pray for him, and if he is in sins they shall be forgiven him. (Stephen.)

Concerning the sacrament of penance they say that no one can be absolved by a bad priest. . . . That a good layman has the power of absolving; that they themselves by the imposition of hands remit sins and give the Holy Spirit; that one ought to be confessed by a good layman rather than by a bad priest. Again they say that no severe penance is to be imposed, after the example of Christ, "Go and sin no more." Again, they condemn public penances, as with chains, especially for women. (Passau anonymous.)

<sup>33</sup>Compare Reinerus also, who testifies that the Poor of Lombardy say infants are saved without baptism; while both branches of the Waldenses hold that children baptized by priests of the Roman church are not saved [by the baptism?].

The pope is the head of all errors. . . . Prelates are scribes and religious Pharisees. . . . We must not obey prelates, but God alone. . . . They reprobate the names of prelates, such as pope, bishops, etc. They spurn councils, synods, and conventions. . . . They say that every good layman may be a priest, an apostle; the apostles were laymen. Again, that the prayer of a bad priest avails nothing. Again, they deride clerical tonsure. Again, they say that every layman, and even a woman, ought to preach. (*Ibid.*)

They reject the sacrament of confirmation, but their chief men lay hands on their disciples, in place of that sacrament. (David.)

They all preach everywhere, and without distinction of condition, age, or sex. (Bernard.)

They say that all good men are priests. (Stephen.)

Error 16. That all places are equally blessed. . . . Error 22. That all good men are priests and ordained by God, and can bind and loose and hear confessions and confess. (Reinerus.)

*Oaths.*—They say that every oath is unlawful, even to the truth, and indeed a mortal sin. But they nevertheless dispense with this, so that one may swear to evade death or not to betray others, or not to reveal the secret of his perfidy. (David.)

Every lie and oath is a mortal sin, and an oath likewise. Though others of them say, as I have heard from them, that in fear of death it is permitted those who are not perfect to lie and swear. They themselves both lie and commit perjury, nor do they believe this to be sin, because even their lies they excuse and becloud by wiles and sophistries. (Stephen.)

For no reason should one slay or swear. (Peter.)

In no case, for whatsoever necessity, or reason, should one swear. (*De Modo Procedendi.*)

These testimonies speak for themselves so fully and so plainly that few remarks upon them are necessary. The general evangelical character of the teachings thus attributed to the Waldenses is as impressive as the substantial unanimity of the witnesses. There are but two cases in which there seems to be a serious lack of agreement among the witnesses, and one of these ceases to be serious the moment it is examined. This is the apparent contradiction between David of Augsburg and Stephen of Bourbon, on the one hand, and the other writers, concerning the Waldensian attitude toward lying and judicial oaths. But it is quite plain that there is no real contradiction. All four of the testimonies cited agree as to the formal teaching of the Waldenses; so exactly, in fact, that they use almost identical words in setting forth the matter. But David and Stephen go a step farther, and accuse the Waldenses of a practice that differed glaringly from their teaching. How far this accusation is just is the only question for solution. Nobody can read David's tract without tracing in almost every paragraph a hatred of the Waldenses

that can only be called malignant. He repeats the most horrible slanders of them,<sup>34</sup> adding, to be sure, that he does not himself believe these things, but evidently wishing that he could. He does not deliberately misrepresent them—that would defeat his object, which is to furnish information that would guide his fellow-inquisitors in the work of suppressing them. But his hatred is too violent to be controlled; and besides, lying and deceit are safe things to be attributed to any enemies of the church—even by an inquisitor who on the next page advises his fellows to deceive the heretics, if by that means confession may be extorted from them! There is less bitterness in the writing of Stephen, but is it not edifying, in view of all that we know of Roman casuistry and of the methods of the inquisition, to read this author's complaint about the sophistries and lies of heretics? We may safely rule out both these testimonies, therefore, except to this extent: probably some of the Waldenses were persuaded, by forms of "encouragement" well known to students of the inquisition, to lay aside their scruples and take a judicial oath at their examination. Let him who is perfectly certain his own fortitude would be proof against the encouraging power of the thumbscrew, boot, and rack cast the first stone at the Waldenses.

The other case is the testimony about the Waldensian teaching concerning the mass. David of Augsburg seems to be opposed explicitly by four other witnesses, one of whom had been a leader among the heretics. There are at least two ways of accounting for this conflict of evidence. One possible hypothesis is that all the witnesses speak the truth, not merely in intent, but in fact; that all are equally accurate, as well as equally honest; and that the different groups of the Waldenses did not agree in their teachings. Nearly all of our authorities recognize at least two such groups (thus Reinerus speaks of *Pauperes Ultramontani* and *Pauperes Lombardi*); some speak of a larger number. There is another hypothesis possible, namely, that the

<sup>34</sup> A single example: "They for the most part attend their conventicles by night, that they may practice the mysteries of iniquity while others sleep. But that which is said of them—that they kiss cats or frogs there, or see the devil, or turn out the lights and practice promiscuous fornication—I do not think is true of that sect, nor have I truly learned any such thing from those to whom I have given credit."

teaching of the Waldenses was uniform, and that David has stated it correctly, while the others have misapprehended it. To a Roman priest, bred in a full belief in transubstantiation, the evangelical language of the Waldenses might well be incomprehensible. When they said, "A wicked priest is unfit to administer the Lord's supper," his mind unconsciously translated it into, "A wicked priest cannot make," and so on. Note how this hypothesis is confirmed by the words of Reinerus. He indeed says categorically, "They firmly believe and confess that this is the body and blood of Christ;" but then, in another section of his treatise, he describes an actual celebration of the Lords supper in such terms as to make it absolutely plain that transubstantiation was not in the thoughts of celebrant or communicant. On the whole, therefore, I incline to this latter hypothesis, as the one that best accounts for all the facts; since the former fails to account for the inconsistency of Reinerus. And this circumstance also should have some weight: the other teachings attributed to the Waldenses are so evangelical as to make it improbable that they held the Roman doctrine, of the whole sacramental system the most fundamental.

It is almost superfluous to point out the striking agreement between these teachings of the Waldenses and the sixteenth-century Anabaptists. The testimony is unanimous that the Waldenses rejected infant baptism. It is less certain, though most probable, that they rebaptized adults on profession of faith.<sup>35</sup>

Such was the origin and such were the teachings of the Waldenses, according to Roman Catholic witnesses of the generation succeeding Waldo. There is but one Waldensian document contemporary with these witnesses, a comparatively recent discovery—the already noted rescript of the conference of Bergamo, in the year 1218. There representatives of the Poor of Lyons (the original Waldenses, as I believe) and the Poor of

<sup>35</sup> There could be no question at all, if we could accept the testimony of Peter of Vaux Sernai as applying to the whole sect. Yet, in the face of this unanimous witness to the contrary, almost every writer on the Waldenses (Professor Comba dodges the subject and takes refuge in silence) makes them Pedobaptists from the beginning! Pedobaptists they certainly became, but in the earlier years of the sect they rejected infant baptism, or there is no such thing as historical proof of any fact.

Lombardy (an older sect that had come to bear the same name) discussed their differences. This document differs in many particulars from the conclusions to which we have now come through study of the Roman Catholic sources. These differences raise a very pretty historical problem, to the solution of which I may address myself at some future time.

## DID JUDAS REALLY COMMIT SUICIDE?

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THE recent publication of the long-neglected and almost lost story of Aḥīkar, the grand vizier of Sennacherib, has brought to the front again the question as to the value and meaning of the traditions of the early church with regard to the death of Judas; for there are so many coincidences between the account of the death of Nadan, the nephew of Aḥīkar, and the various accounts of the death of Judas, that we seem to be led to the inference that the one catastrophe has been the model of the other, or, at least, that the method adopted by the narrators of the two stories is a conventional one, in which case the latter series of legends becomes as unhistorical as the former. When, therefore, we say that Judas is a legendary imitation of the fictitious Nadan, we mean either that the first narrator of the horrible death of Judas actually imitated the story of the end of Nadan, a legend which may be shown to have been well known in New Testament times, or that he imitated the early story, in an unconscious and indirect manner, by using the same conventional method of getting rid of the villain of his tragedy. We can see, however, that there is so much parallelism between the two characters in question, viz., the traitorous Nadan and Judas, that it is extremely probable that the imitation in question is a direct one. In any case, the value of the early Christian traditions with regard to the manner of death of the traitor is reduced almost to zero. What, then, is the parallel upon which we build such a conclusion?

For convenience, we recall the summary of the story of Aḥīkar, which is prefixed to the recent edition.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Introduction, pp. vii-x:

"Aḥīkar, or, as he is called in Arabic, Haykar, was the vizier of Sennacherib the king of Assyria, and was famous amongst men for his wisdom in all that concerned morality and politics. But he had a standing grief, in that the wealth and power



From this it appears that the death of the traitor Nadan was expressed, when reduced to the simplest terms, in some such words as: "He swelled up, and burst asunder." We will return to this formula presently, in order to see whether there is ground for believing that the first form of the Aḥīkar legend added any further details to the two statements contained in the above formula.

And now let us turn to the Judas legends, biblical and extra-biblical. Confining ourselves, in the first instance, to the New Testament, we find that we are face to face with a harmonistic problem; for the account in Matthew is that Judas, stricken with remorse, threw down in the temple the price of blood, and then went away and hanged himself.

which he had acquired, and the wisdom which he had attained, could not be perpetuated in a son born of his own body; nor did his prayers to the gods in this regard, nor the successive marriages which he made with sixty wives, result in any male child whom he might bring up as his successor, and to whom he might teach those precepts of virtue which every sage, from his time onward to the days of Polonius, the grand vizier of Denmark, has wished to eternize by gravure thereof upon the youthful mind. At the last his reiterated appeals brought him the reply of the Supreme Power that he should take his sister's son and bring him up as his own offspring.

"The babe who is thus brought on the scene grows into man's estate, becomes tall like a cedar (though a mere bramble in heart), and is in due course introduced to King Sennacherib as the successor-designate of the now aged Aḥīkar. He is a 'goodly apple, rotten at the core.' The precepts of his uncle have scarcely penetrated the outworks of his mind, and he seems to have grown up without any taste for the proverbial philosophy which Aḥīkar had so liberally showered upon him.

"He commenced to take more than a son's place in the home, and more than a successor's right in the palace. At home he squandered and at court he intrigued. Finally a suggestion on the part of Aḥīkar to replace his wilfulness and wantonness by the superior fidelity of a younger brother brought the intrigue to a head. Nadan wrote in Aḥīkar's name treasonable letters to neighboring sovereigns, sealed them with Aḥīkar's seal of office, and then betrayed his uncle to the king. When the unfortunate victim of this intrigue is brought before the king, he is unable, through fear and surprise, to utter a word in his own defense, and as he who does not excuse himself accuses himself more effectively than his slanderers, he is promptly ordered to be done to death.

"It happens, however, that Aḥīkar had on a previous occasion saved from the wrath of his majesty, King Sennacherib, the very person who is now directed to cut off the head of Aḥīkar and throw it a hundred ells from the body. An appeal to his gratitude results in a scheme by which a substitute is found in the condemned cells at Nineveh to undergo the extreme penalty, while Aḥīkar is safely ensconced in a dark underground excavation beneath his own house, where he is secretly supplied with food, and has occasional visits of consolation from his friend the executioner. Here

Matt. 27 : 5, *καὶ ῥίψας τὰ ἀργύρια εἰς τὸν ναὸν ἀνεχώρησεν καὶ ἀπελθὼν ἀπήγγατο.*

His death is evidently meant to be regarded as immediately consequent upon his remorse. Along with this account we have to take the parallel one in the Acts of the Apostles, according to which Judas is said to have purchased a field with the price of blood, and to have fallen on his face and burst asunder, so that all his bowels gushed out. The passage is as follows :

Acts 1 : 18, *Οὗτος μὲν οὖν ἐκτίσατο χωρίον ἐκ μισθοῦ τῆς ἀδικίας, καὶ πρηνὴς γενόμενος ἐλάκησεν μέσος, καὶ ἐξεχύθη πάντα τὰ σπλάγχνα αὐτοῦ.*

And it is well known that we have in this passage a series of contradictions of the account in Matthew, which have he has the maddening experience of hearing the overhead revels of Nadan and his boon companions and the shrieks of his beaten men and maids, and occupies his loneliness by fervent petitions to the Lord for a rectification of his lot, which prayers were, if we may judge by subsequent events, more closely allied to the vindictive psalms than to the Sermon on the Mount.

"The liberation of the imprisoned vizier comes at length through political dangers in which his wise head and steady hand were needed and not found. The king of Egypt, presuming on the reports of Aḥikar's death, sends a series of absurd demands to Sennacherib of a type which eastern story-tellers affect, requiring answers to absurd questions and the performance of impossible requirements. *Inter alia*, he will have a castle built in the air and ropes twisted out of sand. All the while he conceals beneath these regal amenities the desire to damage the Assyrian kingdom. Aḥikar is now in demand : Assyria has need of him, and the prudent executioner plays the friend's part by confiding to the king that the sage is still living. The reinstatement of the buried outcast affords material for the story-teller to dilate upon, as he records how the wasted and withered old man, with nails grown like eagle's talons and hair like the shaggy fells of beasts, is brought back to his place of power.

"And here Justice might well step in and avenge on Nadan his intrigue and crime. But the moral action of the story is checked while it is related (it must be admitted that it is done too much in detail) how Aḥikar answered all the hard questions and evaded the absurd demands of Pharaoh of Egypt. Then, when Aḥikar returns enriched with gifts, and with an enhanced reputation for wisdom, and appears before Sennacherib as the savior of his country, there comes the moment when Nemesis is on the heels of Nadan, who is delivered up to his uncle that he may work his vengeance on him.

"The wretched young man is tamed by preliminary discipline of flogging, followed by black-hole and bread and water, and his uncle enriches his mind with further instruction of a very personal character and application; and when, at the close of this preliminary treatment, Aḥikar is preparing the extreme penalty for Nadan, the nephew simplifies the action of the play by swelling up and bursting asunder in a melodramatic manner, which satisfies all the instincts of Justice."

rendered the incident almost the despair of those very patient and ingenious people who occupy themselves with the harmonization *inter se* of the biblical accounts; for it is not very easy to reconcile the purchase of a field by the priests with the purchase of the same field by Judas himself (however much we may strain in favor of harmony the maxim, "qui facit per alios, facit per se"); nor has it been possible, hitherto, to make a convincing demonstration of the equality of the statements "he hanged himself" and "he fell on his face and burst asunder, and all his bowels gushed out." Naturally when harmonizing became ingrained in the habit of the commentator there have not been wanting persons whose intellectual courage and sophistical adroitness have been ready for the task of reconciling these conflicting statements. One of the simplest methods was to carry the word "hanged" over from Matthew and attach it to the account in the Acts. Traces of this violent proceeding are extant both in the texts and in the commentaries upon the Acts. Thus the Vulgate boldly reads, "Suspensus crepuit;" and, from the Vulgate, the harmonized reading acquired a great influence. For example, it appears in the version of Luther in the form: "Dieser hat erworben den Acker um den ungerechten Lohn, und sich erhängt, und ist mitten entzwei geborsten und alle seine Eingeweide ausgeschüttelt." Strauss deals quite unfairly with Luther for this rendering, in the following remark: "Luther indeed translates *πρηνὴς γενόμενος*, Acts 1:18, like *ἀπήγγατα*, Matt. 27:5, 'hanged himself,' which is clearly a mistake." We venture to say the mistake is not Luther's, but Strauss' own, for he has failed to see the Vulgate text which underlies the rendering of Luther. Nor is Jerome to be blamed for the reading, since it is one which may well have arisen, either in the Greek text or in the versions, long before his day.\* We even suspect that it had already appeared, by a combination of Matthew and Acts, in the Diatessaron. For we shall find Ephrem, in his comments on the Diatessaron, discussing two

\*In fact, the copy of the Acts which is read in the dispute of Augustine with Felix the Manichean actually had: "*et collum sibi alligavit et dejectus in faciem disruptus est medius.*" Blass boldly claims this harmonizing gloss as a part of the old Roman text and translates the Greek as *κατέδησεν αὐτοῦ τὸν τράχηλον*.

statements: (*a*) that Judas went off and hanged himself and died; (*b*) that his bowels gushed out, and that he fell and burst asunder.<sup>3</sup> Even if the discussion of the conflicting statements in the sequence which we have indicated is due to Ephrem the commentator and not in the first instance to Tatian the harmonist, the only difference in the argument is that the commentator is harmonist for the nonce, and that the antiquity of the method of reconciling the accounts is well established. Accordingly we find a continuous stream of commentators who profess to have reconciled the gospel account with that in the Acts. Their method is usually, as regards the detailed explanation of what took place, to draw the inference that the rope broke, and Judas' body fell on the ground; or that someone cut the rope, when the same thing followed; or we find the story further adorned with an additional variant that the body remained hanging until decomposition set in, and that then the details given in the Acts occurred. We add instances of these methods of commenting on the text.

Ephrem gives two, if not three, interpretations. He says that "when the rope broke, he fell and burst asunder;" and then he adds that "others say that Judas shut the door and barred himself in, and no one opened the door to see what was inside, until his body was decomposed and all his bowels had gushed out." A third explanation appears to be involved in the words, "*quod autem diffusus est venter ejus, eum indicat super quem stetit Judas et injecit sibi laqueum*,"<sup>4</sup> but I am unable to understand what Ephrem means by them.

Ephrem, then, has at least two harmonistic interpretations. Or suppose we turn to Theophylact's commentary on Matthew, where we shall find the following statement:

Some say that Judas, being covetous, supposed that he could both make money by betraying Christ, and yet Christ not be killed, but escape from the Jews as he often did escape. But when he saw him now condemned

<sup>3</sup>Ed. MÖSINGER, p. 240: "*abiit et se suspendit et mortuus est . . . injecit sibi laqueum et mortuus est . . . diffusus est venter ejus . . . utque laqueus abscissus est, cecidit ille et crepuit medius*."

<sup>4</sup>I restore Mössinger's literal footnote to the text; he himself gives "*eum indicavit, qui sustentavit Judam*;" in either case I suspect that there is a misunderstanding.

and judged to die, he repented because the affair had turned out other than he supposed it would. And this was why he hanged himself, in order that he might get to hades before Jesus, and there implore him and obtain salvation. You must know, however, that he actually put his neck into the noose, having hanged himself on a certain tree; but the tree bent down and he continued to live, because it was God's will either to reserve him for repentance or for open disgrace and shame. For they say that he had the dropsy, so that he could hardly pass where a carriage easily could pass; and then he fell on his face and burst asunder.<sup>5</sup>

Theophylact, it will be seen, is harmonizing the biblical accounts by preventing the hanging which occurs in Matthew from a fatal conclusion by the suppleness of the limb of the tree, and then reserving the released suicide for a future and more horrible death, in the description of which, as we shall see presently, he follows not only the Acts of the Apostles, but also another first-rate authority, viz., the commentary of Papias on the Logia, although Theophylact professes an acquaintance only with Luke and the Acts of the Apostles. Another explanation, which is attributed to Eusebius,<sup>6</sup> is published in Matthaëi's scholia on the Acts, according to which the rope by which Judas was hanged broke, and he was not so much hurt as to die immediately, though his bowels gushed out as a consequence of his fall; but, a day or two later, he fell out of his bed and finished his life, by a further and fatal effusion of the viscera.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>5</sup> THEOPHYLACT, *In Matt.* 27 :

Τίνας δὲ λέγουσιν ὅτι ὁ Ἰούδας φιλάργυρος ὦν ὑπελάμβανε ὅτι αὐτὸς τε κερδήσει τὰ ἀργύρια προδοῦς Χριστὸν, καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς οὐκ ἀποκτανθήσεται ἀλλὰ διαφύγη τοὺς Ἰουδαίους, ὡς πολλάκις διέφυγε. τότε δὲ ἰδὼν αὐτὸν κατακριθέντα, καὶ ἤδη καταδικασθέντα ἀποθανεῖν, μεταμελήθη, ὡς τοῦ πράγματος ἀποβάντος παρ' ὅπερ ὑπελάμβανε. διὸ καὶ ἀπήγγεστο ἵνα προλάβῃ τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐν τῷ ᾧ καὶ ἰκετεύσας σωτηρίας τεύχεται. Πλὴν γίνωσκε ὅτι ἔθηκε μὲν τὸν τράχηλον αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν ἀγκύρην, ὑπὸ δένδρου τινὸς κρεμάσας ἑαυτὸν· τοῦ δὲ δένδρου κλιθέντος, ἐπέξῃσε, τοῦ θεοῦ θέλοντος αὐτὸν ἢ εἰς μετάνοιαν συντηρηθῆσαι ἢ εἰς παραδειγματισμὸν καὶ αἰσχύνην. Φασὶ γὰρ ὅτι νόσφι ὑδερικῇ ὥστε ἔνθα ἄμαξα βαδίως διέρχεται, αὐτὸν μὴ δύνασθαι διελθεῖν, εἰτα πρηνῆς πεσὼν ἐλάκησεν, ἀντὶ τοῦ διεβράγῃ, ὡς Λουκᾶς φησὶν ἐν ταῖς Πράξεσιν.

<sup>6</sup> MATTHAEI, *Novum Testamentum*, Vol. II, p. 304 (Riga edition).

<sup>7</sup> The scholion is as follows :

ἐλάκησε] ΕΥΣΕΒΙΟΥ. ἀπῆλθεν Ἰούδας καὶ ἀπῆρτισεν ἑαυτὸν ἐν τῷ σχοινίῳ, μετὰ τὸ βῆσαι αὐτὸν τὰ ἀργύρια. τῆς δὲ σχολίου κατ' οἰκονομίαν θεοῦ βαγείσης, εἰς γῆν ἔπεσεν, οὐκ ἀπέθανε δὲ παρ' αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ χυθέντων αὐτοῦ τῶν σπλάγχχνων, ἐτέθη ἐν κραββάτῳ, δύο ἡμέρας ἡμιθνητος καὶ ἀπνευστίων [Forte ἀπνευστος ὢν] ἐκ δὲ τοῦ κραββάτου ἐκπεπτωκώς, βαγῆναι μέσον καὶ τότε ἀποθανεῖν, πλείως τῶν σπλάγχχνων αὐτοῦ ἐξοχετευθέντων.



reserved for a legal mind of the first order to make one more trial at the impossible task; and an English lord chancellor who, one would have supposed, would have been deterred from careless handling of the laws of evidence, has pronounced these accounts not to be incompatible. In his *Letters to His Son on the Subject of Religion* (p. 140) Lord Selborne says:

Judas, in a precipitous place (not "hanged" but) "strangled" himself (*ἀντὶ τῆς ἀπορίας*); and having done so, his body might easily be found in the state described by St. Peter. Variations like these, in the circumstances of events not belonging to the main narrative, and only referred to by the way, are rather evidence of the truthfulness of writings in which no pains are taken to reconcile them, than the reverse.

The distinction between "hanging" and "strangling" is a mere subtlety; the speech is not St. Peter's, but St. Luke's; it is not true that no pains is taken to reconcile the discrepancies; nor is it a safe canon that the greater the discrepancy of two accounts, the greater is their credibility.<sup>10</sup>

But if the biblical accounts are hard to reconcile one with another, it has hitherto been supposed to be quite out of the question to reconcile either of them with the extra-biblical legends. Yet these are, as we shall see, of such high antiquity that they stand side by side, or almost so, with the gospels themselves, and cannot be condemned as the waste products of the very foolish brain of Papias. If harmonization is possible between Matthew and Acts, it ought to be possible between Matthew and Papias. But before giving these extra-biblical legends, let us take one more look at the biblical texts. It will be seen that the harmonists were so content with the edited texts of the New Testament that they barely paid attention to warnings which were uttered by great scholars and critics, who suggested that perhaps they were not in possession of the earliest forms of the biblical narrative. Casaubon had suggested that Papias, whose language we shall presently quote, had confounded

<sup>10</sup> For a still worse specimen of the perversion of reason in the interests of religion, take the following from the same work (p. 164): "The history in Genesis . . . not only may have been, but most probably was, compiled from earlier patriarchal records and traditions. . . . We consider that Adam, Seth, Noah, Shem, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Joseph may have been, and in all probability were, the persons who preserved and recorded these earliest traditions."

two words, *πρηνής* (on his face) and *πρησθεις* (swollen); Griesbach added to his critical apparatus in the Acts the reading *πρηστής* s. *πρησθεις*, on the faith of a quotation from Papias in Theophylact. Grabe had unhesitatingly declared that those authors who were responsible for the tradition in Papias "must have had in their copies *πρησθεις* for *πρηνής*, which is the reading of all Greek codices and of all hitherto recovered versions."<sup>11</sup> Since their time two versions have come to light which support the suggestions of these famous scholars, for the Armenian version of the Acts (supported by the Georgian) reads that Judas "swelled up and burst asunder." And this suggests that we boldly replace *πρηνής γενόμενος* by *πρησθεις*.

A further proof of the existence of this reading in the original text of the Acts may be seen in a passage from the Armenian catena on the Acts translated by Mr. Conybeare in the *American Journal of Philology* (Vol. XVII, p. 150):

[Of Chrysostom?] Accordingly he (*i. e.*, Peter) describes also the sentence which he suffered. "*Being swollen up,*" he says, "*he burst in the middle and all his bowels were poured out.*" He does well to relate, not the offense, but the punishment, in order to the comforting of those who were afraid of the Jews. But that he fell on the earth and burst and his bowels gushed out, is like this. For he shut the doors against himself before he strangled himself, and he remained there on the gibbet the Friday and the Saturday. When he had *swollen up* and grown heavy, the cord was cut by which he hung: he fell, burst asunder, and was poured out. But the stench of the putrifying heap and of his guts brought together the children of Jerusalem to come and view his infamous end, which was for him the precursor of hell-fire.

Mr. Conybeare rightly remarks that this looks like a forced harmony of the two accounts of the death of Judas. It harmonizes also two different texts of the Acts, *πρησθεις* and *πρηνής γενόμενος*. When we make this correction in the Greek of Acts 1:18 we are reading a text which is parallel to that describing the death of Nadan in the legend of Aḥiḱar; indeed, so close is the coincidence that the Armenian version of the Acts expresses the death of Judas in the very same words as the Armenian version of the legend of Aḥiḱar does the death of Nadan.

<sup>11</sup> For the references see ROUTH, *Reliquiae Sacrae*, Vol. I.



And for this reason we say that the death of Judas is modeled on the death of Nadan, and that they are both romance and not history.

And now let us take the passage of Papias from which the first suggestion came that Judas *swelled up* and died. We premise that Papias is, of all primitive writers, the one who has been most severely criticised. From the days of Eusebius until now he has suffered from violence, and the ravagers have laid waste his reputation. This is partly due to his millenarianism, which has been alternately denied and decried, but especially the latter; partly to the fact that he puts into the mouth of our Lord and his apostles stories which have an impossible and apocryphal appearance. Yet it is certain that where Papias appears to be most absurd he often comes the nearest to a complete justification. For instance, the tale which he tells of the marvelous productive powers of grain and grape in the days of the Messianic felicity has been traced by me to a Hebrew Midrash on the "Blessing of Isaac," and by Mr. Charles to a source at least as far before Christ as the book of Enoch. We can hardly blame Papias or deride his intelligence because he happens to quote as a Dominical Oracle an interpretation which was certainly current before our Lord's time.

And it is possible that in other questions raised by the extant fragments of Papias we may equally find for him a vindication, or at least a sober explanation, of his apparent madness. And it is a good rule for criticism to say that, if Eusebius and others denounce Papias, we think nobly of Papias and in no wise approve their opinion. As a matter of fact, however, Eusebius does not always scoff at him; sometimes he praises him very highly.

What, then, is the legend concerning the death of Judas which comes to us by way of Papias? We have already come across a modification of it in the commentary of Theophylact who remarks that Judas suffered from dropsy, and that he could not pass down a street where a carriage could easily pass. This reference was taken from the fourth book of the Explanations of Papias on the Dominical Oracles. The simplest form in which

the quotation occurs is probably the one in which the Papias saying is imbedded in a quotation from Apollinaris of Laodicea. Cramer in his catena on Matthew presents it as follows :

Ἀπολιναρίου. Ἰστέον ὅτι ὁ Ἰούδας οὐκ ἐναπέθανε τῇ ἀγχόνῃ ἀλλὰ ἐπεβίωκε κατενεχθεὶς πρὸ τοῦ ἀποπνιγῆναι, καὶ τοῦτο δηλοῦσιν αἱ τῶν Ἀποστόλων Πράξεις, ὅτι πρηνὲς γενόμενος, ἐλάκησε καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς· τοῦτο δὲ σαφέστερον ἱστορεῖ Παπίας, ὁ Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἀποστόλου μαθητὴς, λέγων·

Μέγα ἀσεβείας ὑπόδειγμα ἐν τούτῳ τῷ κόσμῳ περιεπάτησεν ὁ Ἰούδας· πρῆσθεις γὰρ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον τὴν σάρκα, ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι διελθεῖν ἀμάξης ῥαδίως διερχομένης, ὑπὸ τῆς ἀμάξης πταισθέντα (l. πιεσθέντα) τὰ ἐγκατα ἐγκενωθῆναι.

The most important word for us in this extract is undoubtedly the word *πρῆσθεις*. Papias had a text which told that Judas *swelled up* and burst asunder. His business is to show how he swelled up ; one explanation is suggested in Theophylact, viz., that he suffered from the dropsy. If this explanation is due to Papias, it is a rationalizing explanation, which has substituted a gradual phenomenon for the instantaneous and theatrical one which meets us in the pages of Aḥikar. Papias is explaining that Judas went on living, and went on swelling ; he did not just swell up and die. We think that there was something in the text of Papias which answered to the *ἐπεβίωκε* of Apollinarius, for we have in the passage of Theophylact the similar term *ἐπέζησε*. The opening words of the Papias sentence about the example which Judas furnished in this world appear also to be responsible for Theophylact's

θεοῦ θέλοντος αὐτὸν . . . συντηρῆσαι . . . εἰς παραδειγματισμόν.

Thus Papias stated that God kept Judas in the world as a dread example ; for he swelled up to a terrible size, and as the result of an accident he was crushed by a passing carriage, and his bowels effused. The whole story is merely a rationalist explanation of the more simple primitive formula, "he swelled up and burst, and his bowels gushed out."

Dionysius Bar Ṣalibi has also a reference to Papias, though he does not very clearly define the limits of his translation from the Father in question. The passage, as translated by Loftus, is as follows :

Acts 1.18, *He went and hanged himself.* Matthew sayeth thus: but Luke in

a Reconciliation of  
the difference be-  
tween the Evangel-  
ists concerning the  
Death of Judas.

the Acts writes that he *burst in sunder in the midst and all his Bowels gushed out*; and both are in the Right: For there was *strangling* and *bursting* in the case, and each of the Evangelists writes of the one; for after he had cast down the Silver in the Temple, he cast a Rope about his own neck in a Wood belonging to his House; and it happening that some passing by saw him hanging, and loosed him before he was choked. Others say the Rope broke, and that for some days after he was sick, and swelled to so large dimensions as that a Cart could not bear him, and his head was sore puffed up, and his eyelids so swollen that he could not see. And Papias saith, that his privy members were mightily enlarged, and that putrid matter, abominable stench and Worms proceeded from them. Epiphanius saith, That he lived four days after his Suspension and that he was cut in twain and that his Bowels gushed out. Others that he died of that Disease, and they did not bury him, for that it was a custom to leave those unburied who hanged themselves: Wherefore he did stink and became offensive, and a nuisance to the Inhabitants round about, and they were forced to remove him thence on a Bier; when they lifted him up he fell, and bursted and all his bowels gushed out. It is said by St. Luke in the acts of the apostles, *Let his habitation be waste*: That is to say, after they had buried him, the ill savour of his house offended the inhabitants, and they removed thence the stones and the rest of the materials, and so his habitation became waste, to wit, *Scariot*,<sup>12</sup> and uninhabited. His house was seated in Jerusalem.

Epiphanius his  
Opinion.

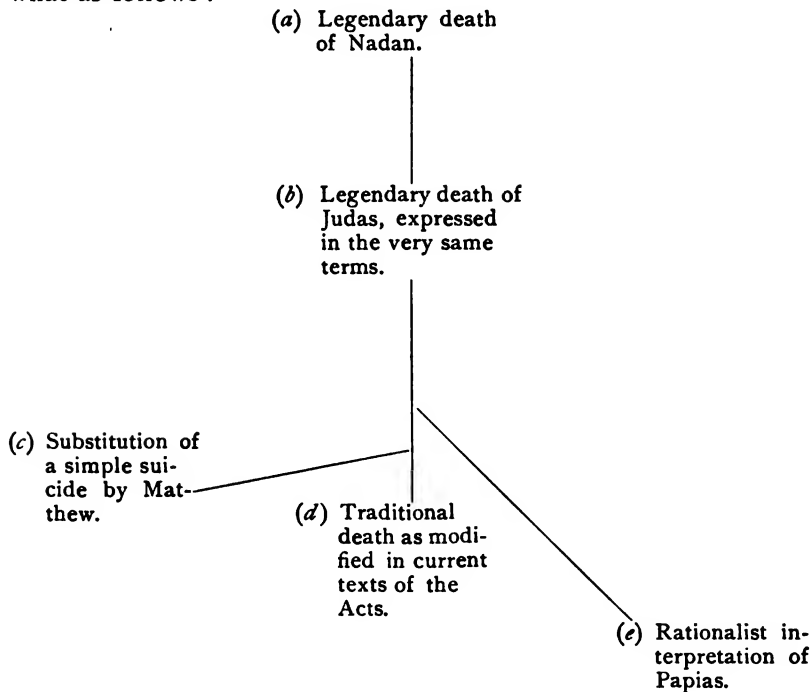
Thus Loftus, translating Bar Şalibi. The extract is important, as identifying matter from Papias; but the quotation from Papias should have been indicated earlier in the reference to the swelling up of Judas and the cart that could not carry him. Whether the quotation that is made from Papias should be carried a little farther than this is a point that needs to be inquired into.

The collection of traditions in Bar Şalibi is, in the first instance, harmonistic in tendency, but toward the end it becomes part of a prophetic gnosis with regard to the death of Judas. Between these two different kinds of commentary stands the Papias tradition which seems *to be independent both of the harmonization and of the gnosis*. It does not appear that Papias was

<sup>12</sup> I do not understand this, and have no copy of the original text at hand by which to test the translation.

trying to illustrate prophecy, and he certainly knows nothing of the hanging, and therefore he is not harmonizing. He is, as we have already said, rationalizing; he is trying to make more credible the statement that Judas swelled and burst, but he is unaffected by the two causes of later legendary expansion; and this form which is involved in the Papias tradition is, therefore, the fountain-head of the Judas legends, to which fountain-head Luke lies nearer than Matthew; for either the original text of the Acts actually read, "He swelled up and burst asunder," or it had what we at present read, which is an awkward and unintelligible modification of the same opinion. Matthew's version of the story is a mere substitution, with a view to get rid of the extravagance and offensiveness of the first form. We have an exact analogue in the treatment of the death of Nadan in the Aḥikar legends; the Greek forms of this story, as far as we are able to trace them, either drop the details of Nadan's death altogether, or substitute, as Matthew does, a suicide by hanging.

We may then represent the growth of the tradition somewhat as follows:



The chief business of ecclesiastical writers is to bring together again the forms (*c*) and (*d*), which we have illustrated above in a variety of ways. The explanation of Papias, also, appears to have given rise to a number of variant details, such as that (1) his head swelled; (2) his face swelled so that he could not see out of his eyes; (3) his body became dropsical; (4) other local and unmentionable swellings took place. It is characteristic of all the explanations that they are rationalistic with regard to the original swelling up and bursting asunder.<sup>13</sup>

It appears, then, that there is not a word of historical truth in these details of Judas' death. They all originate with the conventional story-teller. Then when the story was at last reformed, as we have it in the gospel of Matthew, a new field was opened, which is also suggested in the Acts of the Apostles, viz., the prophetic gnosis of the death of Judas. Strauss thought the whole of the story could be explained by reference to the psalms and to the story of the death of Ahitophel; thus he explained Judas' dropsy by the curse in the psalms on the traitorous friend, in the words, "Let it come into his bowels like water," and the hanging of Judas by the sentence, "Ahitophel went away and hanged himself."<sup>14</sup> But here, as in so many cases, Strauss is too erudite for an explanation of the first form of a legend, and his explanations too highly evolved. The original account was shorter and simpler than Strauss imagined. The psalmist was not necessary to introduce the dropsy, which was already latent in the account of Judas' swelling up. With regard to the parallel that Strauss drew between Judas and Ahitophel there is something to be said; it is extremely likely that an identification of the kind was made, but it was not the starting-point of the story. But that some connection was made between Judas (in Matthew)

<sup>13</sup> To take a single point, note the substitution of *ἐκκερωθῆναι* for *ἐκχυθῆναι*, which leads at once to the story of the carriage which crushed Judas.

<sup>14</sup> It is fair to state that Strauss had a suspicion that dropsy was an after-development of the story, for he says: "Dropsy might be only an assumed cause of the swelling, and the latter an assumed cause of the bursting; as we read, however, in one of the psalms to which the author of the Acts of the Apostles appeals in speaking of the fate of Judas, the following words recorded against the enemy (109:18), 'Let his cursing come into his bowels like water and like oil into his bones,' we have the dropsy . . . prefigured in the Old Testament."

and Aḥitophel in Samuel is suggested by the following considerations. The Septuagint text of 2 Sam 17:23 is as follows:

καὶ Ἀχειτόφελ εἶδεν ὅτι οὐκ ἐγενήθη ἡ βουλή αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐπέσαξεν τὴν ὄνον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀνέστη καὶ ἀπῆλθεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀπήγατο καὶ ἀπέθανεν καὶ ἐτάφη ἐν τῷ τάφῳ [Cod. A, οἶκῳ] τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ.

The two words that are underlined are Matthew's description of the death of Judas; but already in Tatian's text, as we have seen, there was an expansion corresponding to καὶ ἀπέθανεν; and the later legends seem to be interpreting the expressions εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ and ἐτάφη ἐν τῷ τάφῳ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ, for they make Judas shut himself up in his own house, and they bury him in his own field. So that we can hardly exclude the story of Aḥitophel from the factors which go to explain the growth of the legend. Only it does not occupy the prominent position that Strauss assumed it to occupy in the genesis of the story.

It appears, then, that the parallel which we have drawn between the first form of the Judas legends and the story of Aḥikar is complete. The biblical text of the Acts is certainly in evidence for the statement that Judas swelled up and burst asunder. The Armenian version would not have altered the current text in order to make an agreement with the story of Aḥikar; so it only remains to be seen whether the story of Aḥikar shows signs of having been altered into agreement with the Acts of the Apostles.

As far as we can judge from the extant versions, the case stands thus:

The Syriac Aḥikar says:	Nadan swelled up like a bag and died.
The Armenian says:	Nadan swelled up and burst.
The Slavonic says:	Straightway [literally, in this hour] Anadan died.
The Arabic says:	He swelled up immediately like a bladder; his limbs swelled and his legs and his feet and his side; and he was torn and his belly burst asunder, and his entrails were scattered.
The Greek life of } Æsop which is } based on Aḥikar }	Ennus died not long after or Ennus hanged himself.

Comparing these expressions *inter se*, it is to be remembered that the Slavonic version betrays itself to be a translation

from Syriac, for it opens with a literal rendering of the Syriac expression which means *straightway*. So the Slavonic and its underlying Greek are convicted of omitting the detail of the swelling of Nadan. With this agrees the evidence of the Greek *Æsop*. But if these are thus shown to be secondary witnesses, the oriental versions, which remain to be considered, are in agreement for the "swelling up" of Nadan, which is thus shown to be a part of the primitive account. The Armenian *Aḫikar* has not taken it from the Armenian Bible, but from a previously existing Syriac text of *Aḫikar*. And, further, the concurrence of the Armenian and Arabic versions in the statement that "Nadan burst asunder" enables us to carry that statement also back into the Syriac from whence they are derived. Whether more than these two statements goes back into the first form of the legend is not so clear; we suspect, however, that it also contained a statement that "his bowels gushed out." In that case the parallel with the Acts of the Apostles would be complete. In any case it is sufficiently shown that one of these stories is the literary parent of the other.

In the foregoing statement of the growth of the Judas legends we have hazarded the conjecture that the account in Papias is not characterized by an adaptation of prophecy to the purposes of tradition. But this assumed freedom from prophetic gnosis is a point that requires to be looked into a little more carefully, (1) because it is certain that such gnosis does play an immense part in the evolution of the Judas legends, (2) because Papias has been credited with some of the most highly evolved factors of the traditional enhancement of the tale of the traitor's death.

We have shown that, from a literary point of view, it is the swelling that is responsible for the dropsy and not the dropsy for the swelling. In the same way the swelling of Judas harped upon and reiterated might be the cause of his puffed head and enlarged eyelids, and consequent loss of sight. Still we ought to ask the question whether Strauss may not be right in deducing this blindness, in part at least, from Ps. 69: 23: "Let their eyes be darkened that they see not."

In the same line of thought it ought to be admitted that the prayer in Ps. 69:25, "Let their habitation be desolate and let none dwell in their tents," a passage which is actually quoted in Acts 1:20 in the discourse on Judas, must be the reason for the embellishment of the later legends with regard to the desertion of Judas' house. Thus we find in Œcumenius, as in Apollinarius and in Bar Ṣalibi, "Judas died in his own farmhouse, and that, from the foul smell attaching to the place, it has *remained deserted and unoccupied* until the present day." The same passage gives the story of the swollen eyelids of the traitor. We must allow, then, for some influence of prophetic gnosis in the evolution of the legends.

But does this stage reach back as far as Papias? That depends upon whether the matters referred to are quoted in the Œcumenius commentary from Papias, or whether they are later expansions. It is universally agreed that Papias is responsible for the swelling and bursting of Judas, and the passing wagon. But the catenæ and commentaries from which our information comes go farther than this; thus we have in those catenæ which give the extract from Papias, through the intermediary of Apollinarius, a suggestion that the account does not stop with the incident of the wagon. The extracts printed by Cramer vary, according as they are taken from the commentaries on the gospels or the Acts; for convenience we place them side by side:

CRAMER: *Catena in Matthæum*, 27.

Ἄπολιναρίον· Ἰστίον ὅτι ὁ Ἰουδᾶς οὐκ ἐναπέθανε τῇ ἀγχόνῃ, ἀλλ' ἐπεβίωκε κατενεχθεὶς πρὸ τοῦ ἀποπνιγῆναι, καὶ τοῦτο δηλοῦσιν αἱ τῶν Ἀποστόλων Πράξεις, ὅτι πρηνὴς γενόμενος, ἐλάκησε καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς· τοῦτο δὲ σαφέστερον ἱστορεῖ Παπίας, ὁ Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἀποστόλου μαθήτης, λέγων· Μέγα ἀσεβείας ὑπόδειγμα ἐν τούτῳ τῷ κόσμῳ περιεπάτησεν ὁ Ἰουδᾶς· πρηνθεὶς γὰρ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον τὴν σάρκα, ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι διελθεῖν ἀμάξης ῥαδίως διερχομένης, ὑπὸ

CRAMER: *Catena in Acta*, 1.

Ἄπο[λιναρίου]. Οὐκ ἐναπέθανε τῇ ἀγχόνῃ Ἰουδᾶς, ἀλλ' ἐπεβίω καθαιρεθεὶς πρὸ τοῦ ἀποπνιγῆναι· καὶ τοῦτο δηλοῦσιν αἱ τῶν Ἀποστόλων Πράξεις, ὅτι πρηνὴς γενόμενος ἐλάκησε μέσος, καὶ ἐξεχύθη τὰ σπλάγχνα αὐτοῦ· τοῦτο δὲ σαφέστερον ἱστορεῖ Παπίας ὁ Ἰωάννου μαθήτης, λέγων οὕτως, ἐν τῷ δ' τῆς ἐξηγήσεως τῶν Κυριακῶν λόγων· μετὰ δὲ ἀσεβείας ὑπόδειγμα ἐν τούτῳ τῷ κόσμῳ περιεπάτησεν ὁ Ἰουδᾶς· πρηνθεὶς ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον τὴν σάρκα, ὥστε μὴ



τῆς ἀμάξης πταισθέντα τὰ ἔγκατα ἐγκενωθῆναι.

τοῦ αὐτοῦ. Πρησθεὶς ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον τὴν σάρκα ὥστε οὐδὲ ὁπόθεν ἄμαξαν ραδίως διέρχεσθαι, ἐκείνον δύνασθαι διελθεῖν, ἀλλὰ μηδὲν αὐτὸν μόνον τὸν τῆς κεφαλῆς ὄγκον· τὰ μὲν γὰρ βλέφαρα αὐτοῦ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν φασὶ τοσοῦτον ἐξοιδήσαι, ὡς αὐτὸν μὲν καθόλου τὸ φῶς μὴ βλέπειν, τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς δὲ αὐτοῦ μηδὲ ὑπὸ ἱατρικῆς διόπτρας ὀφθῆναι δύνασθαι, τοσοῦτον βάθος εἶχον ἀπὸ τῆς ἔξωθεν ἐπιφανείας· τὸ δὲ αἰδοῖον αὐτοῦ, πάσης μὲν αἰσχύνῃς ἀηδέστερον καὶ μείζον φαίνεσθαι, φέρεσθαι δὲ δι' αὐτοῦ τοὺς ἐξ ἅπαντος τοῦ σώματος συβρέοντας ἰχώρας, καὶ σκώληκας, εἰς ὕβριν δι' αὐτῶν μόνον τῶν ἀναγκαίων. μετὰ δὲ πολλὰς βασάνους καὶ τιμωρίας ἐν ἰδίῳ φασὶ χωρίῳ τελευτήσαντος, ἀπὸ τῆς ὀσμῆς ἔρημόν τε καὶ δοικὸν τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον μέχρι τῆς νῦν γενέσθαι, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μέχρι σήμερον δύνασθαι τινα ἐκείνον τὸν τόπον παρελθεῖν, ἐὰν μὴ τὰς ῥίνας ταῖς χερσὶν ἐπιφράξῃ.

δὲ ὁπόθεν ἄμαξα διέρχεται ραδίως ἐκείνον δύνασθαι διελθεῖν· ἀλλὰ μὴ δὲ αὐτὸν τὸν τῆς κεφαλῆς ὄγκον αὐτοῦ· τὰ μὲν γὰρ βλέφαρα τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτοῦ φασὶ τοσοῦτον ἐξοιδήσαι, ὡς αὐτὸν μὲν καθόλου τὸ φῶς μὴ βλέπειν· τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς δὲ αὐτοῦ μὴ δὲ ὑπὸ ἱατροῦ διόπτρας ὀφθῆναι δύνασθαι· τοσοῦτον βάθος εἶχον ἀπὸ τῆς ἔξωθεν ἐπιφανείας.<sup>15</sup> τὸ δὲ αἰδοῖον αὐτοῦ πάσης μὲν ἀσχημοσύνης ἀηδέστερον καὶ μείζον φαίνεσθαι· φέρεσθαι δὲ δι' αὐτοῦ ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ σώματος συβρέοντας ἰχώρας τε καὶ σκώληκας εἰς ὕβριν· δι' αὐτῶν μόνον τῶν ἀναγκαίων· μετὰ πολλὰς δὲ βασάνους καὶ τιμωρίας, ἐν ἰδίῳ φασὶ χωρίῳ τελευτήσαντα· καὶ τοῦτο ἀπὸ τῆς ὁδοῦ [? ὁδμῆς] ἔρημον καὶ δοικητὸν τὸ χωρίον μεχρὶ τῆς νῦν γενέσθαι· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μέχρι τῆς σήμερον δύνασθαι τινα ἐκείνον τὸν τόπον παρελθεῖν, ἐὰν μὴ τὰς ῥίνας ταῖς χερσὶν ἐπιφράξῃ· τοσαύτη διὰ τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς κρίσις ἐχώρησεν·

These two extracts are clearly from the same source, and from them depends the comment of Œcumenius. But in this latter comment we find the same sharp division between the two parts of the extract as in the catena on Matthew. Where the catena has τοῦ αὐτοῦ, Œcumenius has ἄλλως. We should, then, naturally assume that this is the expansion which Apollinarius, or some writer intermediate between himself and Papias, has made on Papias. Against this it may be urged that Bar Ṣalibi appears to refer the latter portion rather than the former to Papias, but this may be only an error introduced by Bar Ṣalibi in working over the matter of the catena. On the whole it seems more likely that Papias has furnished suggestions for the

<sup>15</sup> Desunt hic quaedam quae supplevimus ex optimo cod. Coislin, xxv.

embellishment of the Judas legends, which other writers have not been slow to take up and expand.

We will now hazard a conjecture as to the meaning of the reading *πρηνὴς ἐγένετο* which has been substituted, in our copies of the Acts, for a primitive *πρὸς θεῶς*. We suspect that it arose out of an attempt to identify Judas with a poisonous snake, and in particular to make him the fulfilment of the prophecy, "On thy belly shalt thou go," made to the serpent in the third chapter of Genesis. Closely connected with this passage in the minds of the interpreters is one in the Blessing of Jacob, where it is said of Dan that he shall be "a serpent in the way, an adder in the path, that biteth the horse's heels, so that his rider shall fall backward."

We will begin the identification by establishing the tradition that Judas was the serpent of the tribe of Dan.

In the *Book of the Bee*, by Solomon of Bassora,<sup>16</sup> we are told that "Judas Iscariot, the betrayer, was from the town of *Sēkharyūt*, of the tribe of Gad, *though some say that he was of the tribe of Dan. He was like unto the serpent* that acts deceitfully toward its master,"<sup>17</sup> because, like a serpent, he dealt craftily with his Lord."

The same identification underlies the commentary of Procopius on the blessing of Jacob; he begins by saying that some people understand Dan to be the devil, who does not cease to lie in wait for the saints. He continues with the statement that *Judas Iscariot was of the tribe of Dan*, and the devil entered into him. *Judas was the serpent in the way*, for he professed to be in the way of righteousness, and yet attacked the heels of the horse, *i. e.*, the flesh of Christ. The identification of Judas with the serpent of Dan is here to be conceded. He then goes on to say that Dan also stands for the people that persecute the saints, which people are like the serpent biting the horse's heels, *i. e.*, inflicting severe and painful bites. For "he shall watch thy head and thou shalt watch his heel" (according to the reading of the LXX in Gen. 3:15). Here the connection is established between the serpent of the third chapter of Genesis and the serpent in the blessing of Jacob.

<sup>16</sup> Edited by BUDGE, p. 107.

<sup>17</sup> Query: *toward the rider?*

This identification of Judas with the serpent is involved also in the Acts of Thomas, where Judas Thomas heals a young man who has been bitten by a black snake. Judas Thomas makes the snake tell his history and why he killed the young man. The snake says:

I am the kinsman of him who spake with Eve, and through her made Adam transgress the commandment of God . . . . I am he who caused Judas to take the bribe, when he was made subject to me, that he might deliver up the Messiah to death . . . . I am the kinsman of him who is to come from the east, to whom the power is given.

That is to say, the snake is the serpent of the Garden of Eden . . . . the devil that entered into Judas . . . . and the Antichrist who, according to early belief, was to come from the tribe of Dan.

Judas Thomas orders the snake to suck out his poison from the body of his victim. What follows? The snake *began to swell*; and when he had drawn out the whole of the poison, *the snake burst*. "And a great pit was made in the place where the poison of the snake fell. And Judas commanded the king and his brother to fill up that place, and lay foundations, and make in it houses as places of entertainment for strangers." This last detail is borrowed from the story of the death of Judas in the gospel, the place of his death being purchased as a place to bury strangers in.<sup>18</sup> Here, then, we have the idea of Judas as the poisonous snake clearly enunciated.<sup>19</sup>

May we not, then, say that it is established that there was a tradition which identified Judas with a poisonous serpent? And if this be so, is not the expression *πρηνὴς γενόμενος* an attempt to illustrate the curse upon the serpent at the beginning, "On thy belly thou shalt go"?<sup>20</sup>

<sup>18</sup> And it is involved in this proved parallel between the snake and Judas Iscariot that Judas also "swelled up and burst" in the view of the author of the legend.

<sup>19</sup> We have assumed a connection between the language of the *Acta Thomae* (places of entertainment for strangers) and the expression in Matthew (a place to bury strangers in); it may, however, be urged that these two expressions are two separate attempts at a prophetic gnosis on Ps. 109:11, "Let strangers make spoil of his labor." If this were the case, the connection of the expression in the *Acta* with Judas is made through the psalm, which has been treated as a prediction of the betrayal. But the explanation given above is the more natural.

<sup>20</sup> It will be seen that we entirely reject the interpretation which renders *πρηνὴς γενόμενος* by "falling headlong." And certainly the harmonist could not make a hanging body fall headlong by cutting the rope by which it hung.

But whether this be the right explanation of the introduction of the words *πρηνὴς γενόμενος*, or whether we prefer to explain the reading as an arbitrary correction, made independently of the traditions attaching to the subject, enough has been said to show how unhistorical the whole of the legends are that profess to relate the death of Judas.

The tradition which connects Judas Iscariot and the poisonous snake that swells and bursts is a wide-spread piece of ecclesiastical folk-lore. I have found a trace of it in Ireland, from whose happy shores St. Patrick is said to have banished at one stroke all the poisonous serpents and all the devils. On this expulsion Giraldus Cambrensis, as quoted by Holinshed in his *Chronicle*, remarks that

Certain merchants affirme, that when they had unladen their ships, in Ireland, they found by hap some toads under their balast. And they had no sooner cast them on the shore, than *they would puffe and swell unmeasurable, and shortlie after, turning up their bellies, they would burst in sunder.*

Here we have the venomous beast that swells and bursts. But where shall we find a trace of the connection between such poisonous creatures and the traitor? Commenting on the passage in Holinshed, Mr. W. R. Le Fanu says in his *Seventy Years of Irish Life* (p. 119):

There are still in Ireland two small creatures which the saint might as well have abolished when his hand was in, as they are, or certainly were in my early days, held in great abhorrence by the peasantry in the south of Ireland. One is a small brown lizard . . . the other is a long, ugly-looking beetle, black and shiny . . . I do not think they had any English name for the [latter] beast, which they called a *darraghdeoul* (red devil). The tradition as to him was that he had, in some form or way, guided or accompanied Judas Iscariot to the garden of Gethsemane, the night of our Lord's betrayal.

Here we have a modern survival of the primitive belief that Satan entered into Judas in the form of a black snake.

In the *Revue biblique* for January, 1899, M. Cosquin has worked out in a very convincing way the analysis of the folk-lore elements in the two related stories of Ahiqar and Tobit, and, having thus destroyed the historicity of Tobit, he makes a feeble attempt to defend its canonicity, which is sheltered by the council of Trent, on the plea that canonicity does not imply

anything more than a moral intention. It is a method of reasoning which would allow the inclusion of the whole of Æsop's fables in the canon. He draws, however, a distinction between the book of Tobit and the rest of the Bible, on the ground that there is no common matter between Tobit and the other books.<sup>21</sup>

One has only to read the two books of Tobit and Aḥikar side by side with the Old and New Testaments to find that the parallels are so frequent between the two admittedly "folk-lore" books and the Bible generally that we cannot draw the line in the way which M. Cosquin suggests. He did not know when he wrote that there was such strong evidence for connecting the death of Judas Iscariot with the death of Nadan, and that the explanation "canonical, but not historical" will apply equally well to the folk-lore elements in the story of Judas. If he wishes to say that this story is a romance with a moral intention, he may obtain our assent at the expense of our faith in the documents; but to apply an apologetic method of this kind to the New Testament is to introduce a critical factor that is disturbing to something more than the decrees of councils. Clearly we shall have to reinterpret the New Testament, with allowance for possible folk-lore throughout. Nor is it even certain that all the cases that may turn up will show a moral intention as the kernel of the non-historical incident.

Perhaps it may be urged that the passage in the Acts which describes the death of Judas is an evident interpolation of a very early period, and that the real account is the brief and unadorned one in Matthew. I do not think this hypothesis will bear investigation, but it might be worth a little further examination. I suspect the person who engages in it will soon desist, and accept the simpler solution that not everything which passes for history in the East is necessarily true, even if it be canonized. ✓

<sup>21</sup> P. 80: Le corps même de l'histoire de Tobie, et non pas seulement les personnages secondaires qui y auraient été introduits (Aḥikar et Nadan), peut être rattaché à tel thème de contes populaires. Mais qu'importe? Dans un ouvrage à but moral, dans une parabole développée, laquelle est d'ailleurs tout à fait indépendante du reste de la Bible, tout à fait hors d'œuvre, l'auteur prend son bien où il le trouve, et il lui est permis de faire sienne, en l'adaptant à son dessein, même une œuvre profane, même une œuvre païenne.

But if this dramatic method of getting rid of a bad man which we find in Ahiḳar and the Acts be the popular one for an eastern story-teller, why should we limit our inquiry to the Acts of the Apostles, or to Judas and Nadan? There are plenty more villains in the play that have to be got rid of. What shall we say of Josephus' account of Herod the Great?

I may as well say frankly that I believe Josephus' account of the horrible death of Herod is largely mythical, and that there underlies it a death in the proper folk-lore manner. That he swelled up and burst was part of the story, and this has been worked out either by Josephus or his sources, so as to disguise the simpler and more naïve story-telling. Dropsy is one of the features that Josephus expressly dwells on, so that his limbs and his belly swelled up, or, as Josephus elegantly puts it, "an aqueous and transparent liquor had settled itself about his feet, and a like matter afflicted him at the bottom of his belly" (*Antiq.*, XVII, 6, 5). There is not the least reason to suppose that Josephus, writing so long after Herod's death, had any trustworthy account of the symptoms which he has been so praised for describing. He was rationalizing in his own historical manner, just as Papias does in his. If one wants to get nearer to the origin of the story, we should look and see the form which the tale takes when it gets into Syrian hands. I do not know whether Solomon of Bassora in his *Book of the Bee* is limited to Josephus for his account of the death of Herod, but, if so, he has understood Josephus exactly in the sense in which we have taken him; and if he is not limited to Josephus, he has access to another line of tradition which confirms what we have been saying of the right way to read Josephus. For he tells us<sup>22</sup> that "Herod's bowels and his legs were swollen with running sores, and he was consumed by worms, . . . he cut his throat with his own hand, and his belly burst open, and he died and went to perdition."

It is very like the story of the death of Nadan in the Arabic version, nor are there wanting other parallels (which the reader can work out for himself) between the Josephus legend and Papias' account of the death of Judas.

<sup>22</sup> P. 88.

It appears, then, that all matter of this kind is pseudo-historical, and requires to be treated with extreme caution. The historical nucleus, if one exists, is for the most part microscopically small. Nor is it safe for the historian to make an idol out of either Josephus or St. Luke. ✓

P. S.—This article was sent to press before M. Cosquin's second article on the Tobit-Ahiqar problems appeared in the *Revue biblique* for October 1, 1899. We have anticipated in the previous pages most of the points which M. Cosquin makes against our textual criticism. M. Cosquin thinks the evidence of the Greek MSS. and the old Latin sufficient to establish the reading *πρηρὴς γερόμενος* in the Acts. If the Armenian version reads *πρησθελς*, this must be a blunder of the translator. But, as we have shown, the traces of this reading are found, not only in a badly translated (?) Armenian version, but in Georgian, in Syriac, and (as the Papias legends show) in Greek. It is too late in the day to assume the consensus of Greek and Latin MSS. to be the reading of the original text.

Of other matters discussed by M. Cosquin the limits of our space prevent our speaking at present.

## DAVID FRIEDRICH STRAUSS.

By GUSTAV KRÜGER,  
Giessen.

SOME years ago Eduard Zeller, who is spending the evening of a long life in learned leisure at Stuttgart, published a selection of the letters of his friend Strauss.<sup>1</sup> The personality of Strauss was already well known to us from his published books<sup>2</sup> and from personal notices in his *Literarische Denkwürdigkeiten*, as well as from what Zeller has told us in his friend's biography<sup>3</sup> published shortly after the death of Strauss. We become still better acquainted with him through his letters, which exhibit his mental development and maturity, his struggles, conflicts, doubts, and recovered faith, and reveal him as a man of integrity, into whose clear, thoughtful eyes we can look with warmest sympathy. Even one who is not concerned with the scientific questions which naturally occupy a large place in these letters, especially one who is interested, if only a little, in philosophical, æsthetic, and theological problems, will find himself richly rewarded by reading them. One thing only we miss: instead of having only Strauss' side in learned or personal discussion, or in friendly

<sup>1</sup> *Ausgewählte Briefe von David Friedrich Strauss*. Herausgegeben und erläutert von EDUARD ZELLER. Mit einem Porträt in Lichtdruck. Bonn: Emil Strauss, 1895.

<sup>2</sup> *Gesammelte Schriften von David Friedrich Strauss*. Nach des Verfassers letztwilligen Verfügungen zusammengestellt. Eingeleitet und mit erklärenden Nachweisungen versehen von EDUARD ZELLER. Mit zwei Portraits des Verfassers in Stahlstich. 12 Bände. Bonn: Emil Strauss, 1876-8. (New editions of the separate works of Strauss are still being continually published.)

<sup>3</sup> *David Friedrich Strauss, in seinem Leben und in seinen Schriften geschildert* von EDUARD ZELLER. Bonn: Emil Strauss, 1874 (English translation, 1874). Cf. *David Friedrich Strauss und die Theologie seiner Zeit*, von DR. A. HAUSRATH. 2 Bände. Heidelberg: Fr. Bassermann, 1876, 1878. SAMUEL ECK, *David Friedrich Strauss*, Stuttgart: J. G. Cotta'sche Nachfolger, 1899; an excellent book. A severe criticism of Strauss, which, however, does not concern so much the author of *The Life of Jesus* as that of *The Old and New Faith*, will be found in the *Unzeitgemässen Betrachtungen*, of FRIEDRICH NIETZSCHE (Erstes Stück: "David Strauss, der Bekenner und Schriftsteller," *Werke*, Band 1).



intercourse with others, one would have prized the replies of his correspondents. The model of such a correspondence, as we have it in the case of Goethe and Schiller, shows what can be learned in this way. How two contrasted natures, which yet have deep inward affinity, regarded themselves and their universe would have been clearly exhibited, for example, in an interchange of letters between Strauss and Vischer.

These letters have awakened in myself and many others fresh thoughts of their author's significance for us all, especially in connection with theological science. He has been much stigmatized as a heretic. On many, even yet, his name produces the effect which a red rag produces on a bull. Many others regard him as an ally in their conflict against all that bears the name of the Christian religion and church. One cannot flatly declare both to be wrong: like all extremes, the two sides meet, and, indeed, in a very essential point; both of them regard Christianity and the church, as also Christianity and faith in dogma, as equivalent. The praise and blame of these opposing parties can easily be understood, since both church and dogma—taking these words in their ordinary sense—have been attacked and severely wounded by Strauss. Finally, moreover, he himself, in the last phase of his literary career, unfortunately undertook, what till then had been quite foreign to him, the identification of the two conceptions and identified Christianity with church and dogma, thereby contributing not a little to confusion of judgment.

At the close of this century, on whose intellectual history Strauss has at all events had vast influence, it is worth our while seriously to review these questions. This, I think, can now be done impartially a quarter of a century after his death. Certainly the questions raised by Strauss take too fast hold of us all to allow us to approach them quite coolly and, so to speak, impersonally. The subject which I purpose here to discuss is still for me a highly personal one, and I neither can nor ought to wish that my readers should regard it wholly with my eyes. Before proceeding with my task, however, may I be allowed briefly to recapitulate the dates of Strauss' life, with which American readers are not so familiar as we Germans?

## I.

Born at Ludwigsburg in Württemberg January 17, 1808, Strauss studied philosophy and theology, and received his education in the theological seminary (*Stift*) at Tübingen. After a brief vicarship (1830) in a little country parish, which long remembered him with affection, he acted as professor's substitute at the seminary of Maulbronn. In the winter of 1831-2 he went to Berlin to attend the lectures of Hegel and Schleiermacher. On his return in 1832 he was appointed lecturer (*Repetent*) at Tübingen and gave also lectures in philosophy. In consequence of the storm occasioned by the appearance of his *Leben Jesu*<sup>4</sup> in 1835 he was removed to Ludwigsburg as professor's substitute. Here he remained only a short time, and, having quitted the service of the state, he lived in private life from 1836 until his death. Only once, in 1839, he seemed on the point of resuming an academic vocation. He had received a call to Zürich as professor of dogmatics and church history; but, in consequence of the opposition of the conservative party in the canton, he was set aside before he could assume the office. Out of a course of lectures which he had been planning for Zürich grew his work, *Die christliche Glaubenslehre, etc.*<sup>5</sup> In the year 1842 Strauss married the distinguished artist Agnes Schebest, by whom he had a daughter and a son. After five years this marriage was practically dissolved, with the consent of both parties, though without a legal separation. Zeller thus writes with delicacy: "Strauss lacked a regular course of work away from home, and at home that mutual harmony of disposition for the want of which nothing, however valuable, can compensate." In the revolutionary year 1848 Strauss was for a time the deputy from his native town in the diet of Württemberg, but, having incurred the hostility of his constituents by his unexpectedly conservative attitude on political questions, he led from that time a long migratory life in Munich, Weimar, Cologne,

<sup>4</sup> *The Life of Jesus Critically Examined*. Translated from the fourth (1840) German edition by George Eliot. London and New York, 1846; second edition 1892.

<sup>5</sup> "The Christian Doctrine of Faith in its Historical Development and in its Conflict with Modern Science." 2 vols. Tübingen, 1840, 1841.

Heidelberg, Heilbronn, again in Munich, in Darmstadt, and finally in Ludwigsburg, where he died February 8, 1874. After the appearance of his *Glaubenslehre* he for a long time abandoned theology and devoted himself to writing biographical works. We have the ripe fruits of his labors in this line in his works on the Swabian poet Christian Daniel Schubart (1849); Christian Märklin, a friend of Strauss (1851); the humanist Nicodemus Frischlin (1855); Ulrich von Hutten (1857, revised 1871); Hermann Samuel Reimarus (1862); and Voltaire (1870).<sup>6</sup> The last of these works arose out of communications made to the grand-duchess Alice of Hesse, originally princess of Great Britain.

His interest in theological problems was keenly revived by the work on Hutten, and from the beginning of his sixtieth year he was engaged on a revised form of the *Leben Jesu*. In 1864 appeared the new *Leben Jesu*, with the additional title, "for the German people,"<sup>7</sup> and soon after the two polemical works, *Der Christus des Glaubens und der Jesus der Geschichte*, and *Die Halben und die Ganzen*, treatises with various controversial points of enduring value. The year 1870 produced the two patriotic letters to Ernest Renan, in which Strauss, with the unanimous approbation of the nation, maintained the rights of Germany. Finally in 1870 he claimed the interest of all the cultured and partially cultured with his last book, *Der Alte und der Neue Glaube, ein Bekenntniss*.<sup>8</sup>

## II.

Whoever would estimate the personality and work of Strauss finds himself at the outset confronted with the question: "In what class should we rank this man? Was he a scholar, or was he a literary artist?" These questions cannot be answered with

<sup>6</sup>*Schubarts Leben in seinen Briefen*, 2 vols., Berlin, 1849; *Christian Märklin, ein Lebens- und Characterbild aus der Gegenwart*, Mannheim, 1851; *Leben und Schriften Nikodemus Frischlins*, Frankfurt, 1855; *Ulrich von Hutten*, Leipzig, 1857; 4th edition, 1878; English condensed translation, 1874; *Hermann Samuel Reimarus*, Leipzig, 1862; *Voltaire, sechs Vorträge*, Leipzig, 1870; 5th edition, 1878.

<sup>7</sup>Fourth edition 1877; English translation, London, 1865, 2 vols.

<sup>8</sup>Eleventh edition, Bonn, 1881; English translation by Mathilde Blind, London and New York, 1873.

a plain yes or no. We can say that he was neither a half-scholar nor a half-artist, if these terms involve any idea of half-heartedness, no trace of which is found in Strauss' character. He had, however, something of many diverse qualities: he had not merely two, but many, souls bound up in his person. The desire of conjugal affection in its highest sense and of friendship with men in its purest form contended in him with the impulse toward solitude and forgetfulness of the world; and the theologian and the philosopher, the historian and the poet, and not least the musician, strove in him for the mastery. He possessed a genuine measure of all these elements: the *Leben Jesu*, the *Glaubenslehre*, the *Streitschriften*,<sup>9</sup> and *Der Alte und der Neue Glaube* reveal him as the theologian and philosopher; *Hutten* and *Voltaire*, not to speak of minor works, such as his *Essays*,<sup>10</sup> exhibit him as the historian and biographer; the appendices to *Der Alte und der Neue Glaube* and many utterances of genius in his letters display him as the connoisseur of music; and the *Poetische Gedenkbuch* as the poet. We have still but few German writers since Lessing whose style, in purity and distinction, can be compared to that of Strauss. Perhaps he was least of all what he has been most usually considered, a man of strict science. In the *Literarische Denkwürdigkeiten* he admits this in words to this effect: "I have never regarded myself as properly speaking a scholar: my learning consists only in my having been sufficiently grounded and instructed in general knowledge; as to particular departments I am sufficiently disciplined to be able, in those branches of science with which I am at any time occupied, to assimilate rapidly the mass of facts required in their pursuit. With me this knowledge and its acquirement are never an end, but only a means. The collecting of materials, even when some of them, according to the subject, interest and delight me, I find always in a measure irksome. My real enjoyment begins with the composition and manipulation of the material. Then when I feel that the clay is plastic in my hand, and that it readily, and in a manner spontaneously, assumes the forms which my

<sup>9</sup> *Streitschriften zur Vertheidigung meiner Schrift über das Leben Jesu* (1837).

<sup>10</sup> *Charakteristiken und Kritiken*, 1839; 2d ed., 1844.

fingers seek to impress upon it, I consciously enjoy my talent; and it is certainly my special talent." To his most intimate friend, Pfarrer Rapp, he writes: "What scientific work I have done I have wrought at with passion; and without passion, without being possessed by my subject, I can do nothing at all. On this side I am a poet, though indeed I am this still less than a scholar, since I lack entirely the requisite productivity of fancy and creative power." And to Friedrich Theodor Vischer: "I am not inventive; but I can arrange, group, and describe well." And again to Rapp: "I am an artist, but not by the grace of God, who has no doubt given me the artistic bent and the sense of form, but not imagination in order perfectly to fuse those forms."

He often complains of the two-sided incoherent quality of his mental endowment. Possessing almost too keen a sense of his defects and weaknesses, he seldom attains a perfect consciousness of his ability, and he could truly say of himself: "In the course of my life I have failed oftener through diffidence than through pride." Of course there is plenty of pure scholarship in his writings, especially the theological. The critical discussions, which occur in the *Leben Jesu*, even in the so-called popular edition, are undoubtedly beyond what might be sought in a work designed for laymen as well as scholars. Personally I confess to a little skeptical admiration when I have heard laymen tell me that they have read the *Leben Jesu* from end to end. Nevertheless Strauss, with his investigations, has not promoted scholarly criticism nearly so much as did the Tübingen theologian, Ferdinand Christian Baur. He always clearly felt, and readily acknowledged, the superiority of the latter, although Baur, through the unfriendly and prejudiced attitude which, at least to Strauss' mind, he held toward the work of our author, did not make that acknowledgment easy for him. Yet Strauss was conscious that Baur and his learned auxiliaries owed much to him. He wrote to his friend Märklin: "Baur should remember that my style of work was just adapted for the beginning, and that without my initiative he and his allies would not stand where they now do." He compared his *Leben Jesu* to the bold assault which expels an opponent by night from a strong

position, and Baur's investigations to the slow siege-work which gradually deprives an enemy of one part of his stronghold after another.

What would this man have been and what would he have accomplished had he been allowed to continue in the academic vocation for which he was born and which he had himself chosen? As a young tutor at Tübingen he had made a very great impression. Zeller, who there heard him, says that his lectures had the effect of a beneficent rain upon a parched district. He praises the lucidity of his process of thought and the racy freshness of his exposition, which rendered even so tough a subject as Hegel's *Logik* enjoyable to his hearers. And though Strauss, according to the fashion then common in south Germany, always, while lecturing, followed his skilfully prepared notes, the formal excellence of his finished delivery charmed his hearers.

Strauss never ceased to bewail his removal from the academic chair as the severest blow he ever received, and the leisure which his academic friends often envied him was a small thing compared with the vast stimulus which professorial activity would have given him. Yet he did not regret the step which had cost him his position. He well knew what he risked when he published the *Leben Jesu*, but he claimed, in its preface, the possession of one thing which the most learned and acute theologians lacked, inward emancipation of spirit and thought from certain religious and dogmatic presuppositions. "If the theologians find my work un-Christian because it is without presuppositions, I find theirs unscientific on account of the presuppositions of faith." Thirty years later he wrote that it had been the aim of his theological writings from the first to break the chain which barred the haven of theology from the open sea of rational science. This man could not have said with Goethe's Mephistopheles:

Das Beste, was du wissen kannst,  
Darfst du den Buben doch nicht sagen."<sup>11</sup>

On the contrary, he was impelled irresistibly to say what was laid upon his spirit.

<sup>11</sup> "You dare not tell striplings the best of your knowledge."

But he who thus threw down the gauntlet to a whole world of opponents could certainly not expect that others would respond with kid gloves. We can understand the difficulty in which those were placed who had to decide if one who pronounced the presuppositions of the theological work of his time to be unscientific had a right to occupy a professor's chair, since those prepossessions appeared to be indispensable.

But, on the other hand, Strauss' ideas were not strange to the best spirits of his time. Whoever, after the lapse of two generations, looks back upon the scientific work which has been done since the appearance of the *Leben Jesu*, knows that Strauss was right when he wrote in the preface to his translation of Hutten's *Dialogues*<sup>19</sup> which he published in 1860, when the *Leben Jesu* was a quarter of a century old:

I can certify that my book has not yet been refuted; its ideas have only received continuous development, and if it is now little more read, it is because it has been absorbed by the culture of the age and has penetrated through all the veins of contemporary science. I can certify that, through the twenty-five intervening years, not a line of importance has been written on the subjects of which it treats, in which its influence is not recognizable.

This may be deemed exaggeration. I am inclined to regard it as correct; but in any case one must subscribe to that recognition of Strauss' courage which King Wilhelm of Württemberg thus bluntly expressed: "That he had courage I have always believed, else he would not have tackled the theologians as he did." And no one can read without emotion the words in which Strauss spoke of his book in the connection just quoted:

I could be angry with my book because it has wrought me much harm: it has excluded me from public work as a teacher, for which I had taste and perhaps talent; it has wrenched me out of natural conditions, and thrust me into unnatural ones; it has made my life lonely. And yet when I think what would have become of me had I stifled the word which was laid upon my soul, and had I suppressed the doubts that were fermenting in me, then I bless the book, which indeed harmed me outwardly, but which has preserved inward health for me and many others. So I testify in its day of honor that it was written out of a pure impulse, and I could wish for all its opponents, when they write against it, that they were equally free from by-aims and fanaticism.

<sup>19</sup> *Gespräche Hutten's, übersetzt und erläutert*, Leipzig, 1860.

## III.

One cannot easily overestimate the impression produced more than sixty years ago by the bold undertaking of the twenty-seven-year-old lecturer at Tübingen to overturn from its very foundation the view hitherto entertained as to the life of Jesus. This impression is most strikingly attested by the appearance of four substantial editions of the work in two volumes, containing more than 1,400 closely printed pages, a work designed, it must be remembered, not for the general public, but for scholars. It was also attested by the innumerable hostile works issuing, not only from all theological camps, but also from laymen who, regarding the holiest articles of their faith as in danger, came out to battle against the audacious assailant.

What were the fundamental ideas of the work?

It is usually supposed that the book was directed against the naïve credulity which accepts, without question or interpretation, the miraculous events of the life of Jesus as divine revelation, just as they are recorded in the gospels. From a scientific point of view this is incorrect. Such a consideration of the gospel history did not fall within Strauss' horizon. The book had a very definite object, viz., to combat the method of so-called rationalism in view of its naturalistic mode of explaining the miracles. The life of Jesus having been already, in the eighteenth century, regarded by some from a human point of view, they sought to explain the miraculous elements of the history in two ways. Some of them spoke of a vulgar fraud on the part of the heavenly persons who performed all these things, and this is the position of the so-called Wolfenbüttel fragmentist, Hermann Samuel Reimarus († 1768). By others a natural explanation was attempted, for example by the Heidelberg theologian, Heinrich Eberhard Gottlob Paulus (1761–1851) and his numerous associates and successors. They purged, so to speak, the whole gospel history of its miraculous elements, at the same time introducing natural explanations or supposing errors on the part of reporters. I need only adduce the oft-quoted example: Jesus, according to this method, did not walk on the sea, but by the sea—which very ingenious interpretation



gave occasion to the witty question of Lavater, if then the evangelists who relate this miracle wished to teach us by it that Jesus was capable of walking on solid ground like other men. From this method also came the explanation of the resurrection as an awakening from apparent death, and of the ascension as a disappearance in a mountain cloud, and other home-made discoveries of the same sort. They have still a claim on our attention as being the first awkward attempts at a humanistic view of the life of Jesus.

In opposition to this naturalistic and rationalistic view Strauss brought in another, viz., the mythical view, in accordance with which he maintained that the gospel narratives should, in so far as they represent anything in a legendary way, be subjected to investigation; and that this applies, indeed, to everything without exception which our evangelists found in the Christian community of their time and received from oral tradition with good faith in its authenticity. There was no intimation of free conscious invention on the part of one or several individuals, as in a theory brought forward not long afterward by another radical critic, Bruno Bauer. Strauss supposed an unintentional and unconscious idealization of the whole material. Not that he sought to prove that the whole gospel history was mythical; but, as he says in his preface: "I shall critically examine all that is in it to see if it contains anything mythical."

This was a procedure not without precedent, if we consider other departments of science. For the general science of antiquity the philologist Heyne, of Göttingen, had already proved that the whole early history of mankind, as well as our forefathers philosophical view of the world, is based upon myth.<sup>13</sup> In the year 1811 appeared Niebuhr's celebrated work which applied this view to the oldest part of Roman history, and deprived the myths related by Livy concerning the seven kings of their right of existence in the scientific treatment of history. Theologians had also already applied the new method to the five books of Moses in the Old Testament. Nay, even in the realm of New Testament history Strauss had had predecessors. Schleiermacher, as well as Hase, in their public lectures—the latter even

<sup>13</sup> *A mythis omnis priscorum hominum cum historia tum philosophia procedit.*

in a small handbook which appeared in 1829—had broken to a certain extent with the natural explanation, and had sought by the assumption of myth to explain the beginning and the end of the gospel history—the birth and ascension of Christ—at least in part. Strauss no doubt refers to these attempts when he says: “The entrance to the gospel history as well as the exit from it is supposed to be through the portal of myth. For all that lies between those points the crooked and toilsome path of natural explanation is deemed sufficient.”

From the scientific treatises of that period, which certainly were not very thorough, Strauss derived the view that the sources of primitive Christian history, in whole and in part, are not of first rank, that is, do not come direct from eyewitnesses; and from all the conflicting narratives, the inaccuracies, the chronological and other difficulties, he drew the conclusion that the testimony of one reporter was of as much value as that of another, viz., none at all. In order to explain the state of the facts, however, he specially directed attention to the Old Testament with its Messianic ideas and hopes: the Messianic expectations of the time of Jesus were above all what produced the myths of the life of Jesus. This appeared with special clearness from the narrative of the evangelist Matthew, with its ever-recurring phrases: “This happened that it might be fulfilled which was written,” and, “As saith the prophet.” Nevertheless Strauss was far from denying the historical personality of Jesus; he was convinced, on the other hand, that the application of those Messianic ideas to the concrete instance could only be explained by the existence of a powerful faith-compelling personality. Therefore he held fast to the main facts in the life of Jesus, and believed especially in his sayings, and above all thought that an authentic nucleus was distinguishable in the Sermon on the Mount.

It is no longer necessary to enter upon a criticism of these positions in detail, since the last sixty years have not been unfruitful in respect to them. During that period much that is new has been learned through the scientific investigation of the life of Jesus. But even if the principle of the mythical explanation has not proved wholly invulnerable, its application was in

itself a vast step in advance. The supernatural and rationalistic explanations were once for all got rid of in favor of one which sought to come closer to the facts by a method derived from the matter itself. This attempt was the more effective because Strauss moved on ground where results could be verified, and allowed arbitrary fancy to have no influence on his work.

It is worth while, however, to direct attention to another point. I have already remarked that Baur always maintained an attitude of reserve toward Strauss' work, bestowing upon it a somewhat cold recognition. Strauss rightly interpreted this attitude on the part of his master, and said once in writing to Märklin: "I can also partly understand this from the circumstances themselves. I am no historian; I have been prompted by dogmatic [or antidogmatic] interests; and he may disapprove of this from his historico-theological point of view."

This self-judgment is perfectly just. Whoever has attained independent insight into the critical work of historico-theological science knows that it, like all other critical work, recognizes as its main object the investigation, one might almost say, the laying bare, of what has actually happened. The sources have again and again been examined; they have been analyzed and unraveled in order to be recomposed in as clear and coherent a form of historical development as possible. In regard to the life of Jesus the attempt has been made out of the sparse accounts to construct a credible view of his personality, aims, and course of life, just as it has been sought to give as true and historically accurate a picture as possible of the life, aims, and destiny of the representatives of the early church and of the apostolic age. Strauss himself did not at all neglect this in connection with the life of Jesus, and I do not hesitate to declare that those parts of the revised edition of his book (1864) which he called "The Life of Jesus in its Historical Setting" still retain vitality. Especially would I recommend to those who still regard Strauss as only destructive the section on the "Religious Consciousness of Jesus," which shows, as Zeller says, with what fine discernment of the loftiness and purity of a religious character Strauss was endowed.

Nevertheless the "Jesus of history" had not for him the interest with which the "Christ of faith" inspired him. The facts did not interest him as much as the ideas, and the authentic gospel history not as much as what he called the mythical history, that is, the history as it is apprehended in the hearts of believers, and has found expression through the mouths of their inspired speakers and the pens of their scribes. And here is the point where in my opinion Strauss has seen deeper than the historico-critical investigators; here is revealed for me the enduring influence of his book. We have a more correct idea than our fathers had of Jesus the Nazarene as a historical personality. We know the conditions of his activity, the soil on which he grew—his "environment," to use a modern term—much more exactly than men knew it half a century ago. We have learned to apply the psychological method much more successfully to the study of his self-consciousness. And yet, may we not say that on this very account the question as to the relation between the "Jesus of history" and the "Christ of faith" has more vital interest in the historico-theological work of the present generation, especially in the most recent work, than that of almost any other question? Only we now regard this problem with other eyes than those of a generation or two ago, and seek its solution less hopefully than did young Strauss. The Hegelian philosophy, that magic key which solved the riddle for him, has slipped out of our hands. The impression left upon reflective minds by the reading of Strauss' book is in no small degree produced by the fact that in the much-quoted concluding section, entitled "The Dogmatic Significance of the Life of Jesus," all doubts are solved for the author according to Hegelian prescriptions. As an instance of this we find him declaring in the preface that "Christ's supernatural birth, and his resurrection and ascension, remain eternal truths, however much their reality as historical facts may be doubted. Only the certainty of this can give our criticism calmness and dignity, and distinguish it from the naturalistic criticism of the last century, which thought the religious truth was destroyed with the historical fact, and which must therefore of necessity be regarded as frivolous." Whoever has

thoroughly undergone the critical discipline of the last decade will readily regard such an idealism of faith as a controversial artifice. He will certainly not allow himself to be persuaded by any apologetic, however well-meaning, of the identity of the "Jesus of history" and the "Christ of faith." For there was but one "Jesus of history," who lived only once, under perfectly definite conditions, and in perfectly definite circumstances, which do not repeat themselves. But the "Christ of faith" varies a thousand fold according to the time in which and the persons in whom he is reflected.

#### IV.

The last section of the *Leben Jesu* gives proof of the correctness of Strauss' judgment when, as we have seen, he said that he was no historian and that "everything with him proceeded from a dogmatic interest;" but he also added "or from an antidogmatic one." This addition refers to his attitude toward church doctrine. He has given it trenchant expression in his second great work, the *Christian Doctrine of Faith in its Historical Development and in its Conflict with the Modern View of the World*. This work—unfortunately, we might say—did not make the impression it was calculated to make on the great body of theologians, for whom alone it was meant. And yet this *Glaubenslehre* is a remarkable book, if it is estimated by its own standard. Its object was more frankly negative than that of the *Leben Jesu*. It was designed to show the general bankruptcy of the orthodox and rationalistic views of Christianity. Strauss actually wrote of it what he might already have written, from special points of view, of the *Leben Jesu*:

My treatise is meant, if the profane figure may be allowed, to do for dogmatic science what the balance sheet does for a mercantile house. If the house is not exactly made richer thereby, yet it learns, by means of the balance sheet, precisely how affairs stand; and this is often more valuable than a positive gain in money. Such an examination of the dogmatic stock is of the more urgent necessity in our day since the majority of theologians entertain the greatest illusion concerning it. They estimate at far too low a figure the deduction which the criticism and polemic of the last two centuries have made from the old theological stock in trade; and, on the other hand, they estimate far too highly the equivocal sources of help to be found in the

theology of feeling and the present mystical philosophy. They think that the law suits still pending in regard to those results have already been won, in large measure; and they are certain that high profit is to be got out of the newly sunk mines. It might chance, however, that those law suits might all be lost in a day, and then, if the new mines should disappoint the hopes fixed on them, bankruptcy would be inevitable. Here is reason sufficient for caution, and for exact inquiry as to how much is yet recoverable out of the previous loss and what has perhaps still to be collected; likewise what prospect there may be of surer gain from the newer enterprises, and how, taking all this into account, possessions stand in relation to debts.

And this balance was struck by Strauss with inexorable and conclusive logic. No loophole of escape was left to an opponent. "The true criticism of dogma is its history," was the central thesis of his discussion; and for everyone who knows the history and does not shrink from its practical application this thesis is thoroughgoing. Strauss' *Glaubenslehre* has also done great service to scientific inquiry. It has removed the rubbish and cleared the ground for a new building. Strauss has neither erected nor attempted to erect this new structure. When others undertook to construct it, he not only refused to give a helping hand, but stood hostile to the builders. At the end of his life he rejected that solution of the fundamental problem of doctrine which he had indicated in his closing treatise and whose influences are still clearly visible in the popular edition of the *Leben Jesu*. In *Der Alte und Neue Glaube* he propounded a new solution of the great question, which indeed occupied him to his last breath. Did he act rightly in this respect?

In the first place, the subjective veracity of the man must be frankly recognized. When at the age of sixty-four he published his *Bekenntniss* ("Confession") he sought thereby to sum up his life's performance. He did not wish to deceive himself or the public in regard to the final position of his view of the world (*Weltanschauung*), and in this he was unquestionably right, because he followed the promptings of his inmost nature. He wrote thus in Latin to the friend of his youth on sending him the book:

I have uttered the confession which the inward voice bade me utter. I have delivered my message from the first to the last letter. If I die now, it

can no longer be said that at my death I was a debtor to my contemporaries and countrymen. What I had I distributed, and what was left over is contained in this writing. . . . Regarding its fate I have not the smallest anxiety. I have done what it was my duty to do as well as I was able. Happen now what will, I shall rest in the conviction that it must happen.

But this cannot blind us to the fact that by his last book he broke off the very keystone from his life-work. In the preface to his *Leben Jesu* of 1864 he still declared that it was the duty of everyone who felt himself in a position to do so to come to the help of so many perplexed spirits who were in danger of losing the kernel along with the shell, and who felt themselves exposed to a wearing conflict, and to a dubious vacillation between unbridled unbelief and spasmodic faith, between free-thinking and piety. The task, as here sketched, had been that of his life: the *Leben Jesu*, the *Glaubenslehre*, and the smaller theological writings, particularly the *Zwei friedliche Blätter* (1839), served no other purpose. In *The Old and the New Faith* he has changed all that. Here he has himself thrown away the kernel with the shell, the thing in itself with the form. The man who was one of the most eminent of those who laid the axe to the root of the tree of the old dogmatic faith has himself fallen a victim to this faith. Harnack's words can be applied to Strauss: "This is the effect of dogma on the reverse side. It injures a man when he has it, and it injures him when he has had it; these after-effects are actually the most serious." He who possesses such deep insight into things as the author of the *Leben Jesu* and the *Glaubenslehre* could not, on the ground of a perhaps too superficial criticism of the Apostles' Creed — that old unadulterated confession of faith, as Strauss called it — give off-hand a negative answer to the question: "Are we still Christians?" His procedure in this case, however, reminds us just a little of Don Quixote and his battle with windmills. How could one like Strauss, after lightly refuting the church doctrines of transubstantiation, of the sacrificial death of the Son of God, and the anthropomorphic conception of God, come, without more ado, to declare the continued vitality of the religious content of these and similar forms in which poor humanity is doomed to enwrap eternal truth?

For a new task like this Strauss would have required, to say the least, a good equipment. But the armor which the old champion had put on was antiquated, the rust was with difficulty cleared from it, and its luster was tarnished. It was a new and yet essentially ancient philosophy, then in vogue, that had taken him captive. With Hegel he had completely done, or so he thought. Ten years before he had written to Vischer: "I still hold the Hegelian system, but it is like a loose tooth in my mouth, on which I have no more the heart to bite than you have." It was now materialism to which he did homage, and yet to which his inmost being was peculiarly in opposition. I refer here to materialism as a philosophy, as a general scheme of the universe, which is quite independent of the so-called natural-scientific method and the acceptance of its results—the materialism which celebrated its triumph in Ludwig Büchner's *Kraft und Stoff*, and of which Ernst Haeckel's monistic philosophy is only a feeble reflection.

The book *Der Alte und der Neue Glaube* found a tremendous sale in the flood-tide of that materialism which coincided with the so-called "Gründerperiode" (period of new enterprises) in Germany. Many thousands at that time eagerly devoured it, and I can very well remember how in my school days my comrades of the first and second year would come to loggerheads over it. It still haunts the brains of many cultured and innumerable half-cultured people. It has become the gospel of all those who believe that they have found faith in dogma and its products to be creations of human fancy and the offspring of human narrowness, and think that they have done with Christ and his religion. We need not quarrel over it if anyone imagines that he can get salvation through the gospel of the new faith. It is ultimately a question of our scheme of the world, in regard to which each mature thinker must form his own judgment. In any case the adherent of the materialistic view is not thereby a worse man than the follower of any other system. Nevertheless I do not think I shall meet with contradiction in maintaining that the adherents of the new faith are in general found less among those who with deep earnestness and ardent diligence



work out the questions, "Are we still Christians?" "Have we still a religion?" than among those who light-heartedly and superficially boast of having solved them.

I know not if Strauss, were he alive today in full mental vigor, would write as he did in his *Bekenntniss*. He who knows Strauss' past cannot be blind to the symptoms of a soured spirit which crop out in his last book. Especially in the first, and, in regard to the theological questions, the weightiest, part of the book, suppressed anger is manifest against those whose decree first arrested his activity, and on whom he had taken vengeance in his *The Old and the New Faith*. But we—that is, those laymen and theologians who think and feel with the author of this article—must ask: If we indorse Strauss' supposition that the forms in which the church has molded for us the beliefs of our fathers are no longer binding upon us, and are not even altogether intelligible to us, must we therefore fall into the error of his conclusion?<sup>14</sup>

There is but one Christianity, as there is but one truth and one God, but the truth does not appear to all in similar vesture. How can we wish, in the case of the pious cottager who listens devoutly to the word of God, who is poor in spirit and an heir of the kingdom of heaven according to the promise, that she should survey the heights and depths of history, that she, like us, should be continually reconsidering her views? But let us take the other side: in the case of one who honestly strives to lay a broad foundation for a comprehensive view of the world, which is certainly not that of the cottager, and who walks his own way believing in God and Christ, shall it be forbidden him to speak in his own way of the mysteries of the faith? Because not all are in a position to enjoy solid food, must adults become infants again? We would not speak in defense of a false "gnosticism," in so far as that opprobrious term is used to denote a derogatory estimate of the true "gnosis." We are not of the opinion that full salvation is intended only for the *πνευματικοί*, the spiritual men, and is withheld from the less

<sup>14</sup> Cf. with what follows the author's views in his little work, *Was heisst und zu welchem Ende studirt man Dogmengeschichte?* Freiburg i. B. und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, 1895.

endowed. We are, therefore, gnostics in the good sense of that word, that is, we endeavor by the aid of the Spirit which is of God to understand the things which are given of God (1 Cor. 3:12), and, so far as we possess this Spirit, we also shall penetrate into the deep things of God. Everyone will do so according to the measure that is given him and, at all events, not according to the deliverances of an authoritatively compulsive church-teaching. The mere fact that a man named Jesus arose in Judea and there lived, taught, and died, is of no advantage to faith, any more than that he is risen and gone to heaven: it must become a matter of inner experience. For that saying of religious mysticism which has been beautifully expressed by our German poet, Angelus Silesius, remains ever true:

Wär' Christus tausendmal in Bethlehem geboren,  
Und nicht in dir, du wärst doch ewiglich verloren.<sup>15</sup>

In my judgment there has never been a thoughtful Christian, much less a theologian of lasting significance, who has not approached the historical Jesus with his own individual form of spiritual need and believing apprehension. The "Jesus of history" and the "Christ of faith" have never been identical. Even Paul and John formed each his own mental conception of Christ, and down to our own day it has not been otherwise.

## V.

The great outward success of Strauss' book was in no small measure due to the brilliant form in which his polemic ideas were couched. Few philosophical or theological books could be named in which the most difficult problems have been discussed with such ease. This had, no doubt, its drawback, since serious questions cannot be settled in an off-hand way. Strauss himself was aware of this. He wrote to Zeller:

In order not to fall again into the mistake of learned dulness, on which my new *Leben Jesu* [he means the popular edition of 1864] was wrecked, I wanted this time to work quite freely with compass and square; and now it is very doubtful if the work has not rather lost in order and completeness than gained in vivacity. Certainly under all circumstances so widely extended a

<sup>15</sup> "Though Christ a thousand times were born in Bethlehem,  
But not in thee, thou wert forever lost."

line of battle could not at the same time be of great depth. Weak points there must be, and this defect in the parts can only be counteracted at the risk of the whole.

These words supply a clear confirmation of the criticism we have applied to the book. But it would be wrong hence to draw the conclusion that it is of slight material; on the contrary, Strauss could justly say of it:

Flüchtig scheint es hingesprochen,  
Flüchtig ist es nicht gemacht:  
Ausgeführt in so viel Wochen  
Als in Jahren durchgedacht.

Perhaps his occupation with Voltaire during the preceding year had some influence in brightening the style of the book, just as his acquaintance with the genial but frivolous Frenchman did not leave the earnest and, with all his versatility of form, the still serious German unaffected as to his view of the world. Certainly between Voltaire and Strauss there remained a great gulf fixed. In spite of his radicalism in philosophy and theology, Strauss always retained conservative and aristocratic sentiments in questions of public life and æsthetics. We have already seen that his political attitude cost him an adverse vote on the part of his Ludwigsburg constituents in the year 1848; and throughout life he hated nothing more than the "tyranny of the phrase, the hazy instincts and the senseless passions of the masses." Like Berengarius of Tours, he despised all *qui maluerunt errare cum pluribus quam verius sentire cum paucis*. Whoever wishes to convince himself how little this man was disposed to speak in defense of the novelties of the hour, let him read the splendid appendices to *The Old and the New Faith*. Here he has treated of our great poets and musicians in a way which might be called classical, for it would be difficult to find elsewhere so much that is good and excellent said in so few words on the subject of Lessing, Goethe, Schiller, Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven, and of other German heroes in poetry and music. But the more stormy music was scarcely in his line. Father Haydn and Mozart were Strauss' musical ideals. "Mozart and music are synonymous in a way in which we have no other quite corresponding example in the domain of music nor of any other art."

He composed a beautiful sonnet on Beethoven's "Symphony in A-major;" but he would have nothing to do with the "Pastoral Symphony," and least of all with the "Ninth". One cannot wonder, therefore, that he had no appreciation of Richard Wagner's art and "seized every opportunity of emphatically expressing aversion to him alike as a man and a musician" (letter to Rapp of March 17, 1869). Here, however, we find his limitations as a critic, and hence we have a view of the partial character of much of his theological and philosophical criticism.

But the final key to those inconsistencies of his personality to which we pointed at the outset will be found in the view that he was predominantly a man of feeling, to whom the gift of dialectic thought, which, as a true Schwabian, he possessed in a high degree, was given for a thorn in the flesh. Whoever reads his letters, especially the later ones, whoever has been touched by the notes of his poetry, especially the poem written on his death-bed, knows that this man, with the intellect of a heathen, possessed the heart of a Christian, and that his sentiments were more pious than those of many who upbraided him as a heretic and an unbeliever.

The poetry of Strauss reveals a man of deep and earnest thought and feeling; and certainly the life-work, wrought from motives ever earnest and pure, by one who so thought and felt, was not wrought in vain. His *Leben Jesu*, regarded from a scientific point of view, can be fitly described as an act of emancipation, and the year 1835 marks an epoch for historico-theological science. His saying, "The true criticism of dogma is its history," has not only become a winged word, but it is also permanently a true word. Theological science has reason enough to keep this saying constantly in view at the close of this nineteenth century, in which it has certainly made much progress, but also much retrogression. Without Strauss we should not stand where we do. That he himself was aware of this I have already said, and I cannot close without recalling the verses in which he has boldly and admirably expressed that conviction:

## AUSGLEICHUNG.

Wenn Du um eine Geistesthat  
 So von der Mitwelt wirst geschmäht,  
 Dass selbst der Freund, der Kamerad  
 Dir schauernd aus dem Wege geht :  
 Dann hoch des Haupt und hoch den Sinn !  
 Dann lache der gelehrten Herrn !  
 Denn über alle hoch dahin  
 Geht leuchtend Deines Geistes Stern !  
 Doch wenn sich's wendet, wenn's nun heisst :  
 Man that dem Mann zu viel der Schmach !  
 Dann eingezogen ! Es beweist :  
 Nun kommen Dir auch Andre nach !  
 Und wenn man endlich Ruh' Dir gönnt  
 Und noch ein Stückchen Ruhm dazu :  
 Dann, Alter, hat's mit Dir ein End' ;  
 Dann ist die Welt so klug wie Du.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Reproduced by the translator of this article in the following words :

## REPARATION.

When for a message new and bold  
 By thy coevals thou art scorned,  
 And even thy friend and comrade old  
 Has horror-stricken from thee turned ;  
 Then march with head and mind erect,  
 Flout the decrees of learned divines ;  
 For on the world all cloud-bedecked  
 Thy spirit's star benignant shines.  
 But when the tide has turned, you'll hear  
 Them say, This man too much we wrong :  
 Then keep the background, for 'tis clear  
 That crowds will soon thy footsteps throng.  
 And when at length they give thee peace,  
 And e'en a little fame thereto,  
 Then, graybeard, comes thy long release,  
 And now the world is wise as thou.

## STAPPER ON THE RESURRECTION OF JESUS CHRIST.

By ALVAH HOVEY,  
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DR. EDMOND STAPPER is a professor in the faculty of Protestant theology of the university of Paris. He is the author of three volumes on the person, authority, and work of Jesus Christ, entitled respectively, *Jesus Christ before His Ministry*, *Jesus Christ during His Ministry*, and *The Death and Resurrection of Jesus Christ*.<sup>1</sup> This paper will reproduce and criticise some of his statements concerning the resurrection of Jesus Christ.

His introduction to the subject in question reads thus:

Up to this point, except in minor details, we have made no critical studies. We have almost exclusively confined ourselves to setting forth historic certainties. Side by side with this narrative of events we have had an *essentia. purpose, to learn what was going on in the soul of Jesus, what was the order of his thoughts before and during his ministry*.<sup>2</sup> This work is completed in the very imperfect degree in which it may be done. At present a study of an entirely different order is imposed upon us; a minute study which the reader may consider as an appendix to our work, but a necessary appendix, since we have to treat of questions such as this: What took place during the days that followed the burial of Jesus, and what are we to understand by what is called his resurrection? (Pp. 186, 187.)

Dr. Stapper then reminds his readers that

the question is purely historical, it relates simply to a fact of the past, nothing more and nothing less, and it is to be established, if at all, according to the ordinary methods of historic criticism, as our age has brought them to light and made them potent; . . . It is the more necessary to say this, because in no case has *a priori* been given freer course than in this question of the resurrection of Jesus.

He refers to the many as saying: "This must have happened;" "It is altogether impossible that it did not take place;" and remarks:

It is truly strange that men continually assume to know what must have taken place instead of seeking for what actually did take place; and that they always conclude that facts must have been thus and so, instead of simply discovering what they were.

<sup>1</sup> Translated by Louise Seymour Houghton and published by Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1896, 1897, 1898. \$1.25 a volume.

<sup>2</sup> Italicized by the writer of this article.

This language has a familiar sound, and there must be many who deserve the reproof which it administers. Happy the critic who does not! But the practice thus condemned is more or less rational and necessary in order to any comprehension of events in the past. Many events are accepted as truly historical upon weak testimony, provided they are natural consequences of what preceded and natural antecedents of what followed. Circumstantial evidence is mostly of this kind, and everyone knows that it is often strong enough to compel belief. Indeed, it would be easy to show that Stapfer in divining the thoughts of Jesus at different crises of his life has done with a free hand what is here so strongly condemned.

It will assist us in understanding Dr. Stapfer's critical study of the evidence for the resurrection of Christ to know beforehand the conclusion which he reaches, namely, that all the manifestations of himself by Jesus to his disciples after his crucifixion were in reality spiritual apparitions, having no bodily substance behind them, and serving in no way to account for the disappearance of his dead body from the sepulcher. Yet Stapfer freely admits the absence of Christ's body from the sepulcher on the first day of the week :

There is not the slightest doubt that the tomb was empty on the morning of the third day after Jesus' death. What had happened? To this question the four gospel narratives are unanimous in replying that Jesus had returned to life, and that, having arisen from the dead, he appeared to a certain number of persons on the third day and the days following; but all four differ, and are even contradictory, as to the details.

These differences and contradictions are all accounted for by the following hypothesis :

The gospels are the echoes of two entirely distinct traditions. . . . According to one, the appearances of Jesus were all in Galilee; . . . according to the other, they took place in Jerusalem and its neighborhood. The Galilean tradition is reproduced in its oldest form in the gospels of Mark and Matthew. The last stage of its development known to us is set forth in the apocryphal gospel of Peter, discovered a few years ago.

Dr. Stapfer begins his account of the Galilean tradition by quoting at length the following passage from the apocryphal gospel of Peter :

In the night between Saturday and Sunday the soldiers who were guarding the tomb heard a great noise from heaven. They raised their eyes; the heavens were opened, and two shining angels descended from heaven and came to the sepulcher. The stone which served as a door rolled away of itself. The two angels entered the tomb, and the soldiers made haste to

awaken the captain and the elders of the Jews who were with them watching the tomb, but who had fallen asleep. While they were telling them what they had seen, behold, three men came forth from the tomb—that is, Christ supported by the two angels; the cross on which he had suffered followed them. The angels were so tall that their heads touched the sky. Jesus was taller still, and his head passed through the sky. A voice was heard from heaven, saying: “Hast thou preached to them who are asleep?” And a reply came from the cross, saying: “Yes.” The whole company ran to report the fact to Pilate. Meanwhile, at daybreak, Mary Magdalene came to the tomb, with several other women, to embalm the body. The angel had said to them, “He is risen and gone thither whence he was sent,” that is, to heaven.

Stapfer calls attention to the circumstance that this narrative puts the ascension immediately after the resurrection, no disciple having seen the Lord, though he conjectures (why I cannot see) that the lost conclusion of this apocryphal gospel of Peter related an appearance of Jesus on the shore of the Sea of Galilee. Possibly he felt that such an account was necessary in order to connect this story with what he calls the “Galilean tradition.” At all events, he expresses this opinion in a minute and critical study of evidence, without suggesting any ground for it. But how can one persuade himself to associate such a fantastic myth with the narratives of Mark and Matthew? And, especially, a scholar who does not refer in a single sentence to the last twelve verses of our present gospel of Mark?—though he does refer to “the lost ending of Mark,” which he thinks could not have contained any account of an appearance of Jesus to his disciples in Jerusalem.

He epitomizes the narrative of Mark in these sentences:

Mary Magdalene, Mary the mother of James, and Salome went into the tomb, and saw there an angel, who announced to them the resurrection of Jesus and bade them inform Peter and the other apostles, telling them also that the risen Jesus would go before them into Galilee, where they should see him, as he had said.

This distinct announcement of an appearance of Jesus to his disciples in Galilee is probably the unnoticed ground of Stapfer's conclusion that the lost ending of Mark's gospel could not have mentioned any appearance of Christ to his friends in Jerusalem. But it is surely possible that Jesus may have made provision for a meeting in Galilee of such a nature as would necessitate some delay in notifying and bringing together his scattered and disheartened followers, although he intended meanwhile to make himself known to the Eleven and a few others in Jerusalem. The latter may have been almost necessary in order to bring about in a natural way the former.



Professor Stapfer next summarizes the narrative of Matthew :

Two women only [inserting without reason the word *only*], Mary Magdalene and the other Mary, came to see the sepulcher. An angel rolled the stone from the door of the sepulcher, sat upon it, and said to them : " Jesus is risen ; he goes before his disciples into Galilee, where they shall see him." And the women, far from saying nothing, as Mark affirms, ran to carry the news to his disciples. But on their way Jesus met them, and told them again that it was in Galilee they should see him. The Eleven therefore repaired to Galilee, unto the mountain where Jesus had appointed them (though there had not before been any allusion to a mountain).

By this last clause Stapfer flatly contradicts the statement of the first gospel ; for that gospel says, *εἰς τὸ ὄρος οὗ ἐτάξατο ὁ Ἰησοῦς*—" to the mountain where Jesus had appointed them"—while the critic affirms that " there had not before been any allusion to a mountain." Observe also that he passes over in silence the record of Matthew that the women held Jesus by the feet when he met them, *ἐκράτησαν αὐτοῦ τοὺς πόδας καὶ προσκύνησαν αὐτῷ*. Dr. Stapfer's summary closes by saying : " Jesus appeared to them [the disciples], and—a curious detail—some disciples doubted. . . . There Jesus addresses them, delivering to them the great commission ; and with this the gospel ends, saying nothing about the ascension."

Dr. Stapfer takes occasion at this point to rebuke conservative students who do not admit contradictions between these two narratives. But what are the contradictions which he himself notices ? The *first* pertains to the *number* of women who came early to the sepulcher. Mark names three, and Matthew two. But neither of them says that his list embraces the names of all who came. And surely the greater number may include the less, while the less does not exclude the greater. The assumption that either of the narratives gives the names of all who were there is simply gratuitous.—The *second* alleged contradiction relates to the *silence* of the women as to what they had seen and heard at the sepulcher. According to Mark, they said nothing to anyone as they fled from the sepulcher, because they were afraid ; but, according to Matthew, they departed quickly from the sepulcher with fear and great joy, and ran to tell his disciples. If we suppose that they were too excited and amazed to speak of what had occurred to anyone until they had found the disciples, full justice, and no more than justice, will be done to both the narratives. It is absurd to suppose that Mark intended to affirm that they *never* told anyone of what they had seen, and it is fair to say that Matthew implies an excitement and haste in their going to the disciples which would have been inconsistent with

their telling on the way what they had seen.—The *third* contradiction, if there be a third, in the mind of Stapfer, must relate to *the place* of rendezvous in Galilee. Mark speaks of that place as Galilee, that is, somewhere in Galilee, but Matthew speaks of it as at, or in, a certain appointed mountain of Galilee. Matthew is more definite in his specification of the place where the meeting was to be than Mark; but we are unable to discover any contradiction between the two.

Let us hear Stapfer again :

According to these narratives of the Galilean tradition, the risen Jesus, notwithstanding the interview mentioned in Matt. 28 : 9, appeared only in Galilee. More than this, it was not on the third day that he showed himself to his disciples; it was at least a week after the crucifixion that Peter and the other apostles saw Jesus.

To which I reply : According to these narratives of the Galilean tradition, Jesus appeared to his disciples, women included, once in Jerusalem and once in Galilee, twice and only twice—unless we accept the conjecture of our critic that the lost conclusion of the apocryphal gospel of Peter mentions some other appearance of Jesus to his disciples in Galilee. The hypothesis of a Galilean tradition in distinction from a Jerusalem tradition is therefore worthless.

Passing now to Dr. Stapfer's statement of the Jerusalem tradition, which he finds in Luke, it is substantially this :

Several women (of whom Mary of Magdala, Joanna, and Mary the mother of James are named) come to the tomb very early in the morning and find it empty. Two angels tell them of the resurrection, but without informing them where they are to meet their risen Lord. Returning from the tomb, they repeat what they had seen and heard to the Eleven and the rest, but their testimony is not believed. The same day Jesus joins himself with two disciples who were going to Emmaus, a village more than seven miles from Jerusalem. But they do not at first recognize him, and he bears himself as if he did not know why they were sad. He also makes as if he would go beyond the village, yet at their urgent request goes in to sup with them. Then at the breaking of bread their eyes are opened to recognize him, and he at once becomes invisible (*ἀφαντος*). Upon this the two disciples return speedily to Jerusalem, find the Eleven, listen to their declaration that Jesus was risen and had appeared to Simon, and report to the company what they had seen on the way and at the breaking of bread. Presently Jesus appears among them, and the disciples believe him to be a spirit, but he shows them his hands and feet, and reminds them that a spirit has not flesh and bones, as they behold him having. He also asks: Have ye anything to eat? And they give him a piece of broiled fish, which he takes and eats before them.

Then he leads them to Bethany (all this apparently in the same evening of Sunday, the first day of the week) and disappears while in the act of blessing them.

Thus, according to Luke, as interpreted by Stapfer, there were no appearances in Galilee. All took place in Jerusalem, or its immediate neighborhood. Yet he admits that the writer of the Acts, whom he does not deny to be Luke, represents Jesus as appearing unto the apostles by the space of forty days before he was taken up. This fact, however, appears to have no influence on his interpretation of the particle *καὶ* which introduces the last paragraph of Luke's gospel. Yet it is not necessary to suppose that Luke meant to affirm by the word *καὶ* an immediate temporal connection between the narrative of Christ's appearing to the Eleven with others in Jerusalem, and the narrative of his leading them out as far as Bethany to witness his ascension. Says Dr. Plummer in the *International Critical Commentary*:

While he (Luke) does not state either here or in vs. 44 that there was any interval at all, still less does he say that there was none. But it is incredible that he can mean that, late at night (vss. 29, 33), Jesus led them out to Bethany and ascended in the dark. So remarkable a feature would hardly have escaped notice.

It may properly be added that, although Luke's narrative of Christ's interview with two disciples on their way to Emmaus, of his appearing to Simon Peter, of his eating a piece of broiled fish, and of his reference to his flesh and bones, offers us distinct additions to the facts related by Matthew and Mark—omitting the last twelve verses of Mark—it is in substantial agreement with theirs, in so far as the same events are recorded (*e. g.*, the presence of the women at the sepulcher and what followed). None of the differences are contradictions. They are such as might be expected in brief, independent accounts of remarkable events.

Stapfer avers that the fourth gospel combines the two traditions found in the synoptics, and epitomizes it in the following manner:

This gospel tells how Mary Magdalene went alone to the sepulcher on the morning of the third day and found it empty; how she ran to apprise Peter and the other disciples whom Jesus loved; how they ran to the tomb and ascertained that the body of Jesus was no longer there; how they went away and Mary remained alone, while two angels, and then Jesus himself, appeared to her, though forbidding her to touch him; how in the evening of the same day he appeared to the apostles, Thomas being absent; and how he appeared to them again a week later, inviting Thomas to touch his hands and his side. A supplementary chapter, added to the gospel at a later time, shows us Jesus

taking a meal with seven of his disciples on the shore of Galilee, putting to Peter three times the question, *Lovest thou me?* and renewing his commission to serve as an apostle.

Of this narrative in the fourth gospel Stapfer says very little; first, because he believes it to be a late and composite story, and, secondly, because he esteems its authorship post-apostolic. Yet in most respects it bears the impress of originality. The narrative is singularly graphic. The conduct of Peter and John, the interview of Jesus with Mary Magdalene, his appearances in a room whose doors were shut for fear of the Jews, the bearing and language of Thomas, and the scene on the shore of the Sea of Galilee, are illustrations of this. The style suggests a writer who had his knowledge at first hand, and not from traditional sources. And the fourth gospel is remarkable for limiting its story of Jesus' life, for the most part, to events which the writer had witnessed.

It is perhaps worthy of notice that Dr. Stapfer represents the fourth gospel as saying that Mary of Magdala went *alone* to the sepulcher, even as he represents Matthew as saying that two women *only* went early to the tomb. In this case, as well as in that, his language adds to the text. The narrative in John does not forbid us to believe that other women accompanied the Magdalen to the sepulcher. It is necessary to protest against such modern glosses being brought into an epitome of the original, especially when they increase the difficulty of reconciling the several accounts.

But there may be a third and deeper reason why Stapfer treats so briefly the post-resurrection story of the fourth gospel. It strongly supports the view that the risen Christ had, in some proper and real sense, the same body which was laid in Joseph's tomb, though, of course, wondrously changed. This Stapfer does not believe to be true, and therefore, it may be presumed, treats very briefly the records which either affirm or imply it. Observe his words concerning the two traditions which he supposed to be mingled in the fourth gospel: "According to the Galilean tradition, the risen One had but a fugitive life, and made only brief appearances" (two in all, one to the women and one to the Eleven). "According to the Jerusalem tradition, on the contrary, the life of the risen One was the continuance, pure and simple, of his earthly life." (!!) But, as if startled by this extravagant statement, he proceeds at once to qualify it thus:

No doubt there are two points of difference. Jesus was not constantly present and was not always recognizable. He could be instantly transported

from place to place; he appeared and disappeared; but he had the very body which had been put into the tomb. . . . This body, this physical organism, had become alive again; it ate and drank and walked. The risen Jesus had interviews with his apostles just as before. The Jerusalem form of the tradition became ever more affirmative as to the materialization of the body of Jesus. When the apostles saw Jesus the first time they thought they saw a spirit (Luke 24:27). But Jesus spoke to them; he replied in advance to their objections, and finally he ate before them. This continuation of the Master's life with his friends lasted precisely forty days. Then the material body of Jesus was detached from earth and rose toward heaven, the abode of God, who is overhead in the blue sky, above the clouds.

Little comment is here necessary. Yet the writer emphasizes unduly the sameness of Christ's risen body with that which was laid in Joseph's sepulcher. Christ evidently treated it as somewhat changed. Luke's narrative does not give the impression that it was in all respects what it was before the resurrection. Again, why is the precise period of forty days noted by Stapfer, as if it needed explanation? Or why does he call attention to the circumstance that heaven is conceived of as overhead in the blue sky, above the clouds? There is no mention of forty days or of the cloud which received him out of their sight in the gospel according to Luke. And if the testimony of Luke in the Acts is to be employed, much more is to be considered than these two statements. This will be evident, if we study another remark of Stapfer's:

Not one of the four evangelists says: "I have seen the risen One; he appeared unto me." On the contrary, all four bring only indirect testimony—the statement of others, not their own experience. And so far as St. John is concerned, if he is the author of the fourth gospel, this is most extraordinary. He, like the others, knows of the resurrection of Jesus only by hearsay, and gives us only the testimony of others, especially of Mary Magdalene. It is true that he relates the appearances to the Eleven, and, being one of the Eleven, he was present. But why does he not say: "I was there"?

This is an astonishing passage. Matthew was an apostle, and he asserts, as if to meet this criticism, that "the eleven disciples went away into Galilee, unto the mountain where Jesus had appointed them. And seeing him they worshiped him; but some doubted." If Matthew was the writer of the first gospel, he virtually affirms that Jesus appeared unto himself, with others. He does not report mere "hearsays." To have distinguished himself from the rest by saying, "I was there," would have been inconsistent with the modest brevity of the gospel.

Again, it is highly probable that the gospel according to Mark is a faithful report of the apostle Peter's preaching; and, if the last twelve verses of this gospel were clearly genuine, I should appeal to the fourteenth verse as Peter's testimony that Jesus "was manifested to the eleven as they reclined at table." But as this cannot be done, I may safely appeal to his own words, as reported by Luke in the Acts (2:32): "This Jesus has God raised up, of which we are all witnesses," the "we all" meaning the apostles. Add to this another declaration: "The God of our fathers raised up Jesus, whom ye slew, hanging him on a tree. Him did God exalt as a Prince and a Savior, to give repentance to Israel and remission of sins. And we are witnesses of these things" (5:30, 31). This seems to be unambiguous language, especially when we place it beside Peter's words in Acts 1:21, 22: "It is necessary, therefore, that of the men who accompanied us all the time that the Lord Jesus went in and out among us, beginning from the baptism of John, unto the day when he was received up from us—of these one should become a witness with us of his resurrection." "*A witness with us of his resurrection!*" We must, therefore, impeach the credibility of Luke as a historian, or admit that Peter was wont to class himself publicly with the witnesses of Christ's resurrection. But Stapfer appears to have overlooked the testimony of these passages in his critical study of the evidence for the resurrection of Jesus.

Again, he thinks it *most extraordinary* that John omits to say in so many words: "Jesus appeared to me." But there was no occasion for John to mention himself personally, since he gives two instances in which Christ appeared to his disciples "when the doors were shut"—once when Thomas was absent, and a second time when he was present with the rest. If Jesus had appeared to John—as he did to Peter, to James, to Mary Magdalene, and to Paul—when no other disciples were present, he might perhaps have been expected to mention the fact, but, even then, his failure to do this could not have been justly pronounced "most extraordinary." It would have been in harmony with his modest bearing in connection with Peter, as suggested by the first part of the Acts.

Dr. Stapfer speaks with greater respect of Paul's testimony:

Here there is a witness who fulfils the conditions generally required of a witness: his attestation is contained in an undisputed letter; and not only does he affirm the resurrection like the others, but he writes in so many words: "He appeared to me also" (*ὡφθην καὶ μοι*). Such testimony as this is very different from all that we have hitherto collected. All the others . . . are, without exception, merely hearsays. . . . We have only the words of Paul. . . .

St. Paul's conviction was wholly based upon the perfectly clear recollection which he cherished of all that took place upon the road to Damascus.

Does the apostle anywhere affirm this? We think not. The appearance of Jesus to him may have been no more than the last straw which broke the camel's back of his unbelief. If his conviction of the resurrection of Christ was "wholly based" on his recollection of that appearance, why in the world does he not say so, instead of asserting with just as much positiveness his appearance to Cephas, to the Twelve, to above five hundred brethren at once, to James, and again to all the apostles, before saying, "last of all, as if to one born out of due time, to me also he appeared" (1 Cor. 15:5-8)? He must have regarded the testimony of the others as worth no less, one by one, than his own.

Stapfer also assures us, absolutely, that "Paul saw no differences between the appearances of Jesus to the Twelve and the one with which he had been favored. He treats them all as precisely the same." This, however, seems to be an overstatement of the case. Certainly he regarded them all as equally real and objective appearances, proving the resurrection of Christ. But there is no reason to suppose that he imagined them all alike, as, *e. g.*, that a light above the brightness of the sun attended them all.

But Stapfer takes a more dangerous position, maintaining that Paul did not see Jesus himself when the latter appeared to him on his way to Damascus. In support of this denial he alleges, *first*, that "in none of the narratives of Paul's conversion given in the Acts is it said that he saw Jesus; he was dazzled, he was blinded, he heard a voice, but he neither saw nor touched the Being who appeared to him." This likewise appears to be an exaggeration of the lack of evidence against his own view. The accounts of Paul's conversion in the Acts may not prove beyond the possibility of doubt that Paul saw the very person of Jesus; much less do they prove that he did not see him as a person. The words of Acts 9:7, that "the men who journeyed with him were standing speechless, hearing the voice, but beholding no one," seem to imply that Saul both heard and saw Jesus. So likewise do the words of Ananias, as repeated by Paul in Acts 22:14, 15, 16: "The God of our fathers has appointed thee to know his will, and to *see the Righteous One*, and to hear a voice out of his mouth. For thou shalt be a witness for him to all men, of what thou hast seen and heard." This language is a part of Luke's report of Paul's account of his conversion, addressed to the people from the stairs of the castle in Jerusalem, and it represents him as *having seen the Righteous One*.

It may, indeed, be thought that Luke or Paul had forgotten the *verba ipsissima* of Ananias. But no one knows this to have been the case. Certainly Paul would not have been likely to make Ananias testify of his having seen the Righteous One, unless he himself remembered seeing him. The chance of error is therefore limited to Luke's report of Paul's speech. But we are not restricted to the Acts for evidence as to the point in question. In his first epistle to the Corinthians (9:1) Paul asks: "Am I not free? Am I not an apostle? Have I not seen the Lord?"—questions the last of which is accounted for by the fact that to have seen the risen Lord was deemed essential to the work or authority of an apostle. This has been previously shown by reciting the words of Peter at the choice of Matthias to fill the place vacated by the death of Judas (see also John 15:27).

In support of his contention that Paul did not see Jesus as an external person, Stapfer appeals, *secondly*, to the language of Gal. 1:16, interpreting "appeared to me" by "revealed his Son in me." The passage in Galatians beginning with vs. 15 may be literally rendered: "But when he, who set me apart from my mother's womb, and called me through his grace, was pleased to reveal his Son in me, that I should make known the glad news of him among the Gentiles, straightway I did not confer with flesh and blood," etc. Is Stapfer right in assuming or asserting that Paul meant the same by God's "revealing his Son in me," and by Christ's "appearing to me" (*καὶ μοι ὤφθη*), or, my "having seen Christ"? We think not. Later on in the epistle to the Galatians he writes thus: "I have been crucified with Christ, and I live no longer myself, but Christ lives in me; and the life which I now live in the flesh I live in the faith of the Son of God, who loved me and gave himself up for me" (2:20). This indwelling and revelation of Christ in the soul of Paul began no doubt with his conversion on the way to Damascus, but it was continued through all his ministry. The objective manifestation to sight and hearing was momentary, though indubitable to him, but the subjective and gracious presence of Christ by his spirit was permanent, illuminating, inspiring, the supreme qualification for the most important part of his work, preaching a full gospel to the Gentiles. It was more than the passing vision which was given him near Damascus, and in one passage Stapfer uses language that approaches what I think to be the full sense of the words, "revealed his Son in me." "In the apostle's experience, to the exterior vision which dazzled his sight there was a corresponding inner revelation of which his soul was the theater." But he fails to say that the latter was continuous, while the former was not.



This brings us to the result which is reached by our author as to the nature of Christ's resurrection. Observe what he writes:

He arose on the third day, [but] it was not the flesh that formerly lived that returned to life; it was a spiritual and celestial body, *coming forth from the material and earthly body* which died on the cross.

Hence the earthly body was not removed from the tomb by the resurrection. What became of it no one but God can tell. The possibilities of its removal are made the most of by Dr. Stapfer, but they do not amount to probabilities. He relies, however, upon Paul, and especially upon his discussion of the subject in 1 Cor., chap. 15, for the support of his hypothesis. And he gives such an interpretation to several expressions in this chapter as makes them favorable to that hypothesis. The most important expressions are these: (1) "Flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God;" (2) "It is sown a psychical body, it is raised a spiritual body;" and (3) the use of *σῶμα* as the regular and almost technical term for Christ's manifestation of himself to his disciples and to Paul.

1. Meaning of the expression: "Flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God." "The kingdom of God" here signifies his heavenly kingdom, and the context shows plainly enough that the apostle refers by the words "flesh and blood" to animal bodies which are adapted to our present earthly state, which are corruptible, and which therefore are unfit for the heavenly life. Such a psychical organism as we now have, notoriously weak and perishable, cannot partake of celestial glory. But this surely need not be understood as equivalent to a denial of anything material in our resurrection bodies. How little do we know concerning the possibilities of bodily organization!

2. Meaning of the expression: "It is sown a psychical body, it is raised a spiritual body." On this statement Dr. Stapfer relies with the greatest confidence, averring that "in Paul's mind the body of the risen Christ was made of the substance of the *πνεῦμα*." But how can he be certain of this? Neither the meaning of the adjective, nor the meaning of the noun, nor the meaning of the antithetic adjective *ψυχικόν*, renders this interpretation unquestionable. If Paul intends to teach that the body of every risen saint will be made of the same substance as his *πνεῦμα*, he must also intend to teach that the present body of every Christian is made of the same substance as his *ψυχή*, or soul—a doctrine not easily adjusted to his use of *σῶμα* and *ψυχή* elsewhere. The adjectives seem to refer rather to the functions than to the substance of the two kinds of body. Professor Gould translates the next

verse: "If there is a psychical body, there is also a spiritual," and interprets it thus: "The apostle says: If there is a body for the soul, or lower part, there must be one for the spirit, or higher part. . . . It is assumed here, as in the discussions of the resurrection, that the body is necessary to the completeness of man, the human spirit being adapted to a bodily organism, and incomplete without it." According to Dr. Thayer's *Lexicon of the Greek New Testament*, the word *ψυχή* often signifies *life*, especially life in its present or earthly form. It is, therefore, natural to suppose that Paul uses the adjective *ψυχικόν* with *σῶμα* in this place to denote a body subservient to the present life of man, while he uses the word *πνευματικόν* with *σῶμα* to denote a body subservient in a higher degree to the future and endless life of man. This interpretation is recommended by the fact that it leaves to the word *σῶμα* an intelligible sense in both clauses of the verse, especially the second, and also that it leaves men in their eternal state still related to the seen as well as to the unseen universe. For this seems to me a great advantage. I should not like to lose forever the sight and sense of material objects. But Stapfer insists that it "does not suffice to say: the natural body [of Christ] was transformed into a spiritual body; for this has no meaning. Everything is changed, as we well know, but nothing is lost, and matter can only be transformed into matter." Very well; we do not hold that matter is ever changed into spirit, or spirit into a body, but only that matter can be made a more supple and perfect organ of spirit than it now is, that it may be made to move with the swiftness of light and the power of electricity at the indwelling spirit's behest, and that it may be molded into forms of beauty expressive of moral goodness and grace beyond anything we see on earth. Let such a body be incorruptible, and it would go far to fulfil the language of Paul in respect to it.

Yet when we recur to the gospel narratives of the risen Christ, a difficulty emerges into view. If Jesus partook of food, as Luke affirms, must he not have been provided with organs of digestion in his risen body? And must not that body have been crescent and perhaps corruptible? The force of this objection is great, but I am not sure that we know enough of the possibilities of physical organization to say that it is irresistible. There is no evidence, except this one instance of eating, that Jesus *needed* food for the support of life and vigor during the forty days between his resurrection and ascension. His motive for taking it on this occasion appears to have been to convince his disciples that he was not a mere spirit, but their risen

Lord. Was this disingenuous, if he needed no food, and partook of it for a moral reason only? Did he partake of the broiled fish to show them that his body was *wholly* unchanged, so that it *required* food as of old, or only that it was so far a real body that he could partake of food? Something must depend on the effect of his other appearances on their minds. If they were of such a nature as to impress them with the fact that his risen body held very different relations to his spirit and way of living from those which his earlier body held, the effect of his various appearances might have been truthful. The resultant lesson respecting his resurrection body might have been as true to the reality as anything could have been. I do not know that an incorruptible body may not increase by the appropriation and transformation of material substances, without rejecting any part of what is appropriated. And it seems to me dangerous to deny the truth of Luke's record in this case because we are unable to explain the event in a scientific manner.

3. Stapfer defends his view of Christ's appearances as purely spiritual by claiming that the only word used to denote the resurrection is *ᾤφθη*. It ought to be so, if his theory were correct, for Jesus as a spiritual being existed in the same way from the hour of his crucifixion and simply appeared to some of his disciples now and then. But, as a matter of fact, it is never used to express the idea of resurrection. It simply affirms that the already risen One manifested himself to the sight of his friends. The same act is described in the gospel of John by the words *ἐφάνησεν ἑαυτόν*. The words used to denote the act or fact of resurrection are, of course, *ἀνίστημι* or *ἐγείρω*, *ἀνάστασις* and *ἐγερσις*.

Permit me to recall at this point a somewhat characteristic word of Stapfer:

It is hard to believe how many petty manipulations, forced texts, one-sided explanations, we find among the conservatives; arguments of which in the secret of their souls they cannot but feel the weakness and nothingness, and which, taken all in all, are miserable failures.

"O wad some power the giftie gie us  
To see ourselves as others see us;  
It would from money a blunder free us  
And foolish notion."

For I know of no belated conservative who has given to the public, these many years past, a more one-sided and incomplete examination of evidence than that which our author has presented to us in the

last part of his work on Jesus Christ. He seems to have reached a settled prejudgment against any evidence which tends to show that Christ's actual body was raised and at the same time changed. Hence it counts for nothing with him that Paul speaks of a "redemption of the body" as certain to be effected, and, classing himself with living Christians, says: "We shall not all sleep (or die), but we shall all be changed in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trump; for the trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall be raised incorruptible, and we shall be changed" (1 Cor. 15 : 51, 52; cf. Rom. 8 : 23); where evidently the change expected relates to the present corruptible body which is to be made incorruptible, the present body being ancillary to human life here, and the future body ancillary to human life in the world to come.

Having criticised freely Dr. Stapfer's discussion of the evidence concerning the reality and the nature of Christ's resurrection, it will be no more than just to say that the literary qualities of his work are of a high order, reminding one often of Renan's *Life of Jesus*. Such a style seems to be easy and breezy, though it may have cost patient labor to acquire it. A reader is likely to be charmed with it, even when he doubts whether it is suited to close argumentation. Again, Dr. Stapfer holds very firmly that Jesus actually appeared to some of his disciples after his crucifixion. These appearances were not mental illusions or hallucinations. He does not express any opinion as to the frequency or long continuance of such spiritual apparitions, but concedes the reality of them, and regards them as valid evidence of the Savior's life after death. At this point he differs radically from Renan. Still further, our critic gives evidence of being an earnest Christian. He recognizes the lordship of Jesus Christ, and expresses the deepest interest in his kingdom and confidence in its triumphant progress. In all this we rejoice, but in spite of it we must seriously criticise his interpretation of New Testament evidence as to the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead.

Professor Stapfer declares, as has been quoted, that "in no case has *a priori* been given freer course than in this question of the resurrection of Jesus." Presumably he has in mind the treatment of it by conservative scholars. It may be well, then, to test the value of his assertion by giving a brief résumé of the biblical evidence of Christ's resurrection from a conservative point of view. And we shall begin with the words of Paul, not because the result will depend upon the order of inquiry, but because his words are accepted by Stapfer as the earliest written testimony.

From the apostle's language in 1 Cor. 15:3-8 we learn that he believed, and was accustomed to teach, that Christ died for our sins, that he was buried, that he was raised on the third day, that he appeared to Cephas, then to the Twelve, then to above five hundred at once, then to James, then to all the apostles, and last of all to Paul himself. This record calls for two explanatory remarks. (1) It does not limit the appearances of Jesus Christ to the six instances here named. Paul does not say that the risen Christ appeared *first* to Cephas; he may have appeared to Mary of Magdala and to the other women before showing himself to Cephas. Nor does the connective *then* (*ἔπειτα*), which he uses in adding one appearance to another, prove that manifestations of himself other than those specified were not made between his appearance to Peter and his appearance, last of all, to Paul. (2) The language of Paul does not prove that his knowledge of the death, burial, and resurrection of Christ was derived from a single source. It was a knowledge as to certain facts of vital importance to Christians which he had *received* and had *delivered* to the believers in Corinth. His language implies that the testimony of witnesses, or the events affirmed by them, had been compared by him with the Scriptures, and had been confirmed by what he saw and heard on the way to Damascus. Moreover, it is probable that the Spirit of Christ had given him inward assurance of the Lord's resurrection, as a fundamental truth of his gospel. This may be naturally inferred from his words in Gal. 1:12 and Rom. 9:1.

We now turn from the words of Paul to those of his companion, Luke. In the gospel according to Luke two appearances of Jesus are described with some fulness—one of them to two disciples who were walking to Emmaus, and the other to the Eleven with others in Jerusalem—while an appearance to Simon is mentioned as having taken place before the evening of the day on which he was raised, and a brief account of his visible separation from the disciples near Bethany is also related—four manifestations in all being noticed. A little later he says in the Acts that Jesus “showed himself alive to his apostles after his passion by many proofs, appearing unto them by the space of forty days, and speaking the things concerning the kingdom of God.” He also speaks of a particular meeting with his disciples in Jerusalem, perhaps of two, and of his being taken up and a cloud receiving him out of their sight. Moreover, in the ninth chapter of the Acts he represents Barnabas as bringing Paul to the apostles in Jerusalem and “declaring to them how he [Paul] had seen the Lord in

the way, and been spoken to by him." He likewise represents Peter as testifying to Cornelius that "God raised Jesus the third day, and gave him to be made manifest, not to all the people, but unto witnesses that were chosen before of God, even to us who did eat and drink with him after he rose from the dead" (10:40, 41). Again, he represents Paul as testifying to the people of Antioch in Pisidia that "God raised him (Jesus) from the dead, and he was seen for many days of them that came up with him from Galilee to Jerusalem, who are now witnesses unto the people." Finally, as we have before shown, Luke represents Paul as reporting by the following words the message of Ananias to him in Damascus: "The God of our fathers has appointed thee to know his will, and to see the Righteous One, and to hear a voice from his mouth" (Acts 22:14). Now, it is difficult to believe that so intelligent and upright a man as Luke appears to have been should have misrepresented the teaching of either Peter or Paul concerning the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead. And it is equally difficult to believe that he could have failed to understand the testimony of Paul, and the other apostles whom he met, about the appearings of Jesus to his friends.

In studying the gospel narratives, it should be borne in mind that we do not know where the apostles or the women spent the two nights after the Lord's crucifixion. Some of them, John and Peter for example, may have lodged in the city not far from Golgotha. Others may have lodged in the suburbs, as far away as Bethany, and perhaps in different places. Fear of the Jews may have led them to separate localities, so that not more than two or three would be found together. Again, we do not know that all the women started at the same time on the first day of the week for the sepulcher, or that they arrived there together. Finally, we do not know that in giving the time of their coming to the sepulcher all the evangelists had reference to the moment of their arrival there. Some of them may have given the time when they left their lodgings to visit the tomb, and others the time when they came in sight of it. Thus Matthew says that, "as it began to dawn toward the first day of the week, Mary Magdalene and the other Mary came to see the sepulcher." Mark says that "very early on the first day of the week Mary Magdalene and Mary the mother of James and Salome came to the tomb when the sun was risen." Luke says that "on the first day of the week at early dawn Mary Magdalene and Joanna and Mary the mother of James came unto the tomb." And John says that "on the first day of the week cometh Mary Magdalene early,

while it was yet dark, to the tomb." We may infer from these various expressions that some time before sunrise a part or all of the women left their lodgings, and that when the last of them arrived at Joseph's tomb the rays of the morning sun had touched the mountain-tops around Jerusalem. The criticism which finds any necessary contradiction between these statements seems to us scarcely generous or just. If they started from different points, they probably started at slightly different times, and afterward described their coming to the tomb in a general way, without intending to fix the precise moment when they reached their destination. Mary Magdalene may have been first at the sepulcher, though John does not affirm this, and Jesus may have appeared to her first, though only the appendix to Mark affirms this. Were it not for this assertion of Mark 16:9, it would be natural to suppose that Jesus met the other women while Mary of Magdala was running to inform Peter and John of what she had seen at the sepulcher; and that he afterward manifested himself to the Magdalen when Peter and John had left the garden by the tomb, returning to the city.

But even if we accept the statements of the last verses of Mark as equal in value to any part of that gospel, or of any other gospel, we need not see any contradiction between the evangelists as to the number or order of Christ's appearances.

For, in the first place, Peter and John may have lodged in the city within a rapid walk of five or a run of three minutes from the sepulcher. This might have been the case whether the tomb was at the site of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre or near the Hill of Stoning outside the Damascus gate. As Mary ran to inform the two apostles what she had seen and heard, and as they thereupon ran swiftly to the tomb, the time consumed need not have been more than twelve minutes, possibly less, and the distance thirty or forty rods, going and coming. If, then, we allow five minutes for the inspection of the tomb by the apostles and their going away, and three minutes for Mary's look into it and interview with Jesus, a quarter, or at most a third, of an hour had passed since Mary was first at the tomb. And if the other women left the sepulcher when Mary ran to tell Peter and John, they might have gone more than a mile toward the lodging places of the other apostles. But if their lodgings were in Bethany, or even somewhat nearer, there was ample time for Jesus to meet them before they reached their destination. It is, of course, assumed that he could pass from one place to another with marvelous celerity.

But while there is no great difficulty in seeing that Jesus might have met the women before they reached the disciples (except Peter and John), and after his appearing to Mary in the garden, it is urged by some (though not by Stapfer), as a further objection to the truth of Matt. 28 : 9, 10, that, according to Luke 24 : 22, 23, the two disciples, going to Emmaus, make no reference to this meeting of Christ with the women, though they say : "Moreover, certain women of our company amazed us, having been early at the tomb ; and when they found not his body, they came, saying that they had also seen a vision of angels, who said that he was alive." This objection is plausible, but not convincing. To reject a clear statement of fact because it is not accompanied by another statement of fact, equally important, is hypercritical ; especially in such a case as this, where it is natural to suppose that the two disciples may not have reported all that the women said, or that Luke may not have reported all that the two disciples said. The gospels are fragmentary narratives from first to last.

According to the conservative view, the appearances of Jesus to his friends must have been nearly in the following order : (1) to Mary of Magdala, (2) to several women from Galilee, (3) to Simon Peter, (4) to Cleopas and another disciple, (5) to all the apostles, except Thomas, (6) to the apostles, with Thomas, (7) to seven apostles on the shore of Galilee, (8) to above five hundred at a certain mountain of Galilee, (9) to the apostles in Jerusalem and near Bethany, and (10) to Saul on his way to Damascus. The order of the two appearances in Galilee (7 and 8) may be reversed without affecting in the slightest degree the trustworthiness of the narratives.



## RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

DAS PHILOSOPHISCHE GOTTESPROBLEM in seinen wichtigsten Auffassungen. Von DR. JOSEPH GEYSER. Bonn: Verlag von Hanstein, 1899. Pp. iv + 291. M. 3.80.

THE author's purpose is to prepare the way for a theodicy by showing the historical genesis of the problem concerning the existence and nature of God in such a manner as to make clear the most important epistemological and metaphysical presuppositions entering into this problem. In other words, the author seeks to show how the nature of God has been understood in different periods, pointing out the historical and conceptual connection between the different views, and exhibiting their weakness or value for those who would today attempt the solution of the *Gottesproblem*.

The author confines his historical review chiefly to the ancient philosophers, holding that their systems are of chief importance for his purpose. Especially is this true of Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle, whose theory of knowledge the author calls *Intellectualismus*, through which alone theodicy is possible. Chap. i contains a review of the speculations from Thales to Socrates. In this period there was no thought of creation. Instead it was held that all becoming took place in a material substrate already at hand. On the one hand, the Eleatics assumed that reason, rather than the senses, must decide concerning the nature of being; but, on the other hand, the Sophists held the sensualistic theory of knowledge. Thus early did the epistemological problem come to the front, and skepticism in regard to the divine Being arose. Already, too, had the conflict between the teleological and mechanical theories of the world-process arisen. Chap. ii considers the *Gottesproblem* from the point of view of the teleological *Weltanschauung* of the most flourishing period of Greek philosophy. To this chapter the author devotes pp. 42-266. Chap. iii reviews materialism in the decline of ancient philosophy; chap. iv treats of ancient theosophy. The substance of chap. ii—the chief portion of the work—may be outlined as follows: It is possible to occupy one of the following epistemological positions concerning the *Gottesproblem*: (a) the empiristic, sensualistic theory of knowledge, closely allied with skepticism; the author traces the history of this

theory of knowledge from Protagoras to English empiricism; (*b*) the *Intellectualism* of Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle. This theory is accepted by the author as the only one which, in its modern application, really involves all that is needed for the *Gottesproblem*. The history of this Socratic-Aristotelian *Intellectualism* is traced through the Middle Ages into modern thought, and the theory is defended both against (*c*) Cartesian rationalism and (*d*) Kantian criticism, which would stop short of God in mere subjectivity. Socrates refuted the sensualistic theory of knowledge by inductively establishing the fact that true knowledge is by conceptions, and is consequently universal and objective. Are not sensations material for the elaborative work of a mind that is real in order thus to form and possess conceptual knowledge? Do we not also know the reality of the divine mind? In general, this Socratic-Aristotelian *Intellectualism* would assume reason's capacity to know reality, and would trust the results of reason's cognitive processes as knowledge of reality, if only the laws of reason have been strictly observed. On this epistemological basis the author would have modern theodicy constructed.

I am confident that this work is of real value and would prove useful to those who are endeavoring to solve the *Gottesproblem*.

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#### A SHORT HISTORY OF FREETHOUGHT, ANCIENT AND MODERN.

By JOHN M. ROBERTSON, author of *Buckle and His Critics*.  
*The Dynamics of Religion*, etc. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co.; New York: The Macmillan Co., 1899.  
Pp. xv + 447. \$3.

MR. ROBERTSON is an avowed freethinker, and writes as such. The term "freethought" is used as synonymous with "rationalism;" "infidelity," "atheism," and "skepticism" being variants. It is thus defined: "A conscious reaction against some phase or phases of conventional or traditional doctrine in religion — on the one hand, a claim to think freely, in the sense, not of disregard for logic, but of special loyalty to it, in problems to which the past course of thinking has given a great intellectual and practical importance; on the other hand, the actual practice of such thinking." If this definition can be understood, it makes (1) a claim that logical thinking is in some way anti-religious; (2) an acknowledgment that freethought receives its impetus from religion

by reaction. Thus it comes that the author finds the work of freethought in what has very commonly been regarded as the work of the religious spirit itself, and also that his interest is yet fundamentally in religion, so that the book consists of a series of comments on the history of religion from the freethinker's point of view rather than an account of the historical unfolding of a principle.

By a ponderous amount of reading Mr. Robertson has brought together a dense mass of information on religious thought, beginning with "primitive freethinking" in remote antiquity, and notes its progress under ancient religions, in Israel, Greece, and Rome, and its combat with ancient Christianity and Islam down to the Reformation. At that point, though not out of the religious reformation, modern freethought takes its rise. It is traced through the English deistic movement and *Des Cartes* to the French Revolution, German theological rationalism, and the founding of the republic of the United States. The work closes with a description of freethought in the nineteenth century as it appears in its popular propaganda, scholarly and other biblical criticism, natural science, philosophy, ethics, sociology, poetry, and fine letters, and with a fairly hopeful statement of its present standing.

It is impossible in a brief review to give anything more than the barest hints of the contents, in which history, biography, literary criticism, and theological discussion are mingled rather confusedly, and interspersed everywhere with remarks hostile to religion in general and Christianity in particular. The skeptical spirit appears in the most ancient literature extant. In India Buddhism was "in its origin essentially a movement of freethought," though later reverting to superstition. So also Jainism. In Mesopotamia Chaldean astronomy must have produced rationalists. Egyptian civilization with its material basis was opposed to the religious temper, and skepticism there took the form of a loose monism or pantheism. Chinese Confucius was a practical rationalist whose golden rule was superior to that of Christ, and Lao-tsze was a freethinker. In Israel relative freethought rejected polytheism under the influence of social conditions congenial to a monotheistic cultus, but with the strong rationalism of Job and Ecclesiastes Jewish progress of thought ceases. Greek thought was fundamentally rationalistic, though overlaid with imported religions. From Thales with his "know thyself," Greek rationalism is continuous, despite reversions, till the Roman conquest. Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle must be designated freethinkers, though furthering

this mode of thought only indirectly. This higher life of Greece fell a prey to Roman power, which cultivated superstition for reasons of policy and gradually crushed out independent thought in an originally free people. Julius Cæsar is an epitome of the Roman people—in the time of his strength a convinced freethinker, with the failure of his powers becoming religious (superstitious). The decay of rationalism in Rome begins and proceeds with the empire.

As to original Christianity (which he does not distinguish from the doctrines of the Christian theologians), the author says that lying in the medley of principles, ideals, "crazy" ideas, distortions, and inventions of the New Testament books, in which the personality of Jesus evaporates, lay a freethinking reaction against Judaism and heathenism, which hopeful element Christianity inevitably cast aside when it threw out the Christian heresies.

Mohammedanism possessed elements of freethought, though Mohammed himself was a fanatic, and such great Khalifs as Mamoun encouraged independent investigations. Mohammedan nations have been weakest in political and military respects when faith has been strongest.

Under the stimulus of Saracenic and reawakened Greek thought freethought asserted itself against the authority of a wicked church. The philosophies of Scotus Erigena, Abélard, and Nominalism were largely the result. In Italy especially, under the influence of such men as Boccaccio (against Dante), Petrarch, Machiavelli, and Pomponazzi, religion was shaken by the Renaissance, though a scientific foundation was at first lacking to the latter. From Italy the influence of freethought penetrated to the other countries of western Europe, but the wars and political exigencies of the times rather smothered it, and the Reformation religiously bound men to authority really more than ever. Calvinism is a blight on human reason. It is held that the only way in which Protestantism favored freethought was negatively, by promoting indifference among the upper classes as a sequel to the policy of plunder and the oscillation between Protestant and Catholic forms. Modern freethought rises out of Italy.

From this point on the work becomes more interesting and valuable, but a mere outline must fail to give any adequate idea of its contents. Every Christian thinker would do well to read it, though it will be a disagreeable task because of the frequency with which the author allows himself to descend to what seems to be scoffing and expressions purposely offensive to Christians. The aim of the book is less historical than dogmatical, and, because of the lengths to which it

goes, not suited to convince the unconvinced. The style is rather lumbering, though there are some brilliant passages. Unusual or unknown words, such as "inferrible," "arguable," "apriorism," "worsen," "Jesuite," "Jesuism," "Godism," not infrequently occur. The value of the book will be chiefly as a work of reference. The publishers' work is very creditably performed.

GEORGE CROSS.

AYLMER, ONT.

SEXTUS EMPIRICUS AND GREEK SCEPTICISM. By MARY MILLS PATRICK, President of the American College, Constantinople, Turkey. Cambridge: Deighton Bell & Co.; London: George Bell & Sons, 1899. Pp. vii + 163. 5s., net.

THE author says in her preface that "there are few sources of information available to the student who wishes to make himself familiar with the teachings of Pyrrhonism," and this treatise on *Sextus Empiricus and Greek Scepticism* is intended to meet this need. The topics treated are in order as follows: "The Historical Relations of Sextus Empiricus;" "The Position and Aim of Pyrrhonic Scepticism;" "The Sceptical Tropes;" "Ænesidemus and the Philosophy of Heraclitus;" "Critical Examination of Pyrrhonism." The book closes with "The First Book of the Pyrrhonic Sketches by Sextus Empiricus. Translated from the Greek" (pp. 103-63). A valuable feature of this work is the bibliography on the subject critically estimated.

Much obscurity surrounds the life and work of Sextus Empiricus, but the author decides that he lived late in the second, and probably also in the beginning of the third, century A. D. He was a Greek, although he bore a Latin name. The place of his birth cannot be definitely determined. Sextus was both a physician and a skeptic, but became better known as a skeptic. The most difficult problem "connected with the historical details of the life of Sextus . . . is to fix the seat of the skeptical school during the time that he was in charge of it" (p. 12). It may have been Alexandria, Rome, or Athens, but there is considerable evidence that it was Alexandria.

We cannot enter into the details of the remaining chapters. It is only just to say that the author has accomplished her purpose with skill and thoroughness.

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ON SPINOZISTIC IMMORTALITY. By GEORGE STUART FULLERTON.  
 "University of Pennsylvania Philosophical Series." Boston:  
 Ginn & Co., 1899. Pp. v + 154.

PROFESSOR FULLERTON'S monograph has necessarily a much wider scope than is indicated by the title. For to understand what Spinoza meant by immortality we must examine what is involved in viewing things *sub specie aeternitatis*, and this takes us into the center of the system. There is accordingly an exposition and analysis of "The World of Existences" and "The World of Essences" preparatory to an examination of the path proposed by Spinoza "From Bondage to Freedom," from time to eternity. For Spinozistic immortality should consistently mean the passage from the world of (individual) existences to the world of essences. The "eternity" logically belonging to the system is the "timeless" eternity of a universal essence, of a general concept. This, however, is not a particularly attractive or inherently valuable condition, and Professor Fullerton argues that Spinoza really gives his eternity all its seeming attractiveness and richness by importing into it the associations belonging to the very different conception of continued duration. This was a perfectly natural thing for Spinoza, as a person, to do, but it should not mislead as to the real character of the system if consistently carried out. "There is a religious element in Spinoza, but there is nothing religious about Spinozism as a system." The kindred doctrine of Augustine as to the relation of eternity to time is also discussed, and, although the theologian will find little positive suggestion toward a philosophically tenable content for the term "eternity," he will find acute criticism of the position held by Spinoza and by not a few theologians. Immortality in the sense of continued existence has a value derived from the actual values of the existence we have experienced. It may conceivably have these values in a higher degree, but their content depends on such possibilities as those of growth and memory, which involve time as their condition. Timelessness, as such, on the other hand, has no value. "Eternal" life, if by "eternal" we mean simply "timeless," is not life at all in any sense intelligible to us. It may mean a life of different *quality*, but this quality which gives it value is not its timeless character; it lies rather in the nature of its ends, ideals, and values, and it would seem desirable in the interests of clear thought if the terms "immortal" and "eternal" were so used as to mark this distinction, even if we wish also to maintain that the immortal life is also eternal, and the eternal life is immortal.

J. H. TUFTS.

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RICHARD ROTHE'S SPECULATIVES SYSTEM. Dargestellt und beurtheilt von H. J. HOLTZMANN. Freiburg i. B., Leipzig und Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1899. Pp. xii + 269. M. 5.60.

THIS is one of those literary publications with which the old friends and students of Rothe honored his hundredth birthday, January 28, 1899. Our author here offers a sketch, not of Rothe's character, life, and thought—this had been done by Hönig in 1898—but of his system, his *Gedankenbau*, wide-reaching and complicated, but unusually *geistvoll*, embracing both the divine and the human. It is a most difficult task, for which most men would not have sufficient patience—so Rothe declared in the preface to his main work. Ludwig Fürst in 1872 attempted an *Uebersicht theologischer Speculation nach Richard Rothe*, and elaborated the two first volumes; then, on account of radical disagreement with the other two, laid down his pen. What Fürst could not do, Holtzmann has done especially sympathetically, devoting, however, but a brief section to the *Special-Ethik*, which Fürst had interpreted in much detail. Indeed, it is not Rothe the ethicist, but Rothe the theosophist and gnostic, that Holtzmann would exhibit. May the timeliness of such an attempt be vindicated! A speculative principle of knowledge, as known by the first half of this century, is no more for the second half. The method of *religious* knowledge is used almost exclusively in the theology of today, and this signifies the negation of a *a priori* speculation. But Holtzmann questions whether one-sidednesses, exaggerations, and misunderstandings have not crept in, whether the foregoing of a unitary view of the sensible and super-sensible world be really in the interest of religion, nay, be possible for any length of time. To this problem he assumes an attitude in the first section of this book, pp. 1–33. He maintains, moreover, that the right of a speculative *Weltanschauung*, which he here advocates, does not encroach upon the self-dependence and singularity of religion. The following sections are devoted to Rothe's general theory of the world, doctrine of goods, sin and redemption, doctrine of virtue, doctrine of duty, and, finally, of church, state, and consummation. All who wish "*sich in dieses 'stille, ernste Geisterreich' hineinzuleben*," will find a most helpful companion and guide in this labor of love by Holtzmann.

GEORGE B. FOSTER.

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PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY. An Introduction to the Philosophical Study of Politics. By ALFRED H. LLOYD. Ann Arbor: George Wahr, 1899. Pp. iv + 250. \$1.

THE interpretation of general history is the profoundest, the most urgent, and the most elusive of the problems that tax the genius of man. It is so overwhelming that many give it up at once and speak disdainfully of those who have the courage to tackle the riddle and seek its solution. The fact nevertheless remains that few people who think at all can escape so easily. Since, therefore, the subject is of such momentous interest to us all, we welcome the work of any honest and able thinker who has the courage to follow the problem through.

The latest contribution to the philosophy of history is by Professor Lloyd, of the University of Michigan.

The purpose of this short review is to state briefly the fundamental conception of the book, and then to offer a few critical suggestions.

The conception is: "Contemporaneity with the present sets the bounds both of the historic past and the historic future. The past is not dead. The future is not unborn, but past and future are alike *vital* incidents of the life now. History is simply an organic repetition and preparation. History is the present's consciousness of its all-including self."

There are five fundamental data of history: time, causation, nature, individuality, and progress. Each datum is explained in harmony with the text as just quoted, and is shown to be something entirely different from the ordinary conception that even philosophers have had.

Philosophy is more than science, for science is interested in knowledge just for the sake of knowledge. But philosophy is interested in knowledge, not as mere knowledge, but as motive. It requires that knowledge must be more than formally true and consistent; it must be liberative as well. Science is abstract; philosophy is concrete, because it sets you free. The philosopher seeks after the wisdom of life. He turns to science that he may apply and animate scientific ideas.

The function of the philosophy of history is to show the unity and fundamental harmony of all phases of history, however contradictory they may seem; that is, to show that history is the liberation of human society; that it is an organism, that it is organically related to nature, and that it realizes or fulfils its own law. This last it does through the development of individuals, nations, and persons. The formula of history is ultimately, I think Mr. Lloyd would say: *thesis, antithesis, synthesis*; or, more concretely, society—society in alienation from itself, society



in restoration to itself, or society more free. This process is constantly going on—in the conflicts between the good and the evil, religion and reason, and so on. But fundamentally the two sides in every conflict are one. The result is the development of individuals. These individuals are agents of a genuine progress. The very essence of individuality is at once adaptation or fulfilment of the past and realization of the future.

This summary is given as nearly as possible in the author's own words. It need not be said that the author is a Hegelian. But Hegelianism in some form is one of the abiding types in which certain profound thinkers will find themselves classified, even though they may never have heard of Hegel. And so here we have careful, independent thinking. The book has striking merits, and will command the attention of all who can appreciate speculative thought. It has, too, the merit of offering a unitary conception. The mind abhors a dualism as much as nature abhors a vacuum. Here we have a rigorously logical system in which everything has a place and everything is in its place. Everything is related to everything. Everything is a vital and organic part of everything.

There is, moreover, hardly a proposition or statement in the book that does not appeal more or less strongly to reason and experience.

But when we face the question of accepting it as our philosophy of history, we confess to deep misgivings. We are obliged to urge—

1. That it has the difficulty of all monistic systems. Its distinctions are not real distinctions. Its explanations after all do not explain. Unity is obtained at the expense of all that gives any significance to life. It is a "sphere of spheres self-inclosed." Its progress does not get anywhere. It is like the ceaseless bobbings up and down of the groups of animalcula in a drop of water under the microscope. Its freedom when you get back to its ultimate analysis is only the freedom of the spirit. There is no *person* left to be free. But who cares a straw for freedom, if personal men and women are not free? The one who takes the system whole will wake up later on to find that he has swallowed something sugar-coated, but very bitter—if he ever comes to full consciousness again. For it is a peculiarity of this philosophy that, notwithstanding its great claims to spirituality, it is apt to paralyze the spiritual nerve centers of those who take it.

2. But it must be admitted, secondly, that this philosophy deals recklessly with the facts. This has always been true of systems of philosophy, of theology, and of science as well. Starting on a basis

of experience, the systems do not extend very far until they strike facts that do not fit. Then the temptation to chip off and file down the facts is too great for any ambitious system to resist. It goes on torturing and twisting the facts until a revolt comes and the system is laid out for dead.

3. The most serious difficulty is found in the realm of ethics. It is the identity of contraries. What we have all along supposed to be radically opposed to each other are but the obverse and reverse of the same identical thing. Take the case of good and evil. Says Professor Lloyd: "Pleasure-seeking is evil to asceticism; reckless, unskilled labor to thoughtless and masterful capital; adultery to marriage under the law; murder to hanging; gambling to revelation and miracle; thieving to business honesty, etc." (p. 227).

Then we may fairly infer the antithesis of the smooth, cold, calculating villain who seeks the destruction of the pure and innocent maiden, to the virtuous and noble young man who respects the purity and innocence of young womanhood. Indeed, our philosophy requires us to regard them as kindred spirits. For, to quote our author again, "the evil and the good are not two but one; being two only because society comes into conflict with itself, but one, because in an organized society the separate parts, or the separated activities, are necessarily functions of each other, mutually dependent and inclusive, each being invisibly what the other is visibly" (p. 233).

Now, we may grant that, while philosophers like Professor Lloyd may be able to keep on the good side of the antithesis, the danger is that the great multitudes, who are not philosophers, will prefer to make their contributions to human weal on the other side.

The sober judgment, we think, of men and women who know themselves and their fellow-men will express itself in the words of John: "If any man see his brother sinning a sin not unto death he shall ask, and God will give him life for them that sin not unto death. There is a sin unto death; not concerning this do I say that he should make a request. All unrighteousness is sin, and there is a sin not unto death" (1 John 2:16, 17).

Again, Mr. Lloyd says, "a life that knows its evil is inherently, it is already actively and materially, good." This is, of course, the old doctrine that knowledge is virtue, but the old Roman had it better when he wrote: "*Meliora video proboque, deteriora sequor.*"

J. W. MONCRIEF.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

THE DAWN OF REASON; OR, MENTAL TRAITS IN THE LOWER ANIMALS. By JAMES WEIR, JR., M.D. New York: The Macmillan Co.; London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1899. Pp. xiii + 234. \$1.25.

MODERN science is nowhere confronted with more fascinating and yet baffling problems than those which lie along the borderland of psychology and biology. The nature and origin of instinct, its development and the limits of its function, the appearance of consciousness and the ratiocinative processes in connection with the evolution of organic forms—these and a score of kindred questions are all indigent here. The solution of these problems promises to affect so many important human interests, especially those of an ethical and religious character, that any book dealing with the subject in intelligible language is certain to gain a hearing. Dr. Weir's book is, therefore, assured a public, for its untechnical descriptions of the author's observations on the phenomena of animal life and mind will appeal to a large circle of readers.

To cope with these problems successfully, however, requires the training of an expert in both biology and psychology. Dr. Weir is clearly unversed in the best of modern psychology, and his knowledge of biology, which represents his specialty, has not prevented his making serious errors even in that direction. But the general reader does not so much need to be guarded against the occasional misstatements of fact, as against the general interpretative attitude of the author toward his facts. In this respect his position is distinctly antiquated and out of touch with contemporary standards for such work. For example, he repeatedly finds, in his study of the simpler animal organisms, evidence which he regards as demonstrating conclusively their possession of conscious intelligence, whereas in reality his facts prove nothing beyond the presence and activity of physiological mechanisms of adjustment. Similarly, he finds proof of the existence in certain animals of rational activities closely akin to human reason. His demonstration of this is based upon events susceptible of quite other and simpler interpretation. At every point he shows himself possessed of an amiable credulity, which is one of the last qualifications for an investigator in this field.

The unquestionable tendency of the best modern work is to seek the explanation of animal activities formerly supposed to involve reasoning, in processes of an essentially accidental and random character, or in those originating from mere instinct. In the same way

the tendency is to throw back upon purely mechanical neural processes the explanation of activities previously regarded as indicative of highly elaborate conscious instincts. In passing, it may be said that this disposition of modern science, which is so unwelcome to much of prevalent sentiment, because it seems to depreciate the sacred mystery of animal life and conduct, represents no passing materialistic whim, but is based upon the best obtainable evidence.

Readers of Dr. Weir's book get no suggestion of this tendency, and in so far are misled as to the latest relevant scientific doctrines. After all, this does not prevent the author from coming out at the end with a conclusion essentially that of the current psychology of the day, *i. e.*, that the consciousness of animals differs from human consciousness in no assignable particular, beyond that of extent and complexity in development.

Dr. Weir writes with an enthusiasm which is contagious, and the critic's task is thereby rendered doubly ungracious.

JAMES ROWLAND ANGELL.

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**INSTINCT AND REASON:** An Essay concerning the Relation of Instinct to Reason, with some Special Study of the Nature of Religion. By HENRY RUTGERS MARSHALL, M.A. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1898. Pp. xiii + 574. \$3.50.

THIS is one of the most stimulating of philosophical treatises which have appeared in recent years. Its attractiveness is due, first, to the breadth of the inquiry, which embraces the study of living beings from the lowest forms to man; secondly, to the thoroughgoing adoption of the doctrine of development whereby the life of man is involved in and explicable in relation to the life of all other organisms; thirdly, to its discussion of all this field from the biological point of view as distinguished from the dogmatic or speculative; and, fourthly, to its inclusion of the problem of religion in the field of discussion and its attempt at the solution of the problem by the method employed to solve other problems of life, as indicated above.

The author tells us that his first purpose was to expound his view of religion as an instinctive element of man's nature. But in connection with this he was led to make a thorough study of instinct in general and its relation to other elements in organic life. From this he was led to the exposition of the relations of instinct and reason and of the connection of religion and morality. This essay of over five

hundred large pages is the result, of which the following paragraphs are a summary.

Three main classes of instinct are found to exist. First are those that tend to bring about the persistence of individual life; second, those that result in actions favoring the persistence of the species to which the individual belongs; third, those that tend to bring about the persistence of certain aggregates of individuals which we call social groups. On the basis of biological data this classification is shown to be in the order of time, and the later has in each case grown up in relation with the former by the subordination of the earlier and lower instincts to the later and higher. Now, this relation of subordination between the great classes of instincts is the expression of the growth and fixation in life of that which has been found to be most advantageous for life. The process which has subordinated the first class, though prior in time, to the third class, the social instincts, testifies to the supreme importance of the social organism.

But biological science has identified another principle than that of instinct which leads to a typical series of actions, viz., the tendency to vary from this typical series. Thus from each class of these instinct-actions there are examples of variation, arising out of sundry causes. Now, the tendency to vary from the typical or instinct-actions is most marked in the third or highest class of such actions, viz., in the sphere of the social organism. Both the complexity and the looseness characteristic of society as an organism are responsible for this tendency which, if not checked, will in time substitute the lower for the higher instinct-actions.

We are, therefore, led to expect that in human evolution will be produced another instinct, separate from all others, which will reveal itself as a governing force, regulative of variations, in the interests of instincts as a class, particularly those tending to racial progress. Such a governing instinct our author finds religion to be, since, first, religious actions are organic, and, secondly, serve precisely the biologic end of restraining variant actions in the social organism. In favor of the organic character of religion is (1) its universality in man and its limitation to man alone, (2) its spontaneous development in man. The biologic end which is served by it is the restraint it brings upon individual variant action by withdrawing the individual from the influence of the stimuli which induce variation and thus permitting the racial instincts to be heard and their power felt. In the exposition of this view the author has brought forward the witness from primitive religion,

and, indeed, from the history of religion generally, emphasizing those features of religion which consist in separating the individual from the world, such phenomena as the dream and vision, the notion of a supernatural power, the hermit life, fasting, prayer, sacrifice, celibacy, etc.

A most interesting section of the book is taken up with the proof that the highest and most significant forms of the variant actions which oppose the typical actions of instinct are those which in consciousness appear as the result of the action of reason. Hence arises a seeming opposition of reason and instinct, involving the problem of the relation of reason and faith, the expression of the governing instinct, religion. At first it seems that the writer is taking the well-known position of Benjamin Kidd that religion is ultra-rational; that reason and faith are fundamentally contradictory. But the difference lies in the author's view that both instinct and variation from instinct are biologically fundamental, and that reason is therefore in opposition to instinct only when we look at complex organic forms. Both are, elementally, but aspects of the basic tendency to the persistence of life.

Hence, finally, the service of reason and of religion in human life may be thus stated: Morality which depends on instinct, itself embodying so many distinct purposes, and subject to variations which multiply as the organism grows complex, is no stable affair with an absolute standard. It grows with the growth of the organism. True morality is, for the race, the acting on impulses arising from instincts which are making for the progress of the race; for the individual, it is acting on the best one knows. The part of religion in both cases is not to better morality. It cannot make men better morally. But it restrains them from acting on the impulses roused by the lower and immediate instincts until the higher and more slowly acting impulses make themselves felt. Reason, however, is the active agent in bringing about progress in morals, since, when all the evidence is in, its work is to decide which impulse shall be followed. It may thus even decide against the evidence that religion has brought before the mind, though this decision involves the greatest risk. But, after all, we cannot overestimate the service rendered by the religious instinct in holding back the decision in the interests of the higher instincts. The final rule of conduct, therefore, which the author lays down as the summation of his essay is this: "Act to restrain the impulses which demand immediate reaction, in order that the impulse order determined

by the existence of impulses of less strength, but of wider significance, may have full weight in the guidance of your life. In other words, *be religious.*"

It is impossible, in this place, to do more than to allude to the many special discussions of living questions in religion and morals which are given in this essay, most striking because from so new a point of view. On the essay as a whole it may be remarked that evidently the psychological inquiry, which is here solely pursued, cannot speak the last word on the subject of religion. It is determinist. It knows no God but the human spirit. It recognizes and traces instinct, but can give no hint of its origin. If this essay pretends to give a complete account of religion, we cannot but be dismayed at the havoc it makes in all that religious men hold sacred, such as otherworldliness, mystery, the sanctities and the aspirations of the religious life. But it is a contribution to the psychological analysis of religion alone, and it is to be welcomed as such, since it is an earnest, serious, profound, and, we had almost said, reverent study, which must be dealt with by all who go beneath the surface, and who welcome light from all quarters upon this, the greatest of all subjects of human investigation.

G. S. GOODSPEED.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

DIE SEELENTHEORIE, UND DIE GESETZE DES NATÜRLICHEN EGOISMUS UND DER ANPASSUNG. VON F. HANSPAUL. Berlin: Carl Duncker's Verlag, 1899. Pp. 292. M. 5.

THE author's aim is to furnish an incontestable proof, by the inductive method, that the commonly accepted belief in a divinely implanted "soul" is a myth; that the activities of the human mind, from the lowest to the highest, from the simplest to the most complex, are entirely mechanical and corporeal in their origin and nature; and that human activities differ in no respect, save in degree of complexity, from those of the lower orders of being. The highest exercise of human reflection or volition is not different in kind from that movement of a plant in a dark cellar whereby it grows up toward the solitary ray of light.

By the law of natural egoism, then, the author means that every living organism is filled with an overmastering impulse toward the maintenance of its own "integrity," and that of the species to which it belongs. This impulse is the direct consequence of *life* as such; and if it proves the presence of an intelligent soul in the case of man, then

it does also in that of the animal and the plant ; and if not in their case, then not in his.

The law of adjustment (*Anpassungsgesetz*) expresses the fact that every being is affected by its environment and responds by changes in its behavior, calculated to preserve its integrity, as stated. Natural egoism expresses itself in this reaction or adjustment against the environment, and the whole process takes place in an entirely automatic (reflex ?) and corporeal fashion. All human sagacity and wisdom, as well as all moral qualities, depend upon an inherent capacity, possessed by brain-substance as such, of adjusting itself to the environment in which it finds itself. Man's social qualities, which constitute the ground of all those complex organizations exemplified in the family, the state, and the church, are nothing other than highly developed forms of the same primal natural egoism, reacting upon the environment in accordance with mechanical law. There is nowhere any evidence of the presence of a god-like "soul," nor of the interference of a designing Creator, whether in the life of the individual, the structure of society, or the differentiating qualities of species in the animal world. All is the result of mechanical law.

The commonly alleged superiority of man in regard to intellectual and moral qualities is reduced and minimized by two lines of argument; which, though somewhat startling to those who have been accustomed to think of the absoluteness of "necessary truth" and of the "categorical imperative," are perfectly familiar to all students of ancient sophistry and modern empirical hedonism. In the first place, the author denies the existence of any absolute distinction between truth and falsehood on the one hand, and between right and wrong on the other ; basing his denial upon the wide differences in the opinions of men on these subjects. If man possessed a divinely implanted soul, we should find among men perfect certainty of conviction and complete unanimity of belief with regard to these matters. In the second place, it is pointed out that a well-trained dog possesses exactly such perceptions of truth and falsehood, and of right and wrong, as are manifested by the human animal. In both cases "right" means "that which I can do without unpleasant consequences ;" while man's supremacy in the matter of understanding, so far as it exists, is due to his possession of the instrument of language, which constitutes for him a new form of environment, highly complex, but still entirely corporeal in its nature. And speech itself is a necessary result of natural egoism.



In similar fashion all the phenomena usually attributed to the human "soul" are shown to be nothing more than the reaction of an organism, endowed with natural egoism, against the stimulations of an ever-present but constantly changing corporeal environment; and the book closes with the emphatic declaration of the complete corporeality of all that we call *soul* or *spirit*.

The attempt to reduce the spiritual to the material is by no means a new thing in the history of thought. Nor can it be said that any new arguments are advanced in the treatise under discussion. In fact, the time-worn assumptions of materialism and hedonism, that pleasure is the good, that thought is reducible to sensation, that the moral law embodies a mere hypothetical imperative, that conscience is a product of experiences as to the painful consequences of actions, etc., though they have been fully met and overthrown times without number, are here presented to us again, in some cases unaccompanied by any proof, as though Plato and Kant and Lotze had never been born. Not only so, but the author's statement of doctrines opposed to his own is often little better than a caricature. Witness the statement (p. 12) that conscience is defined by the theologians as an inner voice which teaches the individual *that he must expect to suffer in consequence*<sup>1</sup> of an act which is disapproved by God or society! The author would find it exceedingly difficult to name one theologian, outside the hedonist camp, who thus defines conscience. Again, it is assumed all through, without any proof whatever, that if the soul of man were divinely bestowed, all men would be exactly alike, and incapable of development, in regard to moral and intellectual powers.

Finally, it must be remarked that the author's claim to have "simplified" the matters with which he deals, is not borne out. He forbids us to believe in a soul, or in a designing Creator, as an explanation of the world and of human life; but in the place of these he gives us natural egoism, which can only be defined as "something inherent in every living organism as such." Truly, if this is an explanation, then all mysteries in heaven and earth are now capable of prompt and easy solution!

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<sup>1</sup> The italics are mine.

SCIENCE AND FAITH; or, Man as an Animal and Man as a Member of Society. By DR. PAUL TOPINARD. Translated by Thomas J. McCormack. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Co., 1899. Pp. vi+374, 8vo. \$1.50.

THIS small volume touches almost every question treated specially in the works of Westermarck, Lloyd Morgan, Baldwin, Spencer, Lippert, Schäffle, Romanes, Tylor, and others. Beginning with his own specialty, physical anthropology, Dr. Topinard points out the differences and resemblances between man and animals, and then takes up the problems of general evolution in a very summary way. Similarly, he recapitulates the facts concerning animal societies and early human organization, touches on promiscuity, the maternal system, worship, and other questions of genetic sociology, and concludes with a view of the relation of the individual to the state, which is, in brief: "The maximum possible to the individual, the minimum possible to the state, and in the latter the most possible to the local self-government, the least possible but the necessary to the central authorities. If I am not mistaken, this is the condition which exists in the United States." Comparing his own views of progress with some similar views previously published by Huxley, Topinard says: "Huxley does not formally indicate the ethical process which I set up; namely, the molding of the acquired and unconscious ego to conform to the needs of society; but it follows implicitly from numerous passages of his on habits, reflex actions, heredity, etc. We find, in fact, that there is no choice; either we have to abandon ourselves to the *laissez-faire*, which is nothing but the cosmic process itself, and can lead only to anarchy and the rule of the strongest; or we must, by taking our stand on the nature of man, *direct* the ethical process, as I have explained." Topinard's main proposition is, in fact, that egoistic impulses must be replaced by altruistic ones. His effort to show the mechanism by which this is accomplished in society is interesting reading, but not convincing on the psychological side. Alluding, in conclusion, to the title of the book, the author reminds us that he has said much of science and little of faith, and nothing of the relation of science to faith, *because the two are in no way related*. The volume is, on the whole, of interest to the layman, but of little importance to the specialist.

W. I. THOMAS.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

EGYPTIAN IDEAS OF THE FUTURE LIFE. By E. A. WALLIS BUDGE, M.A., LITT.D., D.LIT. With eight illustrations. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1899. Pp. xv + 198. 3s. 6d.

THIS is a popularly written little book by a competent scholar who, as might be expected, has his own views on the mooted points of Egyptian religion. While, as the title indicates, the bulk of the work is devoted to an exposition of the notions of the future life held in ancient Egypt, the author has given us chapters on a wider range of topics connected with the Egyptian ideas of God. After making the very proper distinction between the developed Egyptian religion, which is all the Egyptian religion that we know, and the early beliefs and worships out of which it grew, Dr. Budge asserts that this developed religion had already the idea of one supreme God, beside whom there was no other, and the idea of resurrection after death. This is very far from the view that the Egyptians started with monotheism and developed polytheism, etc., out of it, though the language of the book, in some instances, does not seem to maintain the distinction. Yet it must also be said that even Dr. Budge's statement does not by any means represent the prevailing view on this subject, and in any case this monotheism which is asserted cannot be shown to be much more than a theological tenet of the schools of priests. Perhaps the most satisfactory element of the book is its copious quotations of important illustrative texts from papyri and inscriptions not within reach of the unprofessional reader. They range from fourth-dynasty pyramid texts to eighteenth-century hymns, and even to Plutarch's Isis and Osiris. There is not much system in the book, and a reader is liable to be confused in the labyrinth of unorganized details. But it may be that at present little more than a descriptive account of Egyptian religious ideas and practices is possible, and this, so far as concerns the views of the future life in Egypt, is given by the accomplished author. The want of an index will be felt by many.

G. S. GOODSPEED.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

BABYLONIAN RELIGION AND MYTHOLOGY. By L. W. KING, M.A., F.S.A. With twelve illustrations. London: Kegan Paul Trench, Trübner & Co., 1899. Pp. xi + 220. 3s. 6d.

MR. KING writes on the above subject in the series of "Books on Egypt and Chaldæa," which was introduced by Dr. Budge's *Egyptian*

*Ideas of the Future Life.* He has given us a very clever sketch, with plenty of illustrative material. He cannot find in Babylonia the primitive monotheism which Budge asserts to have existed in Egypt, and he does not even trace a tendency in that direction in later times. His six chapters deal with the "Gods of Babylon," "Heaven, Earth, and Hell," the "Legends of Creation," the "Story of the Deluge," "Tales of Gods and Heroes," and the "Duty of Man to his God and to his Neighbor." It will be seen that the treatment is discursive and descriptive, without any special attempt at organization. We wonder sometimes whether the presentation of material thus disconnectedly arranged is just what is needed today on these subjects. Even at the risk of his being theoretic and dogmatic, it would have been profitable to know just what are Mr. King's views on the organization and leading ideas of Babylonian religion. But scholars hesitate to put themselves on record here in the present imperfect condition of our knowledge, and perhaps they are right. Mr. King is a thoroughly competent Assyriologist, but it must be said that here and there his translations are not up to the present level of investigation. An example is found in the Deluge Tablet, where, in l. 14, for "That city was *old*" (lābir), the now accepted reading is, "That city was *corrupt*" (lā bīr). As a whole the rendering of this document does not compare favorably with that in Driver's chapter in *Authority and Archaeology*.

G. S. GOODSPEED.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

RELIGION AND MORALITY. Their Nature and Mutual Relations Historically and Doctrinally Considered. Dissertation for the Doctorate in Theology at the Catholic University of America. By REV. JAMES J. FOX, S.T.D. New York: William H. Young & Co., 1899. Pp. 322. \$2, net.

THIS volume by a Roman Catholic author appears with the official approval of the *Censor Deputatus* and the archbishop of New York. It consists of four parts: introductory, historical, doctrinal, and critical. The discussion is preceded by a brief but valuable bibliography, and, in addition, there are throughout the book copious, but not needless, references to authorities. The introduction presents clearly the essential characteristics of morality and religion respectively, maintains their universality, explains their origin, and has no lack of an effective polemic against opposing views. The careful survey of the

great historical religions of the world, followed by a brief consideration of the religions of semi-civilized and savage races, gives the conclusion that man is by nature at once moral and religious, that an invincible tendency leads him to find a divine sanction for moral law, that he reaches moral more easily than religious truth, and that, while debased religions debase morals, "the religious sentiment itself, by its very nature, is the most powerful aid to morality."

These conclusions create a strong presumption in favor of that doctrine of the mutual relation of religion and morality, and of the dependence of morality upon religion, which is ably expounded and maintained against every form of independent morality. His ethics is teleological. The ground of right, and so of authority, is in the nature of God. It is an axiom of reason that rational action finds in its end its law; in its supreme end, therefore, its supreme law; but the supreme or absolute law is the moral law. Only in God, the infinite and absolute good, is found the absolute good for man. Man's nature can rest in nothing less. Hence the commands of God to men have authority, not as mere commands, but as commands of righteousness, to which conscience or the moral reason in man responds. Thus religion, which recognizes God as the supreme, furnishes the ultimate basis of morality. The connection exists, though not always perceived. The criticism of Kant, Mill, and Spencer is clear and searching.

GEO. D. B. PEPPER.

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THE COVENANT OF SALT, as Based on the Significance and Symbolism of Salt in Primitive Thought. By H. CLAY TRUMBULL. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1899. Pp. x+184. \$1.50.

A "COVENANT OF SALT" is a rare biblical phrase which has engaged the attention of Dr. Trumbull in connection with his researches into primitive covenants already embodied in his two stimulating works *The Blood Covenant* and *The Threshold Covenant*. In the fifteen short chapters of this new book he has gathered an imposing mass of facts from all sides illustrative of the use and significance of salt in social customs and religious rites. It is a fascinating and illuminating study. To him salt appears to be symbolic of the deepest thoughts and most central relations of primitive life, and to have maintained this symbolic character in survivals in present custom. Salt and blood are identical

in their symbolism. They involve life and death; they are the solemnest pledges that the primitive man can assume. Such is the conclusion of the author, which is carried through with vigor and applied to explain nearly all instances which he brings forward. It may seem to some that little discrimination has been shown where there was need of some strict analysis. The preservative power of salt certainly has been more potent, as well as the seasoning element in it, than the author is willing to grant. As a collection of materials to which a wonderfully fertile principle of interpretation has been applied the book is of real value, even though one must sometimes be cautious in adopting the views advanced.

G. S. GOODSPEED.

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A HISTORY OF EGYPT UNDER THE PTOLEMAIC DYNASTY. With numerous illustrations. By J. P. MAHAFFY. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1899. Pp. xiii + 256. \$2.25.

A HISTORY OF EGYPT UNDER ROMAN RULE. With numerous illustrations. By J. GRAFTON MILNE, M.A. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1898. Pp. xii + 262. \$2.25.

PROFESSOR MAHAFFY and Mr. Milne write under the above-named titles the fourth and fifth volumes of Professor Petrie's *History of Egypt*. It cannot be said that the general public is as much interested in these periods of Egyptian history as in the earlier Pharaonic ages. But this *History of Egypt* is not for the general public. It is a student's history, giving the facts obtained from the very latest discoveries and investigations, furnishing long lists of references to the original authorities, and not concerned about the speculative or literary aspects of the subject.

Yet these periods are not without their importance and living interest. Ptolemaic Egypt was the intellectual heir of Greece. Alexandria was the meeting place of the oriental and the occidental, the Jew, the Greek, and the Hindu. Roman Egypt produced the school of Clement and Origen, the first hermits and cenobites, and has been the hiding place of many important documents of Christian literature which have recently been uncovered and published to the world.

The Egypt of these epochs has recently been revealed to us in fuller and clearer outline by the wonderful discoveries of papyri in the Fayum and elsewhere. Mahaffy and Milne have made abundant use

of these materials, and their books supersede all others in the field. We now know many details about the social, economic, governmental, and religious sides of those centuries of Egyptian life which make practically new chapters of history. It is an especially fascinating picture of the later course of Egyptian religion which Milne unrolls in one of his chapters—the persistent life of the primitive native worships, the intermixture of Greek paganism and Roman Cæsar-worship, and the overlaying of all with Christianity; resulting in that strange parody and degradation of the gospel ideal which is found in Egyptian Christianity of the fourth century, so vividly set forth in Kingsley's *Hypatia*.

Many problems are raised by the religious phenomena of later Egypt. The stolid persistence of the animal cults in the face of higher forms of religious thought and practice is one of these problems. Another is suggested by the comparison between the agricultural, peace-loving, inoffensive, happy Egyptian of the Pharaonic period and the factious, fanatical, quarrelsome, bloodthirsty Egyptian of Ptolemaic and Christian times. What psychological or physical change had passed over the Egyptian, to produce the Alexandrian mob that pillaged the Jews and tore Hypatia to pieces before the altar of a Christian church and in the name of the Savior? Milne has suggested that the problem is explicable by the variety of races, which only partially united and left antagonisms which were constantly coming to the surface. Jew and Greek and native Egyptian could never get on together. This is no doubt a partial solution, but it goes only a little way, since the differences were not by any means all along racial lines. The mixture of races seems to have produced in this case one of the keenest, most clever, most unstable, and most quarrelsome and fanatical peoples that the world has ever seen, represented not only by an Origen and an Athanasius, but also by an Arbaces and a Cyril, given on the slightest occasion to breaking one another's heads in the circus, but capable of undergoing for Christ's sake unparalleled severities of ascetic discipline and becoming the pioneers of Christian monasticism.

The student of antiquity and the historian of Christianity will find these volumes of much value. They are well indexed, contain abundant citations from the sources, or references to them, and the illustrations are clear and chosen with intelligent judgment, often from materials hitherto unpublished.

G. S. GOODSPEED.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

THE ROMAN FESTIVALS OF THE PERIOD OF THE REPUBLIC: an Introduction to the Study of the Religion of the Romans. By W. WARDE FOWLER, M.A. London and New York: The Macmillan Co., 1899. Pp. ix + 373. \$1.25.

It is coming to be increasingly accepted among us as a sound doctrine that the institutions of religion are both older and more stable than its mythology or its doctrine. The attention of students in this field is, therefore, becoming more and more exclusively directed to this aspect of it. The proper approach to the investigation of a religion is through its organized worship. Here are imbedded the survivals or are observed the actual living elements of its earliest life. The importance of such a book as Fowler's for the study of Roman religion, therefore, cannot be overestimated, and in a very real sense it will mark an epoch in the study of the subject among English students. The workmanship also is of the very best style. It is characteristic of the English school to which Mr. Fowler belongs that he expresses independence of, and often a kindly contempt for, the audacious and unrestrained critical activity of the Germans, and this attitude will be somewhat unwelcome to the many who would prefer to go wrong with a brilliant German investigator than to be right with Mr. Fowler, who is sober and cautious to what might seem to be an excessive extent. Yet no one who has entered the thorny thicket of the Roman festivals will reproach the author for his caution, and every student cannot fail to be grateful for the wise, learned, and judicious direction which this volume affords. For any future investigation of Roman religion it is indispensable.

G. S. GOODSPEED.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

DIE ANTIKE KUNSTPROSA, vom VI. Jahrhundert vor Chr. bis in die Zeit der Renaissance. Von EDUARD NORDEN. 2 Bände. Leipzig: Verlag von B. G. Teubner, 1898. Pp. xviii + i + 969. M. 28.

NORDEN's principal thesis is that the tradition of ornate, florid, poetical, antithetic prose may be traced in a continuous unbroken line from the time when Plato parodied the Gorgian figures to the age in which Bacon noted as the first distemper of learning that "men began to hunt more after words than matter," and so "the flowing and watery vein of Osorius, the Portugal bishop," grew to be in price. The "Asiatic" eloquence which Cicero tells us divided the schools with Atticism was a revival of the style of the Sophists. Seneca and his school



among the Latins, and the new Greek Sophistic under Hadrian and the Antonines, consciously renewed the same tradition. The Latinists of the Italian and Spanish Renaissance were guided by Socrates and Cicero to the same models. From them were directly derived the Gongorisms, marinisms, Guevarisms, euphemisms, and all the other affected or flashy styles of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Thus all the ornate, conceited, flamboyant prose of the western world descends in the direct line from Gorgias, or rather from Heracleitus and Empedocles, who anticipate him in the adornment of prose by pointed antithesis, frigid conceits, nicely balanced cola, and jingling rhythms.

This thesis obviously admits of an enormous amount of interesting illustration, and as obviously is incapable of proof. Unregenerate man has a natural taste, not only for bathos, but for tawdry poetical prose. The Greeks here as everywhere were the first in the field. Plato's Gorgianisms, his Πανσανίον δὲ πανσαμένον, his ὦ λῦστε Πῶλε, and the pretty extravagances of Agathon's speech in the "Symposium" have always been familiar to all who had any tincture of Greek letters. It is, then, always possible that any given conceited writer may have derived his first hint or inspiration thence. But conceits, gaudy ornament, and poetic rhythms are as natural to some temperaments as mothers' milk. The extent of the influence exercised by the tradition is a question of evidence in each individual case.

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THE HISTORY OF YIDDISH LITERATURE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. By LEO WIENER. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1899. Pp. xv+402. \$2, net.

THE strong immigration of Russian and Polish Jews into England and into the United States, which began in 1882 in consequence of the fierce persecutions which commenced in Russia with the reign of Alexander III., has awakened a lively interest in that peculiar literature and language which today is exclusively the property of this class of people. So the word "jargon," or Judeo-German, has given place to the more concise "Yiddish," the misspelled German word for "Jewish." The dialect can hardly be dated back of the sixteenth century, although the Jews must have at all times spoken a language peculiar to them. It was natural that such Jews as lived among nations whose culture was of a distinctly separate character, and especially in a time

when public schools and daily papers, or printing press in general, did not level the language of the people, should speak a language which was freely mixed with Hebrew words, and which, even in the German part, would show a peculiar coloring. Still, it was only through the printing press that a Yiddish literature originated which was to meet the needs of the women and the untutored. In consequence of these aims, the literature was limited to books for domestic devotion, and stories which were in most instances mere translations or adaptations from other sources.

When the Jews, during the course of the eighteenth century, began to enter into the general civilizations of their environments, Yiddish disappeared in western Europe. It is limited today to parts of Hungary, Galicia, Roumania, and the western and southern provinces of Russia.

Mr. Wiener has done a very meritorious work in his *History of Yiddish Literature* (with a chrestomathy appended), so much the more as this literature is not likely to survive very long. Not taught in schools, not recognized in public life, fast losing ground in the free countries to which the Russian Jews are transplanted, it can survive in Russia only so long as the laws exist which exclude the Jews from the rights of free residence, from the higher schools, and from holding public office. It is bound to disappear, just as the Low German is doomed. And still there is a difference in favor of the Low German, which, in certain parts of the country, is the language of that region, although not recognized.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> I am very sorry to find that the scholarly tone of the work is marred by some expressions which are too passionate for scientific literature, as when the author speaks "of the acme of complacent ignorance" with regard to Grünbaum, to whom he devotes in other passages similar, and even stronger, attributes.

A. B. Gottlober was not ninety years old when Wiener saw him, because he died March 31, 1899, at the age of eighty-five (Hebrew *Almanack Achiassaf*, 1900, p. 388). The author of the *Stories from the Rabbis* is not named Isaacs, but Isaac. So we are all fallible, and when our opinion differs from those uttered by authors, we are to be a little more patient.

My conviction, for instance, is firm that even previous to the sixteenth century the Jews in western Europe spoke a language peculiarly their own, although, of course, not so much different from the German then spoken as is the language of the Lithuanian Jews today when compared with the literary German of our day. In this respect Wiener has drawn inferences from his hypothesis which are not justified. But in general his book is a welcome addition to the literature of the world, so much the more welcome as perhaps in half a century it will have become impossible to write such a book.

LA VERSION GRECQUE DES LIVRES DE SAMUEL; précédée d'une introduction sur la critique textuelle. Par J. MÉRITAN. Paris: Maisonneuve, 1898. Pp. xii + 248.

THE names of a group of French Catholic scholars will always be associated with the beginnings of modern biblical criticism, and it is gratifying to find countrymen of Richard Simon, such as the Abbé Loisy and his fellow-laborers, taking the lead in the revival of these studies among Catholics, of which there are such encouraging signs both in Europe and America.

The volume before us is a product of this movement. In the introduction the author sketches the history of text criticism since the beginning of the seventeenth century (Louis Cappel); illustrates by examples from Samuel the necessity of emendation; briefly enumerates the *subsidia critica*; and lays down certain general canons of criticism. The first part treats of the Greek version in general (Codices A and B, the Hexapla, Lucian); the second is a study of the divergences exhibited by the Greek text (additions, omissions, substitutions, transpositions, conjectural passages); the third discusses the critical defects of the Septuagint.

Critics have worked diligently at the text of Samuel since the days of Thenius; beside the monographs of Wellhausen and Driver, Budde has edited the text (1894), and more recently Löhr and Smith, in their commentaries, have given much attention to textual problems. M. Méritan's little volume would not claim a place among these works. His aim is to acquaint his readers with the method and results of criticism, not to make an original contribution to it. His material, in the main, is drawn from Wellhausen and Driver—in general, judiciously chosen and clearly presented. Unfortunately, the author's knowledge of Hebrew and Greek appears to be inadequate even for the modest task he has undertaken. His pages swarm with errors, which cannot all be charged to the much-abused compositor. Greek accents are habitually misplaced, and an index to the author's attitude toward these troublesome signs is to be found in the fact that, while his quotations from Codex B are accented, those from Codex A are uniformly printed without accents because its readings are so exhibited in Swete's apparatus. The collations are in other and more material respects extremely inaccurate. The Hebrew is as bad as the Greek, if not worse; the confusion of gutturals, particularly, is truly Galilean. It is to be regretted that a work which might otherwise have served a useful purpose should

be so marred by faults which revision of the proofs by any competent scholar would have removed.

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AUSGEWÄHLTE AKADEMISCHE REDEN UND ABHANDLUNGEN. Von D. BERNHARD STADE, Geh. Kirchenrath und Professor der Theologie in Giessen. Giessen: J. Ricker'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1899. Pp. vi + 296. M. 6.

PROFESSOR STADE's contributions to the theological literature of his day make a notable collection. In addition to the editing of his *Zeitschrift*, already covering two decades; his *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, and his *Hebräisches Wörterbuch*, he has made extensive contributions to periodical literature. This collection is made up of five addresses delivered on different public occasions, three critical articles on 2 Kings, and three brief *Beiträge zur Pentateuchkritik*. These have all appeared previously in printed form, and are now reprinted because they are sought for and out of print. The author states in the preface that they appear in practically the original form, with a few corrections only. The first address, "Über die Lage der evangelischen Kirche Deutschlands," is a vigorous argument for a reconstruction of evangelical theology, to meet the demands of the day, as against the ideals of the Roman church. The second address, "Die messianische Hoffnung im Psalter," is a cursory examination of the psalms to discover and formulate the Messianic hope which so mightily influenced the Jewish faithful in post-exilic times. The third address, "Über die Aufgabe der biblischen Theologie des Alten Testaments," avers that the task of biblical theology of the Old Testament is broader than a mere formulation of the ethical content of the Old Testament books. This it must do, but it should thoroughly examine the fundamental ideas in the old covenant that underlie the Christian ideas of later times; it should also show how the preaching of the prophets and the history of Israel culminated in a well-defined Judaism, and finally found its focal-point in the preaching and doctrines of Jesus. The fourth address discusses "Die Entstehung des Volkes Israel," and the fifth "Das Volk Javan." The text-critical discussions of 2 Kings are here brought together from various issues of Stade's *Zeitschrift*. Reprinted contributions of this kind, though miscellaneous in their make-up, are a useful profile of the individual scholarship that lies behind them.

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DAS BUCH JOSUA. Übersetzt und erklärt von LIC. DR. CARL STEUERNAGEL, Privatdocent der Theologie in Halle, a. S. (= "Handkommentar zum Alten Testament," herausgegeben von Dr. W. Nowack, ord. Professor der Theologie in Strassburg im Elsass. I. Abtheilung: *Die historischen Bücher*, 3. Band, 2. Theil.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1899. Pp. 131-248. M. 3.20.

THIS is a commentary, corresponding to the others of this well-known series, fresh, interesting, and suggestive, showing that the last word has by no means been said respecting the critical problems of the Hexateuch. The author in the first place clearly gives up the Hexateuch itself, since, while he allows the sources of the Pentateuch to appear in the book of Joshua, he holds that the completed book never formed a literary unit with the other five. New views appear also in the literary analysis, to which great attention is paid, the sources of Joshua being exhibited by means of different kinds of type and the use of brackets. Of these sources nine are thus given: J, J<sup>a</sup>, E, E<sup>a</sup>, D<sup>a</sup>, Rd, P, P<sup>a</sup>, and Rp. Of JE, on the other hand, not a trace is found, and of J or J<sup>a</sup> only the few fragments 9:6-7; 13:13; 15:13-19, 63; 16:9, 10; 17:11-18; 19:47. The view of the book's growth is as follows: After the exile four independent works existed giving an account of the conquest of Canaan: (1) J, (2) E in a deuteronomic revision, E + D<sup>a</sup>, (3) D<sup>a</sup>, and (4) P. Of these D<sup>a</sup> provided the framework of Joshua, not only of chaps. 1-12, but also of chaps. 13 ff., and P or parts of P were joined to D<sup>a</sup>, giving (D<sup>a</sup> + P). Into this were later woven extracts from P<sup>a</sup>, E, and J. To this work many hands contributed, Rd and Rp representing schools rather than individuals. Thus the book of Joshua reached its present form.<sup>1</sup> Not less interesting than this new and independent conception of the sources and growth of the book of Joshua are the author's historical views and suggestions. He regards Joshua in its historical substance an account of the conquest of only the southern part of Mount Ephraim by the tribes of Joseph, which conquest later, by legendary or traditional expansion, was extended to northern and southern Palestine and assigned to all Israel. Attention is called to some striking parallels between the story of Jacob and that of Joshua,<sup>2</sup> and from these the

<sup>1</sup> The rejection of JE and the almost complete elimination of J differentiate this view from that usually held and given, for example in DRIVER's *Introduction*, BENNETT's Heb. Text in *SBOT*, and G. A. SMITH's "Joshua" in HASTINGS' *Bible Dictionary*.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. 35:2 and Josh. 24:14b; Gen. 35:4 and Josh. 24:26; Gen. 32:2 f. (1 f.) and Josh. 5:13 ff.; Gen. 33:20 and Josh. 8:30.

conclusion is also drawn that Jacob-Israel was originally the forefather of only the children of Rachel.<sup>3</sup>

The book of Joshua, then, is a source of information only for the entrance of the Rachel tribes into Canaan. These also, it is held, entered some time after the Leah tribes. Of the earlier entrance of these latter tribes, however, we have, besides scattered remnants of tradition in the Old Testament, historical information in the Tell-el-Amarna letters. The full justification or exposition of this view is reserved for another work in the future. We shall await its appearance with interest. Certainly it is plausible that in the Chabiri, Melkiel, and Labaya mentioned in the Tell-el-Amarna letters we have representatives of some ancient elements that later were incorporated into Israel.

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ERKLÄRUNG DER PROPHETEN NAHUM UND ZEPHANIA, nebst einem prophetischen Totalbild der Zukunft. Von DR. J. T. BECK, weil. o. Professor der Theologie in Tübingen. Herausgegeben von H. Gutscher und J. Lindenmeyer. Gütersloh: Druck und Verlag von C. Bertelsmann, 1899. Pp. vi + 168. M. 2.50.

IN some respects this brief commentary can be highly commended. It is scholarly, but popular in tone, and is written in a clear and simple style. The grammatical forms, the meaning of single words, and often the thought of individual sentences are explained carefully and satisfactorily. The translation is an accurate rendering of the Hebrew.

But at this point praise must stop, although one might naturally expect higher excellence. It should be remembered, however, that the work was written about 1855 and published in 1899. This relieves the author of some criticisms, only to place them on the shoulders of the editors.

The author, however, is plainly responsible for the slight attention paid to textual criticism. He was behind his own time in this respect. The readings of the LXX, seldom those of any other version, are sometimes given, but almost invariably only to be rejected.

<sup>3</sup>In the song of Deborah the name Israel does not include Judah, Simeon, and Levi, the leading children or tribes of Leah.

The chief criticism of the author, however, must be on account of the faults of his exegetical method. His standpoint is that of the New Testament more than of the Old, from which fact his interpretation of prediction is the chief sufferer. This is seen, *e. g.*, in his interpretation of Zeph. 3:14-20 as a specific prophecy of the millennium and the subsequent events spoken of in Revelation. Then, too, the interpretation is often subjective, and so not based on evidence. Of this also an example is seen in connection with the passage just mentioned, in which the author finds reference to a sabbatical year and a year of jubilee of the world's history, the former equivalent to the millennium, of which there are no indications in the passage itself.

It must also be regarded as a blemish that the author makes practically no mention of views differing from his own, in reference to matters of interpretation, possible interpolations, etc. This defect the editors have not attempted to remedy.

It is the editors who are chiefly to be blamed that the book is so thoroughly antiquated. Not only are none of the rich treasures of archæological knowledge gathered in the last half-century utilized, but their importance is underrated, as in a note of Gutscher's on p. 75. In general the notes of the editors are brief and unimportant.

Whatever may have been the value of this work when first written, for present use these great defects more than counterbalance its excellencies.

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A CRITICAL COMMENTARY ON THE BOOK OF DANIEL; designed especially for students of the English Bible. By J. DYNELEY PRINCE, PH.D., Professor of Semitic Languages in the New York University. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons; Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1899. Pp. viii + 270. \$2.

COMMENTARIES and other treatises on the book of Daniel are already legion. But the sober up-to-date discussions of that mysterious book are few. The author of this work has shown his predilection for this task by his scholarly treatise, *Mene, Mene, Tekel, Upharsin*, published in 1893, and largely incorporated in this book. As indicated in the title, this work has for its aim the presentation of a modern popular critical commentary on Daniel. The general plan of the work embraces first of all fifty-six pages of general introduction, in which we find the questions of date, authorship, style, etc., discussed with

considerable detail. The critical commentary, which is a simple, lucid exposition of the exegetical questions involved, occupies 136 pages. Then follow seventy pages of critical and philological notes. Full indices complete the work.

The author maintains that the book of Daniel is a literary unity (p. 13); that it is a production of the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, 175-164 B. C. (p. 22); and that it "cannot be authentic history" (p. 15). It is the most elaborate argument for those theories of Daniel that has appeared. The author makes use of the best and latest literature on the subject, and marshals all his strength to establish the above propositions. Lack of space prevents me from taking up these statements in detail. But the whole range of argumentation reads rather like that of the learned advocate than like the calm deliberations of the scholar. As an illustration let us take the second argument against the early authorship of the book. We are told (p. 16) that the non-mention of Daniel among the worthies named by the author of Ecclesiasticus (chap. 49) seems to indicate that the book of Daniel was not known to Sirach (200-180 B. C.); but we are also told further on (p. 53) that "an *argumentum ex silentio* is at best poor reasoning." The third argument against an early origin of the book, viz., "that the post-exilic prophets exhibit no trace of its influence" (p. 17), is another *argumentum ex silentio*. To escape the force of the statements of Ezekiel regarding Daniel, the author says: "It is impossible to identify this mysterious Daniel [of the book of Ezekiel], who is ranked by Ezekiel as one of the patriarchs, with the hero of the Maccabæan Daniel; it is even difficult, in the absence of all records, to establish any connection between them" (p. 28)—a conclusion based on an *argumentum ex silentio*. The occurrence of three Greek names of musical instruments—articles whose original native names always cling to them, even today, in any country to which they are carried—argues little more than that there was extensive international commerce in early days. Again, the contract tablets of the reign of Nabonidus furnish evidence that there were Persians among the inhabitants of Babylonia before 538 B. C., and, of course, Persian words would not be so strange an occurrence as supposed.

But, on the other hand, the occurrence of Darius the Mede, of the supposed relation of Belshazzar to Nebuchadrezzar, and of the doctrines of the book, are arguments of force for a date some centuries after the time attributed to Daniel's activity. These arguments well stated, with the omission of such as are referred to above, make a stronger case for the later date.



The author gives the pronounceless quadriliteral Jhvh for the divine name, as does the polychrome Bible. Better read either "Jehovah," as does Driver in his *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, or "Yahweh," if this book is intended for English students of the Bible.

There are few typographical errors. But on p. 18a there is a manifest mixing up of facts, due doubtless to the printers' carelessness.

The work reveals thorough and widespread research, presents the last up-to-date critical results, and, regardless of its overzealous method of argumentation, will prove to be a useful commentary on this troublesome book.

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THE BOOK OF JOB, with Introduction and Notes. By EDGAR C. S. GIBSON, D.D., Vicar of Leeds and Prebendary of Wells. London: Methuen & Co.; New York: The Macmillan Co., 1899. Pp. xxx + 236. 6s. (=Vol. I of "Oxford Commentaries," edited by Walter Lock, D.D.)

THIS book has an inviting mechanical outfit, and the print is very pleasing to the eye. The text of the book of Job, as here given, is that of the Revised Version. One has little fault to find with the manner in which the introduction, text, and commentary are presented by the printer. The binding is good, and there is an index.

The exact value of the work must be judged by what the series and this number of it profess to do, that is, to fill a place between the "Cambridge Bible" and the "International Critical Commentary," being less elementary than the former and less critical than the latter. In both of these negative purposes the author has succeeded, with possibly more of the elementary flavor than the scholarly minister could desire. Naturally, when such a book is published and the reasons for its being are asked, comparisons will be made with what is already in the field. We are constrained to acknowledge that when placed alongside of the works of Drs. Tayler Lewis and A. B. Davidson, and Professors Genung and Moulton, Mr. Gibson's work suffers somewhat. There is a glow and stimulating suggestiveness about these works—to which the reviewer confesses such indebtedness as to almost prejudice his mind at the start against Dr. Gibson's work—not found in the work of the prebendary of Wells.

Acknowledging these facts frankly, we nevertheless find here an independent study of the book of Job that is thoroughly welcome. We like his method, too, which is not at all dogmatic, but rather

suggestive, and just the sort for the enriching of the mind of teacher or preacher. In an elaborate introduction of thirty pages he discusses the book as a work of literature found in the canon of Scripture, giving not only his own judgment, but also the contrasting opinions as to its place in the canon, contents, structure, and main divisions, object, and character, integrity, versions, and commentaries.

In expounding the text for us, his method is to study first the form and matter of the speeches and then to give his own interpretation of each sentence and paragraph. He discusses the textual difficulties and sets before us tersely the different theories, not wasting much space on controversy. Happily for us, he avoids the vice that has been the ruin of many commentaries, Lange's for instance; that is, he is not a commentator on commentaries, but a student of the text. On the difficult portions he is especially helpful, and, saying this, we praise him highly, for this is not the shining virtue of the average commentator. An example of what we mean is seen in his comments upon the nineteenth chapter, in which Dr. Gibson shows himself conservatively adhering to the old view, that Job had really reached the belief in personal immortality and was reveling in a vision of life with God in the world beyond this world. Yet, to show the value of this work of a student, we note that the author not only states the opposing theories of interpretation of this passage, but he gives also alternatives, viz., that Job either expects vindication before death, or that he is happy in already foreseeing the real future.

While it is a pity that Dr. Gibson makes no note of Professor Budde's attempted reconstruction of the poem, showing what the original prose legend, as gathered from the folk-lore about Job, was, yet we find in his valuable introduction a reference to Budde's commentary, and in the summing up of evidence the author is most fair. He shows that "all things seem to combine to point to a comparatively late date for the poem" (p. xxiii). We cannot but commend the book as being a distinct addition to the small number of independent studies of this drama of the spirit. The problem of human pain and suffering is in the ancient book set forth with tremendous dramatic force, against the background of the infinite love and the perfect justice of Almighty God. Yet, ancient as the problem is, it is also one of today. The Christian minister who would have in one volume the material and apparatus for the study of the very ancient, but ever-fresh theme, and the poem of Job, will find them in this publication of Dr. Gibson's.

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DIE PSALMEN UND DIE SPRÜCHE SALOMOS. Von LIC. HANS KESSLER u. DR. HERMANN L. STRACK. Zweite neubearbeitete Auflage. München: Beck, 1899. Pp. xx + 302; vii + 104. M. 6.

THIS is one of the series of the Strack-Zöckler *Kurzgefasster Kommentar*. The first edition of the Psalms was prepared by F. W. Schultz. Pastor Kessler has practically rewritten the whole. He has prepared and built on a larger foundation than his predecessor. His position is that of a decided conservative, while at the same time he has due regard to modern Psalm investigations. He is unwilling to admit the Maccabæan origin of Pss. 44, 74, 79 (p. xvii), though inclined to regard Ps. 149 as a product of that period. In contradistinction to many modern writers he is ready to assign some authoritative significance to the superscriptions, especially to לְדָוִד. The exegesis proper is, of course, very brief, but to the point. The author writes in full view of the latest Psalm literature.

Professor Strack's commentary on Proverbs is built on substantially the same subdivisions of this book as those of Frankenberg and Toy. His position also, in contrast with that of the two writers just mentioned, is preëminently conservative and traditional. On the basis of 1 Kings 5:9-13 (English version 4:29-33) Solomon is thought to be an author. This opinion is maintained for the Proverbs by the superscriptions found in 1:1; 10:1, and 25:1. The form and content are said to corroborate this position. But these statements must appear to a careful student of the Proverbs as too sweeping. Even if the Kings passage should imply authorship for Solomon, can this carry with it the certainty that he was the author of the Proverbs? What, too, can be said in this line regarding such a passage as 19:14? The narrow limits of the exegesis imposed by the purpose of the series is often aggravating. But Professor Strack has presented in small compass the latest conservative exposition of this difficult book.

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ECCLESIASTES. An Introduction to the Book; An Exegetical Analysis; and a translation with notes. By THOMAS TYLER, M.A. A new edition. London: Nutt, 1899. Pp. xi + 168. 6s., net.

THE first edition of this commentary appeared in 1874, more than a quarter of a century ago. It then excited a good deal of interest

on account of the evidence adduced proving the influence of Greek philosophy on Ecclesiastes. It was one of the pioneer volumes in putting in strong and attractive form the argument for the Greek period as the background of the book. Since that time great research has been made in the study of Ecclesiastes along the line marked out by Mr. Tyler; and, with scarcely an exception, these investigators have given credit to the original work done by our author. The volume under review is not an ordinary second edition; the work has been rewritten throughout, and many changes introduced, though there is substantial accord with what was presented in the previous edition.

There are three main divisions in the book: (1) an introduction, occupying three-fifths of the volume; (2) an exegetical analysis; and (3) a translation, with accompanying notes. It will be seen that the introduction is the principal feature of the book. The author aims, not at exposition, but at interpretation. He is more concerned in getting the historical standpoint than in the exposition of words and clauses. In the introduction he discusses such points as the character of the book, the authorship, the date, the influence of Greek philosophy, the theology, the integrity, the design, Ecclesiastes compared with Job, the Psalms, the prophetic books, etc., etc.

The date he fixes approximately as 200 B. C. His reasons for fixing on this date are well presented, his claim resting less on the linguistic test, of which so much has been made by Delitzsch and others, than on the parallelism with Greek thought. The most extended and best chapter in the book is devoted to the "Manifest Influence of Greek Philosophy." In detail he tries to parallel the teachings of the Stoic and Epicurean philosophers with passages from Ecclesiastes. He makes a remarkably strong case. The design of the book, our author says, was to dissuade others from philosophical speculation, and to recall them to the fear of God and the observance of the law. He makes 12:8-14 to be an original part of the book. Speaking of the integrity of the book, he says: "I see no reason to doubt that we have it, at least substantially, as it came from the author's hands;" and "I see no valid reason whatever for the unrestrained employment of critical conjecture, or for the supposition that there are several lacunæ, as well as dislocations requiring to be rectified. The notion of an exceedingly corrupt text may well be looked upon as an endeavor to 'cut the knot' in the case of a confessedly difficult and enigmatical book." Not many will follow the author in his assignment of date and in some other points, but all will agree that the book is a strong one, and

second only to the "Cambridge Bible" on Ecclesiastes in its value for a comprehension of all the problems connected with the study of this difficult book of wisdom.

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**RHYTHMUS, METRIK UND STROPHIK IN DER BIBLISCH-HEBRÄISCHEN POESIE.** Systematisch dargestellt von DR. JOH. DÖLLER, Professor der orientalischen Sprachen am Priesterseminar zu St. Pölten. Mit Approbation des hochw. bischöflichen Ordinariates St. Pölten. Paderborn: Druck und Verlag von Ferdinand Schöningh, 1899. Pp. vii + 100. M. 2.40.

THIS book contains an essay submitted in a prize competition, on a subject chosen by the theological faculty of the university of Vienna. The subject really included two things: the explanation of passages in ancient writers, especially church fathers, speaking of rhythm, meter, etc., in Old Testament poetry; and the discussion of modern views, beginning with the seventeenth century, concerning the same matter.

The book is, of course, not designed to be strictly popular, but yet it is not needlessly technical. The author writes clearly and concisely, and shows great skill in condensing the views of the writers concerning whom he speaks. It shows evidence of a wide and diligent investigation, which is worthy of high commendation. It will be found by many to be invaluable as a summary of the chief views which have been held concerning the form of Old Testament poetry.

Yet, good as the book is, it might easily have been better. Its importance is in the material it contains, not in the views it expresses. The latter are largely negative, contain nothing really new, and are not entirely supported by the evidence. The author's reasons for thinking that the existence of meter in the Old Testament not simply has not been proven, but never will be, are especially weak.

A better sense of proportion in the treatment would have made the book of far greater value to most students. Too much space is given to the opinions of the church fathers and of the writers of the seventeenth century, which is the least valuable part of the material. This disproportion is not entirely due to the subject assigned. The space occupied with the church fathers is largely a result of the author's evidently high estimate of the importance of their opinions on this point, an estimate which many would not share. Some of the

seventeenth-century views, whose absurdity is almost self-evident, do not merit so full statement and refutation as are given. Really modern views are dismissed with too much brevity.

One may, therefore, be disappointed at not finding in this book all that he might hope from the title, especially at noting that it contributes directly so little toward a solution of the problems concerning the form of Hebrew poetry. Yet it has a real and great value as containing within a small space a remarkable amount of material collected with much care.

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DIE TEMPELSÄNGER IM ALTEN TESTAMENT. Ein Versuch zur israelitischen u. jüdischen Cultusgeschichte. Von J. KÖBERLE. Erlangen: Junge, 1899. Pp. 205. M. 3.

THE two chief questions discussed by the author in this work are: (1) as to when there arose temple singers in Israel, and (2) as to when they were called Levites. His answer to both is, before the exile. He divides his material into four chapters. The first deals with the history of Israel down to the exile; the second, with Ezra and Nehemiah; the third, with Chronicles; while the fourth he entitles "Asaph, Jeduthun, Heman, Korah." His conclusions are exceedingly judicious and very satisfactory, being reached only after a careful and scientific examination of the facts. In chap. 1 he shows that David was a singer, practiced music, and was the inventor of musical instruments (*cf.* Amos 6: 5); that Solomon also made harps and psalteries for the singers (*cf.* 1 Kings 10: 12—a statement which cannot be impugned); that already in the pre-exilic age music formed a part of the temple-worship, as is obvious from passages like Amos 5: 23; Isa. 30: 29; 38: 20, and Lam. 2: 7 (*cf.* pp. 12-14). Which psalms, however, spring from David's age is difficult to say, but "probably a good many" (p. 8). David was a poet and a singer, but as such he "enriched" rather than "created" the religious lyrics of his time; yet what the character of song was in his day we do not know (p. 15). Still, by his invention of instruments David exerted an immense influence.

In chaps. 2 and 3, which are the most important of the book, the author examines, first, the lists of those who returned from exile, as contained in Ezra, chap. 2, and Neh., chap. 7, from which he shows that there must have been temple singers in Jerusalem before the exile.

This conclusion is confirmed by the repeated references to singers in every stratum of the memoirs of Ezra and Nehemiah. Turning to the books of Chronicles, he finds that they are not only a source for the times which they describe, but also for the time in which they were written (p. 84). According to them (as in all post-exilic works) temple singers are always spoken of as Levites; but here it is quite impossible to decide whether the chronicler is describing the conditions which prevailed centuries before, or is reading back his own times into the past (*cf.* p. 102). That the latter may be possible he infers from the fact that in those days men depended not so much on written sources for their facts as upon memory; which seems to be obvious when we compare a section of Samuel with a corresponding section of Chronicles. Two accounts are often closely similar, and yet not *verbatim*; hence the natural inference is that the writer was not copying, but reproducing from memory what he had heard more or less imperfectly (*cf.* p. 137). In chap. 4 he finds that the name Asaph stands alongside of David since ancient times as one of the celebrated singers and poets. Jeduthun, he explains not as the name of the author of Pss. 39, 62, and 77, where it stands alone in the superscription, but as a musical accompaniment (*cf.* *hūjjedūth* in Neh. 12:8). The sons of Korah were a guild of singers.

A concise summary of the various points proven gives the work a fitting and most satisfactory conclusion. As a whole, the publication is a most praiseworthy and cautious piece of work, and is entitled to rank high among the ever-increasing literature on the Psalms. Köberle's attitude and tone are not unlike those of Robertson in his capital work entitled *The Poetry and Religion of the Psalms*.

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THE RELIGION OF ISRAEL TO THE EXILE. By KARL BUDDE, D.D., Professor of Theology in Strassburg. (= *American Lectures on the History of Religions*, Fourth Series.) New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1899. Pp. xx + 228. \$1.50.

THE series of which this is a part is already known to readers of this JOURNAL. The present volume is a companion to Canon Cheyne's *Jewish Religious Life after the Exile*, published a year ago. In six lectures the author traces the development of Israel's religion from the

exodus to the exile, ending with deutero-Isaiah. A chronological table at the beginning helps the reader to follow the discussion with intelligence.

Professor Budde is so well known as an Old Testament authority that it is needless to say anything of the quality of the work embodied in this volume. The hand of the master shows itself throughout. The point of view appears in the first lecture, where the value of Hebrew tradition is discussed: "Biblical tradition, even of the oldest times, has proved itself to me to be in its main features trustworthy—I speak of the history of Israel as a nation, not of the stories of primeval and patriarchal times in Genesis." In accordance with this valuation of tradition the author is rather too cautious in using information from other sources; he declines, for example, to draw any conclusion from the mention of Israel in the famous inscription of Merenptah.

We have to do with the religion of Israel. The starting-point is the covenant with Yahweh at Sinai. Yahweh was the God of the Kenites, the God who delivered Israel from Egypt by the hand of Moses. The covenant was an expression of gratitude for this deliverance, and of faith in the ability of Yahweh to lead the people against their enemies. He was originally the storm-god. How his religion, as developed in Israel, became the ethical monotheism which we know is the problem. The author's solution is: "Israel's religion became ethical because it was a religion of choice and not of nature, because it rested on a voluntary decision which established an ethical relation between the people and its God for all time" (p. 38).

The question arises whether the choice of the Canaanite Baal might not equally have developed into an ethical religion. The author thinks not. The worship of Baal, as it established itself in Israel, was not a matter of free choice. The people were under a necessity, or felt themselves under a necessity, to worship the Lord (*Baal*) of the land in which they settled. Syncretism was the order of the day—syncretism in religion, the result of Israel's amalgamation with the Canaanites. Had it not been for the prophets, Yahweh would have been indistinguishable from Baal. Not all the credit can be given to the prophets, however. To some extent the priests, to some extent also the kings, wrought with them in the interest of Yahweh.

The greater part of the book recounts the ever fresh story of the prophetic war against Baal, commencing with Elijah and extending into the exile. One who wishes a popular presentation of the rise and growth of Israel's religion as now viewed by special students cannot do



better than read this book. It is in no sense the reviewer's work to go over the ground again. Let me say only this: The cry for a positive and constructive criticism should be silenced in view of a work like this.

I have not compared the German edition (announced by Ricker in Giessen) with the American copy. In respect of clearness and idiom the translation leaves nothing to be desired.

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ZUR THEOLOGIE DES ALTEN TESTAMENTS. Zwei akademische Vorlesungen. Von DR. RUD. KITTEL, Professor an der Universität Leipzig. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1899. Pp. 31. M. 0.70.

THE first of these lectures by the distinguished Leipzig professor has for its title "The Old Testament and Modern Theology." After indicating that the chief characteristic of modern theology is its investigation of the documents of the Scriptures from the historical point of view, and claiming that this is justified by the Protestant principle of freedom, he emphasizes the corresponding limitations of this freedom, viz., that it is the freedom of the Christian gospel. In other words, there can be no such thing as unbiased investigation, and the indispensable bias or presupposition for a true knowledge of the Scriptures, or, more exactly, of the Old Testament as a whole, is the Christian *Anschauung*. There is a personal attitude toward Old Testament problems, such as the idea of God, the Messiah, and prophecy, which determines the ultimate value of one's work on these subjects, and that is the Christian attitude. Without doubt much that the author maintains is true, but (1) the danger is that I take *my* Christian conception as the real and ultimate Christian truth, and thereby condemn the work of others who do not hold the personal attitude toward Christianity which I do; (2) it is fallacious to suppose that any personal presuppositions can, in the end, make facts speak otherwise than they do speak; in other words that the results of any work on the Old Testament are beyond the tests of reason, and therefore must be judged by an *a priori* estimate of personal attitude. The Leipzig professor is on very slippery and dangerous ground in this lecture.

In the second lecture, his inaugural address, Dr. Kittel discusses "Isaiah, Chap. 53, and the Suffering Messiah in the Old Testament."

He finds in the exilic conception of suffering as having atoning power for sin, and in the widely spread idea of the suffering of another as atoning for one's own sin, applied to the problem of the exile where there was suffering without deliverance, the region in which the fundamental ideas of Isa., chap. 53, lay. Their union in the notion of an individual suffering and atoning for the sin of Israel—which is to him the only possible interpretation for Isa., chap. 53—he regards as taking its start from the experiences of some historic personage like Jehoiakin or Zerubbabel. The interpretation in that chapter of the past experiences of this individual as having a future atoning power he believes to have already been applied to the Messiah. The historical basis was more and more obscured, and the ideal Messianic conception grew until it reached its fulfilment in Jesus Christ.

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THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO ST. LUKE IN GREEK, after the Westcott and Hort Text, edited with Parallels, Illustrations, various Readings and Notes. By REV. ARTHUR WRIGHT, M.A., Vice-President of Queen's College, Cambridge. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1900. Pp. xl + 230, 4to. \$2.50.

IN this beautiful volume Professor Wright continues his congenial and useful task of presenting the text of the synoptic gospels in form for critical and comparative study, and of expounding and defending the oral hypothesis of the relation of the synoptic gospels to one another. Upon a broad double page the text of Luke, in the order of the gospel itself, occupies the second column, Mark the first, Matthew the third, while the fourth is given to various parallels and to notes. The lower margin contains the Septuagint text of the Old Testament passages which are quoted in the third gospel, and variant readings of Luke's text appear in the column with the text. A very readable introduction discusses the sources and authorship of the gospel. The book invites estimation from two entirely distinct points of view: as an instrument for the study of the gospel of Luke, especially with reference to its sources, and as an argument for the oral hypothesis. From the first point of view it is worthy of all praise; we scarcely see how it could be better. It is a distinct point of superiority of the book, as compared with Mr. Wright's *Synopsis of the Gospels* (1896), that the arrangement of the text is not determined by the

theory of the author as to its sources. The oral hypothesis as here presented is a very different thing from that which Gieseler put forth, and Westcott and Archbishop Thomson advocated a generation or so ago. Instead of one body of oral tradition from which all the synop- tists alike drew, Wright enumerates for Luke six distinct sources (Mark—not the gospel, but the teaching out of which it grew—Mat- thew's Logia, the Pauline source, the infancy narrative, miscellaneous anonymous contributions, editorial notes), to each of which he ascribes a fixity only less than that of a document. Alike the modifications of the view in the direction of the documentary hypothesis and the con- ciliatory, reasonable mode of defense adopted by Mr. Wright incline us to agree with him. Yet we confess to some lingering doubts still. That no documentary hypothesis has yet explained all the facts satis- factorily must be admitted. That Mr. Wright has shown that his hypothesis will account for some things which are stumbling-blocks in the way of the documentary hypothesis is equally true. But his theory drives him also to some strangely improbable suggestions (as, for example, in his discussion of the temptation, p. xxii, and of the woes against the Pharisees, p. xxiii), and others of them seem nearly as suitable to a documentary theory as to his own hypothesis. And is not Mr. Wright a little prone to believe that scholarship has established the things he would have established? Does he not speak too confi- dently of the abandonment of the "Urmatthäus," and of the general recognition of the Lukan authorship of the gospel and Acts?

But whether we accept or reject Professor Wright's theory, we can- not be other than grateful for so admirable an instrument for the study of Luke's gospel, and for the many acute suggestions respecting the relation of it to the other gospels. We hope his volume is to be fol- lowed by a similar one for Matthew.

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**DIE SYNOPTISCHE FRAGE.** Von PAUL WERNLE, Privatdocent an der Universität Basel. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1899. Pp. xii + 256. M. 4.50.

WERNLE's theory of the interrelation of the synoptical gospels is in substance that which has been advocated by Holtzmann, Weizsäcker, and Weiss, and which now has wide currency in the ranks of New Testament critics. A part of the representation of Weiss respecting the source styled the "Logia" he regards as properly subject to

correction. From Holtzmann and Weizsäcker he differs in discrediting the supposition of an original gospel of Mark back of our second gospel, and also in rejecting the notion of an Ebionite working over of the "Logia" before it passed under the review of Matthew and Luke.

Beginning with the third gospel, Wernle notices that it is confessedly based on written sources; and he proceeds to indicate the evidences that among these sources the gospel of Mark held a prominent place, especially as regards the element of narrative. Luke, as he observes, has three great passages, 3:1—6:19; 8:4—9:50, and 18:15—24:10, comprising in all about eleven chapters, the contents of which are derived almost entirely from Mark. While he omits a dozen items recorded by the earlier evangelist, he does not pass them by because they had no place in the document before him, but rather for the sake of avoiding repetitions, or on account of the small significance of the items in question for his readers. Rarely is it necessary to suppose a dogmatic ground for an omission. As for the matter of his narratives, and also for their order, Luke shows himself beholden to Mark. In connection with most of the seven instances in which he deviates from the order followed by his brother-evangelist plausible reasons can be offered for the variation. Though taking largely from Mark, Luke was no servile copyist. He studied his materials from beginning to end before embarking upon the task of composition, and used them as a painstaking historian who did not regard himself as debarred from a margin of editorial discretion. In relation to reported words of Christ, he was careful to retain their meaning; with the narrative portions in his documents he dealt somewhat freely. In general he used very considerable liberty in matters of vocabulary. He might be said to have reproduced Mark in a new Greek dress. The supposition that the parallelisms between the two gospels can be explained by making Mark indebted to Luke is unworthy of serious attention. Important narratives in Luke could not have been so completely ignored by a writer conversant with them as they have been by the author of the second gospel.

If we compare Luke with Matthew, we find that both take up the larger part of the narratives of Mark, and have besides some narratives not contained in Mark. The number of this latter class of narratives, however, is small in comparison with additions to Mark that are special either to Matthew or to Luke. While the two evangelists agree in going back of Mark's history and introducing an account of the birth and infancy of Christ, they are far from putting an identical

content into these introductory portions. It is to be noticed also that they differ in respect of the order in which they reproduce the matter which they have in common with Mark. Moreover, they give in verbal respects a different rendering of this matter, such as is well explained on the supposition that each, independently of the other, worked over the text of Mark. Specially noticeable variations from Mark's dialect do not appear to have passed over from the one to the other. Putting these considerations together, we are compelled to conclude that Matthew and Luke both drew from Mark's narratives, but that neither of the two could have been conversant with the gospel of the other.

Beyond the copartnership of Matthew and Luke with Mark, they have points of contact in reports of sayings or discourses of Christ which both incorporate. At some points these reports approach very closely to verbal identity; at others they diverge considerably. In individual instances a fair explanation of the existing combination of correspondence and difference might be found in the supposition that one of the two gospels supplies the original text, and that the other exhibits the same with more or less modification. But, if the whole body of these resembling discourses is brought under consideration, the only truly satisfactory conclusion is that the two evangelists took the discourses from a source no longer extant, from a collection of the sayings of Christ to which they had access independently. Aside from the combination of this source with Mark, Luke employed various supplementary sources of which no account can be given. The same may also be said of Matthew.

A trace of the compendium of sayings or discourses common to Matthew and Luke has been supposed to be contained in this sentence of Papias: "Matthew composed τὰ λόγια in the Hebrew tongue, and everyone translated it as he was able" (*Eusebius*, III, 29). Wernle notices that the authority of the Septuagint, of the New Testament, and of early patristic literature can be cited for taking τὰ λόγια in the sense of sayings or discourses. A certain support is thus given to the supposition that Papias could not have referred to the complete gospel of Matthew, including, as it does, a very considerable proportion of narrative, but rather to a collection of sayings, the composition of which was antecedent to the gospel of Matthew as known to us. We are warned, however, not to make too much of this consideration, since we find that Papias himself, in referring to Mark's gospel, seems to have included the record both of the words and the deeds of Christ

under the phrase *κυριακοὶ λόγοι*. His language, therefore, is no sure token that in referring to Matthew's "Logia" he may not have intended to designate the complete gospel bearing the name of Matthew. In that event it must be said that he was mistaken in supposing it to have been written primarily in Hebrew. Our Matthew gives no sign of being a translation. On the contrary, its linguistic characteristics may be said distinctly to exclude the supposition that it was written in any other than the Greek tongue.

The composite character of Matthew's gospel, which has been indicated by the comparison of it with the second and third gospels, is revealed still further in certain special characteristics. Among these is the proportion of doublets, or apparent instances of repetition of a given saying of Christ. Something of this sort might appear in an uncompounded writing; but when in Matthew we find twelve instances of doublets, as against nine in the composite gospel of Luke, we naturally conclude that this feature is largely due to the fact that a plurality of sources was employed in the composition of Matthew. Most of the instances of repetition are explained as resulting from the combination of Mark with the Logia. The composite character of Matthew is also evinced by the union of Jewish particularism with what might be termed an anti-Jewish universalism. No other gospel has so much of the former element, so much that reflects a distinctively Jewish consciousness; and yet, none goes farther in expression of the latter element. The union of these contrasted features in the same writing is most reasonably explained on the supposition that the one feature was due to one or more of the sources employed, and the other to the standpoint of the writer.

In using Mark's gospel the author of the first gospel proceeded in some instances more conservatively than did Luke. The difference, however, in this respect is not very wide. Both used the earlier narrative of Christ's life with a freedom which implies that, while they attached to it a high value, they did not regard it as a strictly authoritative rendering of the Christian tradition. Matthew's reproduction of the Logia very likely comes nearer to the original text than does Luke's, but the latter offers a compensation in the more probable association with historical situations which he gives to the Logia. As respects the relative age of the two gospels, adequate means of determination are wanting.

In relation to Mark's gospel, our author finds no fault with the ancient tradition which associates the evangelist with Peter. Even if

we were destitute of the report of Papias, the character of the gospel would lead us to conclude that it was based on the testimony of one of the Twelve, and that Peter most likely was the apostolic witness in question.

It was but a short time since that Theodor Zahn, in his *Einleitung*, made a stalwart attempt to support the traditional theory of the priority of Matthew's gospel to all others. Wernle's book presents with great clearness and cogency the grounds for the opposing theory. It is our opinion that the majority of New Testament critics will agree that the balance of evidence is on the side of Wernle.

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THE TEACHINGS OF THE BOOKS. A Work of Collaboration by HERBERT L. WILLETT and JAMES M. CAMPBELL. Chicago, New York, and Toronto: The Fleming H. Revell Co., 1899. Pp. 337. \$1.25.

THIS is a popular manual, "prepared especially for advanced Bible-class work." It takes up the books of the New Testament in succession, and aims to state succinctly their sources, authorship, environment, characteristics, arrangement, and teachings. It gives evidence of painstaking, and contains material which will be useful for the Bible-class teacher; but it is, of course, not a book to be criticised from the point of view of higher New Testament scholarship. Like all such manuals it is, from the very nature of the case, compelled to deal in broad, general statements and summary conclusions on points which are still hotly contested. This is not done in a dogmatic or offensive manner. The authors recognize differences of opinion among critics and state them frankly. Whether they always recognize *all* the differences, and always allow them their due weight, is another question. The general drift of the book is toward conservative conclusions. It is said that the Johannine authorship of the fourth gospel "may be safely assumed." The residence of John in Ephesus is also assumed, and no hint is given of any difference of opinion on that point. Concerning the pastoral epistles it is said that "the weight of probability lies on the side of their Pauline authorship." Then it is added that "it is not improbable that in their present form they are the work of a later hand, based, however, upon Pauline writings of the latest period." Can this be called Pauline authorship? Their "present form" is the point which particularly concerns us. The second

imprisonment of Paul is assumed as a historical fact. It is not hinted that there is any question on that point; yet the second imprisonment is one of the chief points, if not the chief point, on which the question of authenticity turns, and there is no evidence of any historical value to support that hypothesis. The statements concerning the marked and radical differences from Paul's writings which these epistles exhibit in vocabulary, style, and diction are far too loose and sweeping, as are those concerning the comparative doctrinal aspects.

To say that Tarsus was "a university city where Greek culture must have found *some* expression," is to put the case very mildly. *Μεράνους* does not mean "thinking with." "Theatrized his glory" (John 1:14), even as a literal rendering, is appalling. It is, perhaps, not strange that the authors should have followed the great mass of expositors in giving to *διαθήκη*, in Heb., chap. 9, the double meaning of "covenant" and "testament." For all that, the double rendering is vicious.

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INSTRUCTIONS ON THE REVELATION OF ST. JOHN THE DIVINE  
By REV. CRESSWELL STRANGE. New York: Longmans,  
Green & Co., 1899. Pp. xix + 331. \$2, net.

THIS volume consists of fifty-two short homilies on the Apocalypse. The author's critical position is seen in the fact that his introduction is adapted from Eberhard Vischer. Thus he thinks of John as appropriating earlier Jewish writings, but running them, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, in a Christian mold. Without arguing at length for Vischer's hypothesis, the author mentions two grounds which, in his judgment, support it. First, the Hebraistic language of the Apocalypse, which separates it from all other New Testament literature. The author, however, does not consider whether this feature of the language may not be explained in some other way than as due to a Hebrew original. The second ground supporting Vischer's view is that the thought of some passages, notably chaps. 11 and 12, can hardly be attributed to a Christian author.

Mr. Strange feels that a Christian could not have prophesied the preservation of the temple in view of what Jesus had said on the future of the temple. But if chap. 11, like the Apocalypse throughout, is symbolical, then it is not apparent why a Christian may not have



written it. Again, it is said that the early part of chap. 12 cannot be applied to the birth of Jesus, for that was long *past* when the Apocalypse was written, and the Apocalypse has to do with the future only. It must, therefore, have referred originally to the coming of the Messiah, and have been a Jewish picture. And this view is thought to be strengthened by the fact that this chapter says nothing of the life and death of Jesus, but represents the Messiah as caught up to heaven while a child. But we can hardly affirm that an apocalypse can have no picture out of the past, nor can we say that the writer, if a Christian, would have referred here to the life and death of Jesus, for a Christian might certainly present, as this passage seems to do, the thought that God watches over his Messiah.

In regard to these chapters the author leaves us in a difficult situation. For he says the thought cannot have come from a Christian, but he does not explain why a Christian should have *adopted* thoughts which were wholly foreign to him.

The author's exegesis of the Apocalypse is, on the whole, better than one might expect from his treatment of the question of its origin. He regards the book as dealing with principles rather than specific events, and hence holds it to be a book for all times. The spirit of his *Instructions* is earnest and devout.

But there is one important point in which the book is open to criticism, and that is its failure to explain the symbolism of the Apocalypse in harmony with that Jewish literature, especially the later Old Testament prophets, on which it is so constantly dependent. This failure is the more noticeable since the author, in illustrating his thought and carrying home his lessons, makes large use of the Scriptures.

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THE REVELATION OF JESUS. A Study of the Primary Sources of Christianity. By GEORGE HOLLEY GILBERT, PH.D., D.D., Professor of New Testament Literature and Interpretation in Chicago Theological Seminary. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1899. Pp. xi + 375. \$1.25.

THE subject of this book is the teaching of Jesus. On the score of precision this would have been a better title than that chosen by the author, both because the phrase "revelation of Jesus" is ambiguous (revelation made by Jesus? or revelation of which he is the subject?)

and because, if the phrase is taken in the former meaning, it seems to limit the revelation of God made by our Lord to his words, overlooking that made in his person. To find a suggestion of such limitation in the title would be to do injustice to the author, who plainly holds that the gospels contain, to use his own words (p. 238) "a perfect embodiment of the revelation in the person of the Redeemer" (*cf.* p. 245). "In John, then, as little as in the synoptists, does Jesus ever separate between the verbal and the personal revelation of the Father."

We may conjecture that our author was so deeply impressed with the conviction that the words of Jesus are elements of divine revelation in a sense not to be affirmed of any other human utterances that he determined to express this conviction in his title at the cost of a certain loss of accuracy. Certainly his book must have been written under a deep sense of the surpassing value of the Master's words. Its simplicity and clearness, its entire freedom from pedantry and intellectual formalism, reveal a mind penetrated and informed by the teaching which it reproduces. The book has a freshness and an interesting quality rare among treatises of this kind.

In respect to form it more closely resembles Wendt's *Teaching of Jesus* than any of the other works covering the same ground, though it is not slavishly dependent upon that book. Like Wendt, Professor Gilbert finds the central thought of Jesus' teaching in his conception of the divine Fatherhood. Like Wendt, too, he compares the Johannine representation of the Master's teaching with that given by the synoptists point by point.

Some of Dr. Gilbert's conclusions respecting topics much discussed of late may be briefly referred to. The phrases "Son of God" and "Son of Man," used by Jesus, both denote "Messiah." Jesus did not at any time intend to set up an earthly kingdom. It is probable that "Jesus had from the beginning of his ministry seen that his way would be one of suffering" (p. 251). Christ enjoined upon his disciples the observance of the Lord's Supper (p. 268). The personality of the Spirit "is everywhere assumed in the teaching of Jesus" (p. 305). Christ used the term "parousia" in two senses, meaning first the fruitful preaching of the gospel after Pentecost (p. 325), and secondly (by a figurative use of language), "the consummation of the age" (p. 330). Jesus believed that there was no other judgment than that passed at death on each believer (p. 335). All the unrighteous suffer unending pain from the moment of death (p. 352). The limits of this notice forbid discussion of any of the author's positions. Dissent from

several of them may be briefly indicated. The statement of p. 334, ". . . in no passage regarding the so-called final judgment is there the slightest intimation that it concerns more than a single generation, that is, the generation which is then on the earth," can hardly be reconciled with Matt. 11 : 22 : "It shall be more tolerable for Tyre and Sidon at the day of judgment than for you." On p. 348 it is suggested that these words are "rhetorical allusions." But did our Lord use rhetoric of this sort? That the sudden coming of the Son of Man which should be like the lightning, the flood, the rain of fire upon Sodom, meant the fruitful preaching of the gospel seems excluded by these figures describing it, and by the retributions which Jesus connected with it.

Our author, like Dr. Wendt, fails to find preëxistence ascribed to Jesus in the Christ-speeches of the fourth gospel. The interpretation of John 8 : 58 and 17 : 5 which he presents and elaborately defends seems to me one which will fail to give permanent satisfaction either to the student of exegesis or the plain reader. But my more cautious use of the fourth gospel as a source for the teaching of Jesus would remove consideration of these passages from the discussion of Jesus' teaching concerning his person.

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JESUS UND DAS ALTE TESTAMENT, in ihrer gegenseitigen Bezeugung. Zwei Vorträge auf theologischen Kursen gehalten von THEODOR WALKER, Pfarrer in Kochersteinsfeld. Gütersloh : C. Bertelsmann, 1899. Pp. viii + 132. M. 1.80.

THE relation of Jesus and the Old Testament to each other is a question of the highest moment to all Christian scholars. The Old Testament is permeated by the Messianic element, and on the other hand Jesus makes constant reference and appeal to the Old Testament. Our author seeks in his first lecture to show, by an examination of the utterances of Jesus, that the modern critical theories concerning the origin and composition of the Old Testament are utterly opposed to the teachings of Jesus. The Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, the accuracy of the historical records, the genuineness of Daniel, and, indeed, practically the entire "traditional" theory of the Old Testament are vouched for by Jesus Christ, and consequently are matters of faith for the Christian, lying outside the domain of criticism.

In the second lecture the author asserts that the authority of Jesus supports the dictum of Hengstenberg that the important point in the interpretation of prophecy is to ascertain the meaning of the inspiring spirit, even though this meaning were entirely lost upon the prophetic audience, and indeed upon the prophet himself. The author then follows the prophecy of a personal Messiah from the first promise to Eve, on down through the Old Testament, traversing hurriedly much the same course as that over which Payne-Smith passed in his celebrated "*Bampton Lectures*." The larger part of these Messianic prophecies are said to have found their fulfilment in the life of the historical Jesus. The rest will certainly find their fulfilment at his second coming.

With his assertion that the teaching of our Lord regarding the Old Testament is, or should be, final for the Christian we find ourselves in substantial agreement. But we are persuaded that the matter is not so easy to be disposed of as the author seems to think. The real attitude of Jesus to the Old Testament is not to be ascertained by a mere counting of his statements regarding it. What is needed, and what at present is imperatively demanded, is a careful weighing and interpretation of these utterances in the light of the entire body of our Lord's teaching, and also in the light of all ascertainable facts as to the actual history of the Old Testament.

In spite of its somewhat indiscriminate use of the utterances of Jesus and its failure to do justice to the immediate historical significance of prophecy, this protest of an earnest scholarly man against what he regards as the fatal heresy of the "higher criticism" is deserving of consideration, for there is probably too much of a tendency to ignore or forget that our Old Testament was the "Scriptures" of our Lord.

WALTER R. BETTERIDGE.

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DIE AUFERSTEHUNG DES HERRN UND SEINE ERSCHEINUNGEN,  
Von G. BURCKHARDT. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.  
1899. Pp. iv + 288. M. 2.80.

THE author of this book, a director of missions in Herrnhut, writes, as Luke did, that his readers may know the certainty of the things in which they have been instructed. And he writes with such a sympathetic and thorough acquaintance with the subject that his book

is not only an attractive, but also a forcible apology for the historical character of the narratives of the resurrection.

His critical position is nearer to that of such scholars as Weiss and Beyschlag than to that of the strict conservatives. He admits errors and discrepancies in the narratives, *e. g.*, that Matthew represents Jesus as appearing to Mary Magdalene with the other Mary as they were departing from the tomb, while John says that Jesus appeared to Mary Magdalene alone in the garden; and again that Luke puts certain words of Jesus on the day of the resurrection which were spoken on the day of the ascension. He omits Matthew's narrative regarding an earthquake at the opening of the tomb. He recognizes two streams in the early tradition—one Galilean and the other Jerusalemite—but holds that they are in the main harmonizable.

His attitude toward difficulties and mystery is that of soberness and fairness. There is much in connection with the resurrection which he does not at all seek to explain. The one thing which it was designed to accomplish was to convince the disciples that Jesus had risen and was alive. And this end was indeed accomplished. The objective reality of the resurrection is maintained, but at the same time the author discriminates sharply between a resurrection and the revivification of a corpse.

The book does not confine itself strictly to the data of the gospels. The author here and there draws on his imagination to fill out a picture of which the text has only a suggestion; but the hypotheses that he makes, *e. g.*, in his description of the mood of Peter when Jesus appeared to him, seem very reasonable.

It may be noticed, in conclusion, that Burckhardt regards the act of Jesus in John 20: 22, 23, as symbolical, and that he identifies the appearance to more than five hundred disciples with the appearance to the eleven apostles on a mountain in Galilee.

GEORGE H. GILBERT.

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**DIE ÄLTESTE CHRISTENHEIT.** Betrachtungen über die apostolische Geschichte. Von GEORG LASSON, Pfarrer in Friedersdorf. Erster Band: Die Gründung der Kirche. Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1899. Pp. xii + 408. M. 4.80.

THIS is in some respects a unique book. It is an attempt, and, we believe, a successful one, by a pastor to weave the historical facts of the founding of the Christian church into a series of short sermons, each

of which contains a central thought, while all of them combined present a connected history of the period treated. There are just one hundred and one of these short sermonic sketches in the book under review, and each one has a text which is treated after the expository method. The ground covered by the book extends from the ascension of Christ to the beginning of the third missionary journey of Paul, and therefore needs another volume to complete the history of the entire apostolic period. The object of the author seems to have been to write a book for popular use which would also answer the purpose of a volume of sermons. One chief difficulty in writing a book of such a character is in keeping the great wealth of historical material in subjection to the devotional element which ought to be prominent. The author has been successful in this, so that his sketches are not dry historical dissertations, but really historical sermons. In touching upon questions like these: the early church government, the doctrine of Paul in 1 and 2 Corinthians, the beginning of heresies, and the missionary spirit in the Gentile churches, the author has in each case found an application to present-day needs without becoming controversial or polemical. A strong, healthy evangelical spirit pervades the book, and the great movements, especially characteristic of the apostolic period, are brought out in relief. We noted an occasional departure from historical interpretation to defend a later usage, as for example in the sketch on "Faith and Baptism," where the baptism of the eunuch is made the occasion for bringing in and defending infant baptism, and where the omission from the more perfect Greek texts of Acts 8:37 is declared to be an unanswerable argument against rebaptism. There are, however, only a few such blunders in the book. A pastor will find the book, in its plan and in a great many of its details, very suggestive.

ALBERT J. RAMAKER.

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DIE TODESTAGE DER APOSTEL PAULUS UND PETRUS UND IHRE RÖMISCHEN DENKMÄLER. VON C. ERBES. (= *Texte und Untersuchungen*, Neue Folge, IV, 1a.) Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1899. Pp. 138. M. 5.50.

WE are indebted to Dr. Erbes for a thorough and scholarly review of the whole complex problem of the dates of Paul's and Peter's deaths. The discussion involves the controverted question as to the year in

which Felix was succeeded in Judea by Festus; and we note with no little interest that the writer comes back (with Schürer, *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1898, pp. 21-42) to the year 60 A. D. after a careful consideration of the arguments for an earlier date advanced by Harnack, O. Holtzmann, and others. The current dating for the apostolic age therefore gains new confidence for its assignment of Paul's Roman imprisonment to the years 61-63 A. D., and inferentially for all dates which precede that event. But Dr. Erbes has joined the increasing number of scholars who regard the Roman imprisonment in Acts as terminating with the execution of Paul, and he holds that the date can be exactly fixed as February 22, 63 A. D. Peter appears in Rome after Paul's death, and falls a victim to the slaughter of the Christians which came in the summer of 64 A. D., consequent upon the fire in Rome upon July 19 of that year. The church tradition which places the death of the two apostles upon the same day he regards as a later confusion of the two events, both being inexactly associated with the Neronian persecution. These conclusions, both where they coincide with current views and where they differ from them, are derived from a painstaking and extensive investigation of the whole mass of data which contribute to the solution of this question. The chronicle of Eusebius, the lists of Roman bishops, the writings of Tacitus, Josephus, and Luke, the church traditions, the memorials of the two apostles in Rome—all this testimony has been sifted and compared. We have here, therefore, a discussion which must be carefully weighed by every student of the chronology of the apostolic age; it may assist materially toward the solution of this perplexing problem.

C. W. VOTAW.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

THE STUDENT'S LIFE OF PAUL. By GEORGE H. GILBERT, PH.D., D.D. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1899. Pp. 277. \$1.25.

THIS volume is a companion-piece to the author's earlier volume, the *Student's Life of Jesus* (3d ed., 1900), which has won much praise as a succinct and lucid account of the events of Jesus' life. The present book has the same good qualities as the earlier one. It succeeds in its aim of presenting the facts of Paul's life "apart from a study of his theological teaching," "in as simple and scientific a manner as possible, without comment and without rhetorical elaboration," "in an accessible and usable form." The aim is a limited one, however, and when it is

accomplished one has not the real Paul—the book is not a true biography, because the chief aim has been to ascertain by critical process the detailed incidents and movements of the apostle. These have their value and interest, but they are subordinate to the great personality, the religious fervor and wisdom, and the unsurpassed achievement of Paul.

In the course of his study Professor Gilbert has passed judgment and reached an individual opinion on very many of the controverted questions of the apostolic age. Generally he is in sympathy with progressive conceptions of the history and literature, but at some points he stands firmly by traditional views, *e. g.*, in holding to the North-Galatian hypothesis (pp. 260 ff.), the complete Pauline authorship of the pastoral epistles (pp. 224, 234), the Lucan authorship of Acts (p. 138), and the placing of the apostle's death later than and out of connection with the Neronian persecution in 64 A. D. (pp. 222 ff.). The chronological scheme which he works out for the apostolic age goes a way of its own (pp. 242 ff.). On some points peculiar views are taken, as, *e. g.*, on Paul's relation to the church at Antioch (pp. 70–72), the two names of the apostle (p. 76), and the calling of the Jerusalem conference a *compromise* (pp. 96, 101). The book is a useful one as a popular guide to the study of the events of Paul's career, but that can hardly be called a life of Paul which makes no attempt to set forth his religious experience and his teaching as presented in his own writings. It deals with the bones but not with the flesh, with the details but not with the essentials, with the secondary instead of the primary elements in the apostle Paul.

C. W. VOTAW.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

DIE PAULINISCHE RECHTFERTIGUNGSLEHRE IM ZUSAMMENHANGE IHRER GESCHICHTLICHEN VORAUSSETZUNGEN. Von HERMANN CREMER, Doctor der Theologie und der Rechte, Ord. Professor der Theologie in Greifswald. Gütersloh: Druck und Verlag von C. Bertelsmann, 1899. Zweite Auflage, 1900. Pp. x + 448. M. 6.75; bound, M. 7.50.

THE interest attaching to any work of Hermann Cremer's is increased in the present instance by two facts: it is one of his maturest productions, and it bears his attestation to its value in his formal presentation of it to a dear and distinguished friend, Otto Zöckler, in celebration of his twenty-fifth year of connection with the theological faculty at Greifswald.



The problem of the book is, for substance, this: How comes Paul to designate the plan of salvation in the gospel "a righteousness of God"? How comes he to regard "justification of the sinner by imputation of faith for righteousness" as central in the Christian system? Is this doctrine to be deemed a Pauline innovation? If so, is it an elevation or depression of the teachings of Christ?

The solution is presented in an investigation of the idea of redemption as dependent upon God's gracious justifying act, from its earliest appearance in the Old Testament to its exploitation by Paul.

This investigation consists of six sections. In its first two the idea is traced in the Old Testament, and in the synagogal, principally apocryphal and pseudepigraphic, literature. Here the genesis of Pharisaism, and the existence of that secluded and unostentatiously influential body of biblical students so happily named by our author "Die Stillen im Lande," are treated of, the latter with unusual and interesting detail. In the third section the idea is considered as it shapes John the Baptist's message of a coming kingdom and a Messianic judgment. In the fourth section, the most helpful in the book, the idea is investigated as it presents itself either "plainly and without proverb" or under veil of similitude in the instructions of Jesus. To one of our author's turn of mind this period of the Word's kenotic self-suppression and self-abnegation is predominantly marked by "Rätsel." These are always handled with reverent restraint and instructive insight; as, for instance, in the discussion of the graciousness which led the Messiah to procrastinate the dominant phase of his already established kingdom, because its presence would have precipitated judgment—judgment bringing, of course, deliverance to "the little flock," but doom to the vast, hostile majority—a procrastination, too, which necessitated his death, for such was the inevitable fate of one who showed so much and yet so little of his Messiahship. In the fifth section the idea is followed through the ante-Pauline teachings of Peter and James. In the sixth section it comes to its conclusion in the "Pauline gospel." "When the schism between synagogue and church had reached a point which made it evident that the gospel would never be accepted by Judaism as such, Paul appeared on the scene with the astounding declaration that for the believer judgment was passed—passed as for Abraham when 'he believed God and his faith was counted to him for righteousness'—passed so completely that for the judged one there remained only the glad expectancy of the parousia." That God adjudges his faith to the faithful as righteousness is,

according to Paul, the truth which permeates all scripture, and comes to culminating manifestation in the gospel. "And the righteousness thus adjudged is the forgiveness of sins."

A pleasing instance of our author's fidelity in interpretation without subservience to theological exigency is seen in his remarks on the parable of the Good Samaritan. "An absolutely generous, universal law-fulfilling leads to eternal life. 'Show compassion on the needy.' Is that faith? Well, it either is or tends to be. In the Old Testament 'righteousness' and 'compassion' are synonymous. And nothing so helps to the comprehension and acceptance of the righteousness of the gospel as the cultivation of love. Love produces faith where faith is not; and where faith is love is its sign."

The reading of this book will deepen the conviction that God reveals himself "by divers portions and in divers manners," so that "through the ages one increasing purpose runs;" and that the divine records of that revelation, joined together by certain fundamental ideas, varying in expression, but invariable in essence, are "scriptures which cannot be broken."

A serious defect of the book is its lack of an index, of which there is not even the usual slight pretense.

ROBERT KERR ECCLES.

BOWLING GREEN, O.

DAS REICH GOTTES. Materialien zu einer systematischen Darstellung des socialen Gehalts des Evangeliums. 1. Teil: *Das Princip des Reiches Gottes*. Von BRUNO ANKERMANN. Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1899. Pp. 159. M. 2.40; bd., M. 3.

THE author of this brief and readable volume sees in the doctrine of the kingdom of God the central and constructive thought for all theology. It is not with the doctrine of the kingdom, however, nor with its constructive fitness, that he is here concerned, but rather with the metaphysical grounding of the fact, the tracing of the kingdom which is being historically realized in the world to its pretemporal basis in the being of God. Why should there be any kingdom at all? What is its justifying motive and source, its "principle"? A world, affording the raw material of the kingdom, exists about us in space and time: whence this world? Was it an eternal past fact? Is it an unconscious exudation of divinity? Or, if voluntarily created, are both world and kingdom confession of some preëxisting lack in the

being of God? Safeguarding transcendence and absoluteness, the author with deep scripturalness seeks the roots of creation in the inner-trinitarian relations of the Godhead. Not for the lack of an object of thought and love, but because of an object of thought and love already possessed, the Father creates. The Father loves the Son, and for the Son's sake wills a world of created spirits destined to be like him. The Father gives the world to the Son. Coöperating, the Son gives himself to the world, and will eventually give the world to the Father. This creative and redemptive plan is actualized in space and time by the life-giving Spirit, who is not alone the living bond between Father and Son, but the source as well in created personalities of such character and social relations as the idea of the kingdom involves. Thus for the initial creation of the world, and for the historical achievement of the kingdom, the inner life of the triune God is invoked as source and ground. The principle of the kingdom is the King.

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EUSTATHIUS VON SEBASTE UND DIE CHRONOLOGIE DER BASILIUS-BRIEFE. Eine patristische Studie von DR. FRIEDRICH LOOFS, Professor der Theologie in Halle. Halle a. S.: Max Niemeyer, 1898. Pp. iv + 97. M. 4.

AN apology is due to author and publisher of this work, as well as to the readers of this JOURNAL, for not sooner calling attention to Professor Loofs' <sup>1</sup> important contribution to the study of patristic literature and early church history. For the first time we have here presented clearly and forcibly the true relations which existed between Eustathius, the bishop of Sebaste in Armenia, and his friend and pupil (and, later on, his bitter opponent) Basil the Great. Our author points out that of all recent writers <sup>2</sup> only H. M. Gwatkin in his *Studies of Arianism* (1882) has come near to a just presentation of the history and character of Eustathius, whose biography, for the greater part, can be gathered only from the letters of Basil. This has led the author to examine again the chronology of the 365 letters constituting the

<sup>1</sup> Well known to the readers of the AMERICAN JOURNAL OF THEOLOGY by his excellent article on "Has the Gospel of the Reformation become Antiquated?" Published in Vol. II, pp. 433-72.

<sup>2</sup> Including V. ERNST, "Basilius des Grossen Verkehr mit den Occidentalen," *Zeitschr. f. Kirchengeschichte*, Vol. XVI (1896), pp. 626-64.

correspondence between the two men, as published by Garnier.<sup>3</sup> This is followed (pp. 53-97) by a relatively complete biography of Eustathius, in which Basil appears in the very unpleasant light of an ungrateful pupil and disciple of the famous master of asceticism; for Basil, having imbibed in his early life the teaching and motives of his great master, turned in later time against him in most bitter and vicious attacks, not even shrinking from lies and calumnies.<sup>4</sup> Basil appears now in a totally different light from that in which church historians have thus far represented him; but it is quite possible that Loofs, once having become convinced of the injustice done to Eustathius, has gone somewhat too far to the other extreme. This, no doubt, is very pardonable considering the fact that the reputation of Eustathius has suffered undeservedly for so many centuries. The results of our author's investigations differ decidedly from all views held hitherto, so that every student of early church history must necessarily acquaint himself with the contents of the book and the results of Loofs' investigations, who, by the way, also puts the synod of Gangra down to *ca.* 400 A. D.

W. MUSS-ARNOLT.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

A HISTORY OF LITERARY CRITICISM IN THE RENAISSANCE. By JOEL ELIAS SPINGARN. New York and London: Published for the Columbia University Press by The Macmillan Co., 1899. Pp. xi + 330. \$1.50.

THE central position of Italy and the Italian Renaissance in the development of modern culture has long been understood by scholars. It has been discussed from almost every point of view, and it would seem as if the field had been pretty thoroughly cultivated. But there was still room for work in the history of Italian literary criticism in the sixteenth century and of its influence north of the Alps. It is here that Mr. Spingarn has made his contribution in the volume before us.

<sup>3</sup> A chronological table of the most important letters, dating from 368-78 A. D., is found on pp. 52, 53.

<sup>4</sup> "Eustathius wäre vielleicht ein grosser Heiliger geworden, hätte Basilius seinen Namen nicht stinkend gemacht. Meletius und Basilius sind ihm zum Verhängnis geworden. Noch die orthodoxen Kirchenhistoriker des fünften Jahrhunderts behandeln ihn relativ freundlich, Sozomenos sogar nicht ohne offenbare Sympathie. In der geschichtlichen Forschung aber ist nur das Zerrbild nachgezeichnet worden, das Basilius entworfen hat. Es wird Zeit, dass diese Ungerechtigkeit gesühnt wird" (p. 97).

The book gives abundant evidence of careful and extensive research, and not only deserves the attention of students of literature, but will be a wonderful tonic to preachers who miss the high mark if they do not perpetually look far beyond the immediate necessities of their calling.

The three parts into which the work is divided are: "Literary Criticism in Italy;" "Literary Criticism in France;" "Literary Criticism in England."

The discussion of Part I, on "Literary Criticism in Italy," is, of course, the strongest, as we should expect it to be, since it is basal to the succeeding parts. This, however, is not to say that the other parts are not admirably done.

In Part I the author begins with the fundamental problem of Renaissance criticism, and treats of the mediæval conceptions of poetry, the moral justification of poetry, and the final justification of poetry. He then proceeds to the general theory of poetry in the Italian Renaissance and treats of poetry as a form of scholastic philosophy, and as an imitation of life, and of the function of poetry. In the third chapter he considers the theory of the drama, discussing the subject, function, and characters of tragedy, with the dramatic unities and comedy. Other chapters are on the theory of epic poetry, the growth of the classic spirit in Italian criticism, seen in humanism, Aristotelianism, and rationalism; and the romantic elements in Italian criticism—as the ancient, mediæval, and modern romantic elements.

All these subjects are treated in the light of their historical development.

J. W. MONCRIEF.

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DIE "WIEDERTÄUFER" IM HERZOGTUM JÜLICH. Studien zur Geschichte der Reformation, besonders am Niederrhein. Von DR. PHIL. KARL REMBERT. Berlin: R. Gaertner's Verlag (H. Heyfelder), 1899. Pp. xii + 638. M. 16.

THIS splendid volume, embodying as it does many years of diligent research work on the part of a thoroughly competent scholar, is a fresh indication of the intelligent interest that has been aroused in Germany in the history of formerly despised sects, and of the growing disposition among German historical scholars to do justice even to those that have borne the hated name "Anabaptist." The motto on the title page, from a letter by Bonifacius Amersbach, well expresses the attitude of the writer toward the subjects of his monograph: *Ipsa veritas deposita*

*persona suam demum velint nolint ostendet faciem.* He proposes in what he calls his "modest presentation" to depart from the old traditional method of dealing with the history of "Täuferthum" by seeking "to be just." In the entire 650 pages of the work no unkind or uncharitable word has been noted, even the horrors of the Münster fanaticism being accounted for, without attempting to discredit the principles of antipedobaptism, as the outcome of social, religious, and political conditions for which the Anabaptists and their leaders were in no way responsible and which were irresistible in their influence upon certain classes of minds.

The related provinces of Jülich, Berg, and Cleve lie on the lower Rhine, almost surrounding the archiepiscopal province of Cologne, and bordering on the Netherlands and the bishopric of Münster. Cologne was the great center of this region, and many of the chief actors in the Anabaptist movement here described were more or less closely related to the intellectual and religious life of this city. It was one of the most important ecclesiastic centers of northwestern Germany. The archbishop-elect was a potentate in civil as well as in ecclesiastical administration. Being an important manufacturing and commercial center, it could not escape the influence of the evangelical sects of the mediæval time or of the Anabaptist movement that perpetuated the spirit and the methods of propagandism of the earlier parties. The "Brethren of the Common Life" permeated this region with their educational and evangelistic work, and diffused a beautiful combination of humanism with evangelical Christianity. The influence of Erasmus on the religious thought of this region was important, and one of the most interesting sections of the present work is that in which the author seeks to show how much there was in common between the teachings of Erasmus regarding the independent study of the Scriptures in their original languages with the sole aim of getting at the exact meaning of the sacred writers, regarding the incompatibility of warfare with the spirit of the gospel and the terrible evils of war, and regarding the spirituality of Christianity as contrasted with the ceremonialism of the Roman Catholic church, etc., and those of the group of learned, godly men who passed from humanistic Catholicism to Lutheranism of a moderate type, from Lutheranism to Zwinglianism, from Zwinglianism to moderate Anabaptism, and from moderate Anabaptism in some cases to virtual anti-trinitarianism, and in others to the wild fanaticism of Münster, all of whom were doubtless profoundly influenced by his writings. Rembert gives convincing evidence of the high esteem in which Erasmus

was held by the leading antipedobaptist teachers of this region and the Netherlands. Menno Simons spoke of him in the most complimentary terms and constantly appealed to him as an authority. The "Brestkins Bible," long in exclusive use among the Mennonites, was based very largely upon Erasmus' studies. The influence of Carlstadt, who visited these regions and whose writings were there circulated somewhat extensively, is recognized by the author and must have been considerable.

One of the most interesting characters we encounter here is Gerhard Westerburg. Already doctor of the University of Cologne, we find him in 1522 in close association with Nicolas Storch, the Zwickau prophet. Luther mentions in a letter of September 4, 1522, a visit of Storch, in military array, in company with Dr. Gerardus of Cologne, and states that the conversation was wholly about infant baptism. From this time onward for some years he published many tracts in the spirit of Carlstadt, the circulation of whose works he promoted and with whom he agreed in opposing the violent proceedings of Thomas Münzer. Yet he was finally carried off his feet by the contagion of Münster fanaticism. It is interesting to note that Westerburg and other antipedobaptist preachers of this region adopted Carlstadt's interpretation of the passage "This is my body," in accordance with which "this" refers to Christ's own body, which he touched as he spoke. It is also worthy of observation that this interpretation was not original with Carlstadt, but is attributed by Moneta to mediæval Cathari and Waldenses. Westerburg is said to have visited Münster during the siege; but he returned to Cologne, escaped the fate of the Münsterites, was sobered by the results of the Münster fanaticism, and lived and labored until after 1545.

In connection with his sketch of Adolf Clarenbach, another remarkable antipedobaptist leader, Rembert brings together a great body of exceedingly interesting facts with a view to showing the wide diffusion in these regions of old evangelical life and thought, and he makes it probable that Clarenbach himself was no new convert to evangelical views. In his general conception of the wide prevalence and the vast influence of old evangelical life and thought at the beginning of the Protestant revolution, and of the perpetuation of the mediæval evangelicalism in the various branches of the Anabaptist movement, Rembert is in entire accord with Keller, Ernst Müller, Nicoladini, and others. In the reviewer's opinion, he has materially strengthened this position by the facts that he has brought to light. He quotes largely from a

highly interesting writing of 1525 by Hans Locher, which he agrees with Keller must have emanated from old evangelical circles. In this tract it is estimated that in eight hundred years 12,000,000 evangelical Christians have been destroyed by "anti-Christian tyrants." Luther is denounced as a "traitor to the gospel." Such writings illustrate the bitterness of spirit produced by the persecuting measures of Catholics and Protestants, and enable us to account for the fanaticism that occasionally appeared. The account of the labors, the trial, and the martyrdom of Clarenbach is full of interest.

The most distinguished of the radical evangelicals of this region was John Campanus, to the narrative of whose life and the exposition of whose teachings the author devotes nearly a fourth of his space. He is foremost in the group of "Wassenberg preachers," and ranks among the most eminent thinkers and writers of the time. In common with many others he passed through the various stages of belief mentioned above, and ended with a remarkably enthusiastic and evangelical type of antitrinitarian mysticism. The extended quotations from the rare writings of this important man will be greatly appreciated by students of doctrine-history. The author traces in a very effective way the influences that were brought to bear from time to time on Campanus' susceptible mind, those of Sebastian Franck, Denck, and Bänderlin being prominent. The careers of his associates, Henry Roll, Dionysius Vinne, John Klopriss, Gottfried Stralen, and Henry Slachtscaep, who, having passed through the various stages of departure from Roman Catholicism described above, became at last involved in the Münster fanaticism, are also given with fulness and insight. Melchior Hoffmann, whose influence was so great throughout these regions in preparing the way for the Münster fanaticism, receives his due share of attention, as do also Jan Matthys, Bernard Rothmann, and John of Leyden. The history of the Anabaptist movement in Jülich-Berg-Cleve is so closely related to that of Westphalia and that of the Netherlands, and especially with the great Münster catastrophe, that all the important facts in relation to the latter must needs be brought into relief. The contents of the work are too varied and too rich to be adequately indicated in a notice of this kind. A comprehensive bibliography, including the unprinted sources, is a valuable feature of the work.

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HISTOIRE DES RAPPORTS DE L'ÉGLISE ET DE L'ÉTAT EN FRANCE DE 1789 À 1870. Par A. DEBIDOUR. Paris: Félix Alcan, 1898. Pp. xc + 650. Fr. 12.

THE history of France from 1798 to the present has been the history of the French Revolution writ large, of the struggle between the revolutionary and reactionary forces. The chief of the latter has been the Roman Catholic church, which suffered so severely at the first onset of the Revolution. Never since the first hostile stroke has it ceased to strive—as it alone knows how to strive—to regain its lost sway: now in alliance with, now in hostility to, Bourbon, Bonapartist, and republican. The history of this struggle, down to the Vatican council and the fall of the third empire in 1870, is narrated by Debidour in a very substantial volume. M. Debidour, as the list of his writings shows, is a very prolific writer; and this latest fruit of his pen bears evidence of great toil and care. Hitherto the student of the subject investigated has been compelled to compass a vast amount of monographic material, which has accumulated especially in the last few years. M. Debidour has skilfully handled this, and presented a work which must prove of great service to the student and of suggestiveness to the scholar desirous of fuller investigation. The bibliography subjoined to each chapter is of especial value. The author treats his subject much as a sympathetic student of the French Revolution would wish to have it treated. His judgments are fair. He is neither positivist nor ultramontane. The rule he has hewn by substantially conforms to the American conception of right relations between church and state: “L'état n'a le droit ni de proscrire ni d'entraver une religion qui ne trouble pas l'ordre public; il n'a pas non plus celui de légiférer en matière spirituelle. Mais nulle religion ne doit, à mon sens, empiéter sur le domaine de la société civile, et si, par suite d'un pareil abus, un conflit se produit entre les deux pouvoirs, le dernier mot doit toujours rester à l'état” (p. 1). The introductory chapter, “On the Relations between the Two Powers under the *ancien régime*,” might have been developed with advantage. The first half of the work deals with the ascendancy of the Revolution; the second, with the reaction, or growing preponderance of the church. The dividing line is drawn at the fall of the first Napoleon. In the opinion of the author, the Convention, though it did not direct or instigate the municipal excesses against the church and in favor of the worship of Reason, really wished to de-Christianize France (p. 129). The success of Napoleon I. in binding the church to his chariot wheels was really failure. His oppression

drove the church to yield herself to the papacy with a docility she had never before exhibited: "L'ancien régime avait fait le clergé de France gallican, Napoléon le fait ultramontane" (p. 227). The rôle of the church in the various revolutions since the fall of the great Napoleon is well brought out. M. Debidour is especially felicitous in his explication of the shifty and tortuous policy of Napoleon III., and of his embarrassing relations with the church. His judgment on this phase of the struggle is, in brief: "Louis-Napoléon, qui ne pouvait sans le concours du parti catholique parvenir ni à la présidence ni à l'empire, conclut avec lui un pacte qui, rendu manifeste par l'expédition de Rome et par la loi Falloux, le lia pour tout son règne à la politique de l'église et, en fin de compte, ne contribua pas médiocrement à sa ruine" (p. 646).

The work is brought down only to 1870, the domain of current politics, for obvious reasons, being left untouched. The conclusion of the whole matter, according to M. Debidour, is startling. The church has triumphed in the struggle: "Non seulement l'église de France n'est pas morte, mais elle semble être sortie des épreuves révolutionnaires plus vivace, plus forte et mieux armée que jamais" (p. 645). The book emphasizes the action of the church upon the state rather than *vice versa*. It is written for the historical rather than the theological student, and can be used to best advantage by those who are familiar with the history of Europe. The style of the author is clear and pleasing, the type and paper good, the binding almost non-existent. The appended *Pièces justificatives* include the more important documents of the period, from the Civil Constitution of the clergy to the encyclical *Quanta cura* and the *Syllabus*.

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LE TROISIÈME CENTENAIRE DE L'ÉDIT DE NANTES, en Amérique et en France. Paris: Agence Générale de la Société du Protestantisme français, 1898. Pp. 225 and facsimiles.

THIS attractive volume, published under the auspices of the Society of the History of French Protestantism, is a valuable contribution to the literature of the French Reformation, and to the history of the Huguenots in America.

The meetings were held in April and June, 1898, in New York and in Nantes. The idea of a celebration of the third centenary of the Edict of Nantes was first conceived by Mrs. James M. Lawton, who is a

descendant from a Huguenot family. A very readable account is given of the celebration in New York, of the beauty and magnitude of the city, of the charming manner in which the delegates were entertained, of the courtesy of the press, and so on.

The representation from the different states was wide—including South Carolina, Virginia, Maine, and Delaware—showing how extensively the Huguenots are distributed over the country.

It is interesting to note that Faneuil Hall owes its existence to Pierre Faneuil, a Huguenot, and Bowdoin College was founded by Governor Bowdoin in memory of his father, a Huguenot, and Vassar college was founded by Matthew Vassar, a descendant of French refugees.

But the chief interest will be found in the addresses and characteristic documents that are printed in the volume.

Among the papers are the address of the president of the society, a paper showing that the edict was never truly observed either in its letter or in its spirit, and others on Protestant education under the edict, and the difficulties and obstacles which the edict encountered.

In the part of the volume devoted to the documents is much valuable matter pertaining to the edict and its promulgation among the Huguenot towns.

The illustrations are excellent. Among them are a view of the bridge and castle of Nantes; autograph signatures of eighteen deputies of the Reformed churches; a facsimile of the first and last two pages of the edict, and a facsimile of a decree of November 9 forbidding instruction in the humanities in the Protestant schools.

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THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY AND DIARY OF SAMUEL DAVIDSON, D.D., LL.D. Edited by his Daughter. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark; New York: Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons, 1899. Pp. xiii + 373. \$3.

THE life of Davidson has unusual interest because of his singular position among English biblical critics. This autobiography was begun in Dr. Davidson's sixty-seventh year, shortly after the death of his wife, and in fulfilment of her wishes. In the first chapter, indeed, is a tribute to her memory written the very day she died, and the anniversaries of that day are generally marked by similar memorials. To the first fifty years of his life less than thirty pages are devoted. These

record his birth in Kellswater, Ireland, and sketch his education at home, in Ballymena and Belfast. In 1832 he was licensed to preach by the Ballymena presbytery, subscribing to the Westminster Confession "with exceptions." "But my mind," he writes, "was in traditional fetters at the time." After two years of preaching he was appointed professor of biblical criticism to the students under the care of the general synod of Ulster. He published lectures on this subject in 1839. Failing to secure the professorship of Hebrew in Glasgow College, and finding his mind turning toward Congregationalism, he was in 1842 appointed professor of biblical criticism in the Lancashire Independent College at Manchester. Of his work on *Sacred Hermeneutics*, published about this time, he says: "Sufficiently orthodox, the book was well received by the public."

In 1844 Davidson visited Germany for the first time, and met Neander, Bleek, Roediger, Tholuck, and Bretschneider. In 1848 appeared the first volume of his *Introduction to the New Testament*, which secured him the degree of doctor of theology from the university of Halle. His fame and influence seemed to be rapidly extending until the publication in 1856 of his volume on the Old Testament in the new edition of Horne's *Introduction*. "This led," he says, "to our being turned out of house and home, with a name tainted and maligned." The story of the investigation which ended in his resignation, as told by Mr. Picton, one of his old students, is interesting reading. His daughter says, in the preface, that his attitude in memory of these events "was one of serene detachment, and, though he spoke plainly on that as on most other things and considered that he had been treated very unjustly, he shrank from recording the story himself." At the age of eighty-six, however, he wrote, in view of certain ecclesiastical trials in America: "A committee appointed to discover heresy will generally succeed in doing so. . . . It is said that heresy trials are mere farces, but they are not so to him who is declared heretical; for the brand is remembered against him, meeting him at every step in all the relations of life. The proper outcome of a heresy trial is the gallows or the stake." This is proof that the iron had entered his soul. Of the process by which he changed from conservative and traditional views to those of radical criticism little or nothing is said. That the change was due to German, and especially the Tübingen, criticism is perfectly evident. But one would like to know something of the psychological progress and spiritual experiences which belonged to one of the most rapid and complete revolutions

known to theological biography. Of any internal struggle or sense of loss or fear of consequences to the church there is little or no trace. There is great confidence in the new views, and a religious faith which apparently remained steadfast and serene as it grew increasingly vague and lost its early supports. Henceforth Davidson is the solitary scholar, working on with placid patience and untiring industry, writing, revising, and publishing. One might imagine him to be a German professor stranded in England. He established a quiet home in London, in which he was tenderly cared for by his wife and daughter, recognized by scholars everywhere, "but belonging to no outward church or sect," "an eclectic and peculiar," with little personal influence or following, unchecked by the responsibilities of teaching, and unsupported by membership in a great communion and the intimacy of strong men associated in a great work. The contrast between this life and that of Hort is most striking. Davidson's solitariness is deeply pathetic. To this is doubtless due, in large measure, his wide departure at last from his early faith. But he continued to believe in a loving Father, in Jesus Christ his son, the highest, purest likeness of God in humanity, and in the Holy Ghost, the divine influence diffused through creation, dwelling in all believers, sustaining and pervading their life. "The steady contemplation of Jesus by the disciple is the instrument of renovation."

The bulk of the book is a somewhat desultory diary covering the years from 1856 to 1894. Some of the notes on his biblical studies are tedious and inconsequential. But the comments upon men and things, and especially upon the biblical and religious events of his long life, are those of an extraordinary man, a learned and conscientious scholar, an idealist, and a lover of peace, of truth, of God, and of his fellow-men. It is easy to imagine him as far happier and more influential as a professor in a German university; or saved from extreme negative views by responsible position in the Anglican church. He would in either case have been a more potent factor in the religious world and less exclusively a mere man of books. Yet in either case we should have lost the shining example of this brave and solitary scholar whose spirit excommunication could not embitter and whose religious faith, passing through many transformations, survived them all.

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ATHANASIANA: Litterar- und dogmengeschichtliche Untersuchungen. Von LIC. ALFRED STÜLCKEN. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1899. Pp. viii + 150. M. 5.

THE incorporation of this monograph in Gebhardt and Harnack's *Texte und Untersuchungen* (it forms IV. Band, 4. Heft, of the New Series) constitutes a sufficient guarantee of its high merit as a piece of scientific research work. The author set out, at Professor Loofs' suggestion, to make a study of Athanasius' Christology. He soon found himself beset with difficulties owing to the uncertainty as to the authorship of several of the treatises that have been ascribed to Athanasius and as to the date of some of the works whose genuineness is reasonably certain. This circumstance led him to make a critical study of the Athanasian literature, with a view to determining questions of genuineness and date, his first task, and to this task over half of the volume is devoted. The result of his criticism has been to establish the Athanasian authorship of the following treatises: *Contra Gentes* and *De Incarnatione* (323 or later); *In illud Mt. xi.27* (ca. 336); *Contra Arianos*, I-III (338-9); *Apol. contra Arianos* (ca. 350); *Ep. de Sent. Dionysii* and *Ep. de decr. Nic. Synodi* (346-55); *Ep. Encyc. ad Episcopos Aeg. et Libyae* (356); *Apol. ad Constantium*, *Apol. de Fuga Sua*, *Hist. Arianorum ad Monachos*, and *Vita Antonii* (ca. 357); *Ep. ad Ser.*, I-IV, 7 (ca. 359); *De Synodis* (359); *Tom. ad Antiochenos* (362); *Ep. ad Afros* (ca. 369); *Ep. ad Epictetum*, *Epist. ad Adelphium*, and *Ep. ad Maximum* (371).

The following writings he considers either spurious or so doubtful as to be useless for the study of Athanasius' Christology: *Expositio Fidei*, *Sermo Major de Fide*, *Contra Arianos*, IV, *De Inc. contra Arianos*, *Contra Apollinarium*, I and II, and *De Trinitate et Spiritu Sancto*.

Limitation of space renders it impracticable to indicate here the process by which the author arrives at these results, and to criticise his criticism would require a study of Athanasius' works as thorough as his own.

In the christological part of the monograph Athanasius' teachings regarding "The Humanity of Christ," "The Relation of the Logos and the Body," and the "Details of the Christology," are treated with the thoroughness and the full utilization of the available materials that we have learned to expect in the best class of German research works. He devotes special attention to Athanasius' biblical exegesis, but does not attempt to determine the precise relation of his exegesis to that of

his predecessors, being assured that even when he borrowed from others he made each interpretation thoroughly his own, and that his knowledge of the Scriptures was thorough and independent. He does not give Athanasius high credit for ascribing the human predicates (attributes) of Christ to the body (against the Arians who based their denial of his deity on the theory that the Logos constituted the entire rational nature of Christ), and yet insisting that the subject of these predicates (attributes) is nevertheless the Logos (in opposition to the Antiochians). He seems really not to have had a satisfactory theory of the relation of the divine and the human in the person of Christ and to have fallen back on simple faith: in his God he has his Redeemer, wherefore also he has in his Redeemer his God. He had no satisfactory theory of the unity of the divine and the human in a single personality, although he insisted on this unity in opposition to the Antiochians, and he scarcely rose above a mere "community of predicates" (attributes). It is our author's opinion that the great Alexandrian fell into a multitude of contradictions, and in this he is doubtless correct. His chief merit was to strike out a *via media* between Arianism and Antiochianism, and to prepare the way for the more penetrating and consistent teachers of the later time. While he cannot properly be charged with monophysitism, he was far more a forerunner of this form of thought than of the Chalcedonian Christology. Of course it would be unreasonable to expect to find in Athanasius the fully developed Christology of the following time.

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DIE GOTTES- UND LOGOS-LEHRE TERTULLIANS. Von JOHANNES STIER, DR. PHIL., LIC. THEOL. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1899. Pp. 104. M. 2.40.

THIS is a fine specimen of the German doctor's thesis. The author introduces his subject with a not particularly original remark to the effect that the scientific handling of Christian doctrine had its rise, not in simple preaching of the gospel for edificatory purposes, but in efforts to defend Christianity against the attacks of paganism or to win those who were imbued with pagan modes of thought to a knowledge of the truth. Especially was it the pressure of the Greek philosophy, exerted in part through Gnostic teachers, that promoted the scientific formulation of the principles of Christianity.

He distinguishes three main directions in the movement of the scientific handling of Christian doctrines up to the time of Origen: the Alexandrian (Clement and Origen), the school of Asia Minor (Irenæus), and the Carthaginian-Roman school (Tertullian). The first was essentially Gnostic, exalting knowledge above faith, losing sight of the historical in Christianity, allegorizing the Scriptures without scruple, concerning itself chiefly with transcendental speculations about the Godhead, and conceiving of Christianity as the highest and truest philosophy. The second he characterizes as a "theology of facts." Here history is given its rightful place. The history of revelation is conceived of as a history of salvation, culminating in Christ Jesus, the second Adam, the Son of God, the revealer of the divine love. Theology must be based upon and anchored by the facts of revelation as they are contained in the Scriptures.

The last (that finds its embodiment in Tertullian) conceives of Christianity not chiefly as the highest and truest philosophy or as the history of salvation, but rather as a divine law (*lex regula fidei*). The facts of the Christian revelation are viewed and estimated less from a subjectively religious than from an objectively legal point of view, as a statutory institution, as a command from which there is no escape (*auctoritas*), as a norm set up in an external way for the guidance of the believer to blessedness. This type of Christian theology is eminently practical, for the great mass of believers require rules of faith and norms to walk by. But since many feel the need of making these norms intelligible, *ratio* is superadded to *auctoritas*, the norms are subjected to a syllogistic-dialectic treatment that reaches, and is meant to reach, only so far as the popular understanding may accompany it. This theology, accordingly, laid more and more stress on psychology, which became its chief strength. It is the theology of actuality, of reality.

That this type of theology became more and more dominant is ascribed by the author, not simply or chiefly to external circumstances (as the importance of Rome), but to the character of the theology itself: the more practical is also at the same time the more powerful. In the organized church the practical theology of Carthage and Rome found its chief sphere of influence. Though scientifically feeble as compared with the systems of Alexandria and Asia Minor, it has greatly surpassed them in its practical organizing efficiency.

Most of the volume is devoted to the discussion of Tertullian's "special conception of God" and his "Logos doctrine." These topics



are treated almost exhaustively with special reference to the philosophical theories that underlie his teaching. The author recognizes the molding influence of the Stoic philosophy on Tertullian's theological thinking, and he abundantly justifies the position assumed by a detailed comparison of Tertullian's statements with the utterances of leading representatives of Stoicism. To this source is rightly attributed Tertullian's materialistic conception of God, to whom he ascribed a corporeal nature: *Omne, quod est, corpus est sui generis; nihil est incorporeale, nisi quod non est* (*De Carne*, X, 11). Stier's exposition of Tertullian's teaching regarding the divine attributes and his effort to account for each peculiarity are full of interest.

In his Logos doctrine Tertullian is declared to stand essentially upon the same platform with the apologists of the earlier time. His doctrine bears throughout a cosmological character. There is wanting as a constitutive element therein the thought of redemption (atonement). This thought is not wholly neglected, but it is tacked on rather than incorporated. His teaching formed a transition from the subordinationism of the earlier time to the doctrine of [the unity in essence of the Son with the Father; but he failed utterly to avoid implicit subordinationism or to give anything like a satisfactory statement of the relation of the Son to the Father.

I do not notice that the author has advanced anything that is altogether new in his discussion; but by treating Tertullian's theology monographically he has been able to bring the materials together with admirable fullness and to give a thoroughly satisfactory *rationale* of Tertullian's system.

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A HISTORY OF NEW ENGLAND THEOLOGY. By GEORGE NYE BOARDMAN, Professor Emeritus of Systematic Theology in Chicago Theological Seminary. New York: A. D. F. Randolph Co., 1899. Pp. 314. \$1.50.

THE object of this book is to trace what was formerly called the "new divinity" in its development from about 1730 through the Edwardean and Hopkinsian eras to what came to be known later as the "New England theology."

The first, or Edwardean, period, 1730-60, covered the active life of Jonathan Edwards, the coryphæus of the attempt to maintain

Calvinism and to regain the ground lost, especially in eastern Massachusetts, to the Arminians. Edwards was ordained at Northampton in 1727, removed to Stockbridge in 1751, where he wrote his treatises on *The Will* and *Original Sin*, and died at Princeton, N. J., in 1758. During this period Whitefield preached in New England, Chauncey and Mayhew declared their conservatism in opposition to the evangelistic spirit of the "Great Awakening," Edwards conducted and defended revivals, opposed the half-way covenant, and insisted on the importance of personal Christian experience.

The practical rise of the "new divinity" dates from the "Great Awakening" and the "new-light" movement, though Dr. Park has referred its origin to Edwards' treatise on *Virtue*.

Transition to the Hopkinsian period from about 1760 was marked by the writings and influence of Joseph Bellamy and Samuel Hopkins. They discussed sin, responsibility, and virtue. "Disinterested benevolence" was pressed to extravagant and unwarranted extremes.

The New England theology was shaped largely by the views of the younger Edwards concerning the atonement. Under his lead the satisfaction theory was rejected, and some form of the governmental theory of the atonement has been taught in New England from the time of Jonathan Edwards, Jr., until the close of Dr. Park's active service at Andover, though the moral-influence theory, largely under the influence of Bushnell, has been received with favor by men like Lyman Abbott, to whom the governmental theory was taught in early life.

The New England theology found further expression in the modifications advocated by N. W. Taylor, professor of theology at New Haven from 1822 to 1858. Taylor was vigorously opposed by Leonard Woods, professor at Andover from 1808 to 1846, and by Bennet Tyler, who became professor of theology at the theological seminary which was established at East Windsor, Conn., in 1834 for the express defense of the old doctrine against the innovations of the New Haven school. The Taylor-Tyler controversy embraced a vigorous discussion of the doctrines of sin, freedom, and regeneration.

With the more recent "new theology" Dr. Boardman has little sympathy. In a brief closing chapter he gives a gloomy picture of present theological thought in New England. According to him present tendencies are characterized by (1) dissent from the old theology and the robust teaching of the great theologians of the past, rejection of historic creeds without any definite formularies in their place, and an imitation of Coleridge and Maurice to the verge of

rationalism and unbelief; (2) a sentimental doctrine of divine love which obscures the sterner teachings of the Bible and minimizes the sense of personal responsibility for wrong-doing; (3) serious modification of historic views concerning the authority and the interpretation of the Scriptures, especially in reference to the incarnation, sin, redemption, and final destiny; (4) a somewhat inconsistent adoption of necessarian evolution joined with a recognition of God as Creator and ruler; (5) a tendency to regard Christ as a natural product.

In answer to the claim that the new theology is Edwardean, Dr. Boardman frankly admits that Edwards was "a thorough idealist, but was obliged to use language to be interpreted in accord with a different philosophy, so that his meaning is not always clear." Still it is maintained that Edwards' views of God's glory as the "last end in creation," of sin and redemption, and of grace, were eminently conservative, and deny beforehand the main positions of the "new theology."

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GESCHICHTE UND KRITIK DER NEUEREN THEOLOGIE, insbesondere der systematischen, seit Schleiermacher. Von FR. H. R. VON FRANK, † Geheimrath und Professor der Theologie in Erlangen. Aus dem Nachlass des Verfassers herausgegeben von P. Schaarschmidt, Pastor in Zeschwitz bei Leipzig. Dritte revid., mit einem Beitrag über die Frank'sche Theologie von Professor D. Seeberg vermehrte Auflage Mit dem Bildniss des Verfassers. Erlangen und Leipzig: A. Deichert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung Nachf., 1899. Pp. 369. M. 6.25.

WE have here the *Grundstock* of a history of modern theology which Frank, should he live, intended to write. The manuscript, as he left it, gives his views to the public in an intelligible manner. The book is designed to be a "guide to the pilgrim along the path both of scientific theological knowledge and of that knowledge of God which accrues to faith." The introduction is devoted to the preconditions of entrance into modern theology, and, owing to its excellent discussion of method, reformation and subjectivism, the time of orthodoxy, and the historic relation between theology and philosophy, is an important piece of work. The first two chapters are given to the theology of Schleiermacher, and the theology dependent upon him. The

third is concerned with the theology determined by modern (especially monistic) philosophy; the fourth, with the theology allied again to the ecclesiastical faith. The last chapter reviews the most recent movements in the region of theology, criticising severely the Ritschlians.

Not the least important part of the book is Professor Seeberg's lecture (added in this edition) on "Die Theologie Frank's in ihren Grundzügen."

These lectures—for such they originally were—are brilliant and popular in style, suggestive for substance; but, inasmuch as all is judged from the Frankian point of view, lack much in scientific impartiality and objectivity.

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**THE RITSCHLIAN THEOLOGY: Critical and Constructive. An Exposition and an Estimate.** By ALFRED E. GARVIE, M.A. (Oxon.), B.D. (Glasgow). Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark; New York: Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons, 1899. Pp. xxvii + 400. \$3, *net*.

THIS book contains the author's recent lectures in Mansfield College, Oxford, but "revised, corrected, expanded, . . . improved," and now published "in the hope that the wider public of theological readers may accord his labors the same generous recognition as was given by the students there." The book is not intended for theological scholars, but for students who do not know German very well; nor is it intended to be an exhaustive or a systematic account of the Ritschlian theology; rather, attention is concentrated on the few distinctive features and dominant factors of this theological movement. The book is limited to a study of the works of the recognized leaders of the school, Ritschl (mainly), Hermann, Kaftan, and Harnack.<sup>1</sup> As far as possible, the writer has allowed Ritschl and his followers to speak for themselves, presenting their own conclusions in their own way. Garvie characterizes his own spirit as follows: "As the writer is convinced that English theological thought can only gain by the hospitable entertainment of the religious teaching of other lands, and as the Ritschlian school has as yet not received a cordial welcome in Britain, he has sought to present this subject in as generous and sympathetic a spirit as he can," striving at the same time to recognize

<sup>1</sup> It is to be noted that critics do not relate Schultz very closely with this tendency, on the ground that he is a Schleiermacherite.

fully the claims of truth and justice. In this he has succeeded better than Professor Orr,\* who, with even greater pretensions to fairness and the absence of prepossession, tests Ritschlianism by the orthodox system of thought as fixed and final truth, and of course finds it wanting, or else, in points where it agrees with that system, superfluous. While Garvie has limited his exposition and estimate to the men named above, he is manifestly familiar with the entire Ritschlian literature, as well as with the works setting forth a critical study of it, in particular that by Ecke, the best German study of the subject, upon which he gratefully acknowledges his dependence in many ways.

Passing now to the contents of the book, it must suffice to indicate that Garvie, after describing the historical antecedents and environment which gave rise to this theological movement, discusses in successive chapters its exclusion of metaphysics from theology, rejection of speculative theism, condemnation of ecclesiastical dogma, antagonism to religious mysticism, value-judgments of religion, historical character of revelation, regulative use of the idea of the kingdom of God, the doctrine of the person and work of Christ, the doctrine of sin and salvation, and the doctrine of the church—closing with a critical estimate “which must be tentative.” It seems to me that Garvie achieves a good degree of success in pointing out the merits of the Ritschlian theology, which are (a) its *method*: “biblio-spheric,” “Christo-centric,” “pisto-basic;” (b) its opposition to “speculative rationalism” in the doctrines of divine grace, recognition of Christ as the divine revelation, admission of the value of the Christian community, assertion of the reality of guilt, denial of the necessity of sin, and emphasis upon God as self-conscious love; (c) the opposition to, and exposure of, an unhealthy pietism. But Garvie does not, I judge, estimate these merits as highly as they deserve, failing sufficiently to take into account that Ritschlianism could have no greater merit scientifically than to be pioneer in right method, tendency, and principle in theology; nor religiously than to be represented by men of intense and sincere piety, who are making a serious and honest attempt to restate the Christian gospel in the intellectual situation of an age in whose consciousness orthodoxy as a system of thought can no longer find lodgment. Religion is not philosophy, and theoretical persuasion of the truth of religious propositions is something other than to live in religion. The genuineness of religious experiences is not indicated in

\* *Ritschlian Theology and the Evangelical Faith*. (See this JOURNAL, Vol. III, pp. 401, 402.)

intensity of feeling either, but in the fidelity with which one fulfils his vocation in daily life, and upon this no modern Christians have laid so much theoretical stress as the Ritschlians. The merit of Garvie's book, above other English works, is its recognition of this fact. Space may be claimed but to add that his criticisms are in the main just, the most important being the Ritschlian lack of recognition of the necessity of unity for thought.

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THE FUNDAMENTAL IDEAS OF CHRISTIANITY. By JOHN CAIRD, D.D., LL.D., late Principal and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Glasgow. With a Memoir by Edward Caird, D.C.L., LL.D., Master of Balliol. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1899. 2 vols. Pp. cxli + 232; vii + 297. \$3.50, *net*.

THIS work has a pathetic interest. For Dr. Caird did not live to revise his *Gifford Lectures*, and he was stricken with what proved to be the beginning of his final illness during their delivery. This pathos also pervades the memoir (of 133 pages) contributed by the distinguished divine's gifted brother, the Master of Balliol.

The two courses of lectures (twenty-one in all), delivered before the University of Glasgow in the academic years 1892-3 and 1895-6, deal with the following subjects: (1) three introductory lectures, on "Natural and Revealed Religion," "Faith and Reason," "The Christian Idea of God;" (2) four lectures on "The Relation of God to the World;" (3) four lectures on "The Origin and Nature of Evil;" (4) a lecture on "The Possibility of Moral Restoration," leading to (5) three lectures on "The Idea of the Incarnation," which are supplemented by (6) three on "The Idea of the Atonement;" (7) a lecture on "The Kingdom of the Spirit;" (8) two concluding lectures on "The Future Life." Even this bare outline makes it evident at once that Dr. Caird agreed fundamentally with Hegel—the master from whom he derived most—that "dogma is necessary and must be taught as valid truth." As we are to have an opportunity of returning to these lectures, and the movement which they represent, in the pages of this JOURNAL, it may suffice to say now that they illustrate all their author's well-known merits at their best. Dr. Caird assimilated and restated Hegelian ideas in his own way; that way receives brilliant exemplification here—in its power over the English language, in its spiritual fervor, in its conscious effort to retain Christianity as a

doctrinal system, and yet to show that it is thoroughly consonant with the radical conclusions of modern inquiry.

Many who possess acquaintance with Dr. Caird's teaching through his other works will turn with keen expectation to the Master of Balliol's memoir; whether to be satisfied or disappointed will depend altogether on the nature of this expectation. I incline to surmise that those of us who enjoyed Dr. Caird's friendship will, on the whole, tend to be disappointed. The memoir tells too little of the *man* as he really was; we miss anything in the nature of a complete presentation of a great transitive personality. Of this limitation Mr. Edward Caird is quite conscious. "For a long time," he says, "my relations with him were so close and intimate that it is probably impossible for me to see him as others saw him." On the other hand, readers who are not in a position to furnish filling in of their own will probably be satisfied. Moreover, all will certainly be moved by the deep-seated fraternal *pietas* which breathes through these pages.

A very interesting—possibly the most interesting—feature of the memoir is the consideration which Mr. Caird bestows by the way on the once burning question of his brother's "orthodoxy." Everyone who has acquaintance with the facts, and who knows Scotland, will assent to his contentions. Nay more, many will be prepared to go farther and to agree that he (Dr. Caird) "did not realize—I say this only to indicate a difference between us which was never completely settled in all our discussions—how great must be the transformation of the creed of Christendom before, in the language of Goethe's well-known tale, the hut of the fisherman can be transformed into the altar of the great temple of humanity" (p. lxvii). The whole tenor and temper of the *Gifford Lectures* support this statement, which will certainly startle many. Mr. Caird also emphasizes, and very justly, his brother's modesty—a most striking quality in a man who exercised such marvellous sway over multitudes by his oratory. Of Dr. Caird's administration at Glasgow university it is too early to speak as yet, but it may be said that his *alma mater* was never served by a more distinguished group of men—old and young alike—than during the middle period of his principalship. In dealing with this Mr. Caird has been compelled to exercise extreme reticence, for he was himself one of the chiefest ornaments of the staff. In several regards this is distinctly unfortunate. Yet, despite the unavoidable limitations indicated, the memoir furnishes invaluable material for that estimate of John Caird which must one day be written, preferably, I venture to hope, in a history of the

remarkable evolution of Scottish religious thought after the Disruption of 1843.

The first volume is embellished by a hitherto unpublished portrait of the Principal, representing him as he appeared toward the close of his life. The work ought to be in the hands of all who desire to form some estimate of the idealistic revival which swept Scotland from 1865 to 1885, and in which the brothers, so touchingly associated here, were the most potent influences.

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**CALVINISM.** Six Lectures delivered in the Theological Seminary at Princeton, 1898-9. By ABRAHAM KUYPER, D.D., LL.D., M.P. Chicago: Fleming H. Revell Co. No date. Pp. 275. \$1.25.

IN these lectures, delivered on the *L. P. Stone* foundation, Dr. Kuyper takes up the discussion of Calvinism from a practical motive. He says that a main purpose of his lecturing in America is to show that Calvinism is much more than a system of dogmatic thought. To him it is no mere scheme of "five points" concerning predestination: it is a life-system. The succession of life-systems that runs through the history of our race includes—and includes only, according to Dr. Kuyper—Paganism, Islamism, Romanism, Calvinism, and Modernism. No others are worthy to rank with these. Calvinism represents the richest and ripest substance of Christianity, and has had its beneficent application to all the great human activities. In this volume the author discusses Calvinism in its relations to religion, politics, science, art, and the future. He claims that it is still capable of blessing mankind abundantly, and that the world now needs it as much as ever. He insists in the strongest manner upon the absolute opposition between Calvinism and Modernism, and denounces Modernism, including the entire evolutionary idea and all the principal tendencies of modern life, as unqualifiedly false and anti-Christian. He is a brave and loyal champion, to whom the difficulties that attend the system that he defends seem to make no appeal and have no existence. It is extremely interesting to see Calvinism thus put forward as something far greater than most Calvinists have ever imagined that it was. It is interesting also to find the famous doctrinal element in the system so thoroughly subordinated to other matters. The book, unlike the



author's *Encyclopædia of Sacred Theology*, reviewed in these pages last year, is decidedly readable. It is full of vigorous thought, and ministers to mental enlargement. The printed page, which looks as if it had been made abroad, presents far more than its due share of typographical errors.

WILLIAM N. CLARKE.

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THEOLOGY AS SCIENCE, and its Present Position and Prospects in the Reformed Church. By W. HASTIE, D.D., Professor of Divinity in the University of Glasgow. Glasgow: James MacLehose & Sons, 1899. Pp. 114. 2s.

THIS little volume contains three introductory lectures, the first two to students at the Glasgow Divinity School at the opening of the last session, the third being the author's inaugural delivered three years ago. The subjects are, "Theology as Science," "Theology as Scientific Knowledge of God," "The Present Position and Prospects of the Theology of the Reformed Church."

In the first lecture he seeks to show that, while theology is not a physical science, nor possible by the method of physical science, it is yet a historical science so far as it has to do with the history and comparison of religions; also that, while it is not merely philosophy, which is rather a method of thought than a science, it is, nevertheless, scientific and systematic knowledge of God. In the second lecture he discusses two leading definitions of theology: (1) theology as science of religion, (2) theology as science of God. According much merit to the forms, he objects to its subjective character, and accepts the second, holding that religious phenomenology involves ontology, the denial of which is the *tendential* error of the present. "Theology is scientific, objective, and theognostic," he says. Thus the supreme function of theology is to advance from faith to scientific knowledge of God. He closes with a strong plea for the right of theology to its place in the university. The third lecture is an able defense of the theology of the Reformed church, urging that its historic strength has been in its objective theological principle.

Without estimating the author's position, which would carry us too far afield, it may be said that his point of view is mainly traditional, yet with sympathy for the new movements.

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GLAUBENSREGEL, HEILIGE SCHRIFT, UND TAUFBEKENNTNIS. Untersuchungen über die dogmatische Autorität, ihr Werden und ihre Geschichte, vornehmlich in der alten Kirche. Von DR. JOHANNES KUNZE. Leipzig: Dörffling & Franke, 1899. Pp. xii + 560. M. 15.

IN the few well-chosen terms of the title the author gives us a general view of the character and aim of his contribution to historical theology. The argument is based on a thorough study of the development of the *regula fidei* and the prevalence of the trinitarian formula of baptism in the early Christian church, with special emphasis on their relation to Holy Scripture. It supports the idea that, during the second century and subsequently until papal authority became dominant, the written Word stood in the consciousness of all Christian teachers as the norm of faith.

The argument is throughout historical, it may be said dogmatico-historical. The *regula fidei*, like the baptismal formula, was from the beginning of the post-apostolic age trinitarian, as Dr. Kunze shows by numerous citations from Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and other prominent writers. As regards the formula of baptism, Origen, for example, nowhere postulates the authority of the church at Rome, nor in his teaching does he speak as if he were introducing a new idea or novel order; but the tone of his language presupposes the usage of the church as prevalent, not only in Egypt, but in the church universal from the first decades of the second century (p. 60).

Much space is given by Kunze to the discussion of the question respecting the relation which in the belief and teaching of the Nicene and ante-Nicene age the *regula* bore to Scripture. He demonstrates by many quotations from the Fathers that the *regula* was not a tradition that in the thought of the church complemented Scripture or in point of authority stood above it. Instead, the relative position of the two things is directly the opposite. What is the *regula fidei*? What the apostolic tradition? It addresses faith from the apostolic writings, which are the rich inheritance of the post-apostolic church. "The Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments are a constituent part of the *regula*, and there can be no 'canon' without Scripture" (pp. 95, 207).

Agreeably to the judgment of the author, as the result of his investigations, the canon was not absolutely identified either with Scripture or the baptismal confession, yet both were included. He endeavors accordingly to express his idea of their relationship thus: The *regula fidei* is the baptismal confession as set against heresies, as

completed and interpreted by Holy Scripture, Scripture itself being an essential element of the *regula* (p. 185).

Kunze devotes the eighth chapter, extending through 130 pages, to a rigid inquiry into the long conflict of the church with Gnosticism and Marcionism touching the critical standard of Christian belief. Like other parts of the book, the discussion enters into details, and is full and exhaustive—a discussion that will amply reward the patient student.

The subordination of the *regula fidei* to Scripture as prevalent in the ante-Nicene age continued in the history of the church until the growing authority of the papacy attained supremacy. Gradually during the mediæval period the attitude of tradition toward Scripture was reversed; the reversal becoming complete in the decrees of the council of Trent. Scripture was subordinated to the authority of the hierarchy. Kunze summarizes this doctrine of Roman Catholicism as follows: The canon of the Old and New Testaments has become what it is by the determination of the church; the canon is mechanically and unchangeably fixed by her decrees; it is a collection in all its parts of equal value, since the whole has its origin in inspiration, that is, the one Holy Ghost is the author of Scripture, and all its contents are the Word of God; only the church has authority to interpret Scripture (p. 311).

The final chapter brings to view the revival, by the reformers of the sixteenth century, of the ideas of the early church concerning the relation of the apostles' creed to Scripture; especially the conceptions of Luther and Calvin. Luther was somewhat inclined to accept the legend respecting the direct apostolic authorship of the creed; but in consequence of the historical investigations of Calvin and his co-workers the legend was dismissed. The extraordinary excellence of the creed as a summary affirmation of the primordial facts of Christian revelation was not only acknowledged, but also vindicated and extolled. Luther says that the construction is so masterly and pure that it could not be made better. Calvin calls it apostolic, but has little concern about its authorship (p. 479).

The author has shown, as he ventures to believe, that in the principle as affirmed by Luther he may recognize the legitimate goal of the development in the church of the idea respecting the rule of faith. Hence, in connection with his representation of Luther's principle, he offers us as the dogmatic result of his historical studies the following proposition: The New Testament is and must remain the dogmatic

and ethical authority and norm of the Christian church, because it is the only authentic historical memorial (*Denkmal*) of the apostolic gospel on which the church was founded. A confession of faith is valid if governed throughout by Holy Scripture; and the church has authority to teach only in subjection to the confession, and through the confession in subjection to Scripture (p. 529).

The work of Dr. Kunze is a scholarly production—a valuable contribution to Bible literature. It embraces a critical history of the question concerning the standard of belief and practice in every period and amid all the doctrinal conflicts of the church. The book merits a translation into English, as in English we have no work, so far as my knowledge extends, so thorough, scholarly, and complete on this aspect of the claims of the Bible which just now is challenging the solemn inquiries of scholars.

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HOW MUCH IS LEFT OF THE OLD DOCTRINES? By WASHINGTON GLADDEN, D.D. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1899. Pp. iv+321. \$1.25.

GOD'S EDUCATION OF MAN. By WILLIAM DEWITT HYDE, President of Bowdoin College. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1899. Pp. xii+252. \$1.25.

THE THEOLOGY OF CIVILIZATION. By CHARLES F. DOLE. New York: T. Y. Crowell & Co., 1899. Pp. 256. \$1.

DR. GLADDEN, always helpful, has here discussed the present state of theological thought for the benefit of doubters on the one hand, and of timid believers on the other. He considers the main topics in the light of that criticism and science from which some hope and some fear so much, and shows, in love for Christian truth and sympathy for perplexed minds, that what is precious in the old faith remains unchanged. He not only admits but claims that the forms of doctrine have been altered. But he would have us know that the new forms are more free from difficulty than the old, and the inspiration of religion is with us still. The book will do good service.

President Hyde has made a suggestive and stimulating contribution to the thought of the time. He accepts, defends, and elaborates the idea that the true conception of life is educational, with God as the educator. The book is a study of God's educational methods, as

revelation and experience make them known. After an introduction treating of the reorganization of the faith, the three central chapters are entitled "Control by Law," "Conversion by Grace," and "Character through Service." These three methods work into one another, and constitute, in Dr. Hyde's judgment, a kind of graded course of divine instruction for mankind. Into the field and scope of these three departments he endeavors to gather the truth that is helpful for spiritual education; and he thus presents, as far as possible, a comprehensive view of the essentials of Christian theology, in the light of his organizing idea. In his closing chapter he concretely exhibits the advantages of the point of view that his treatment has commended. This brief statement of the purpose is enough to show how certain it is that the author's endeavor will present vulnerable points on various sides. Old terminology is turned to the use of new ideas, and that is a process that always raises questions. The treatment could scarcely be expected to be equally strong throughout, and one critic will make objection to one part of the book, and another to another. Nevertheless the book is thoroughly alive, and full of zeal for truth and righteousness. Whatever deductions from full approval any reader may make for himself, the book is a wholesome one, and one that the average minister may well be recommended to read and ponder.

Mr. Dole advocates the idea that the theology of a period ought to correspond to the best attainments of the period, and that deliberate effort ought to be devoted to making it so correspond. When civilization has attained a good degree of intellectual and moral clearness, it is not right that the conceptions of theology should be allowed to remain crude and unworthy; and in our day the time has come when theology should be simplified, clarified, and rendered more worthy of our best estate. Mr. Dole's contribution to this work in the present volume is full of vigorous and fearless thinking, on a high ethical plane. He does not do the entire work and rear the comprehensive structure of theology, but he does propose foundations for it. He unfolds a doctrine of God, of the moral order, of human personality, and of personal religion, and he carries his strong and vital doctrine to application, in regard to a number of practical questions of right and wrong in common life. To some his theology would seem far too simple and brief, and far too modern, but there is no denying its fine quality. The book is characterized by an uncompromising and cheerful morality which it is pleasant to encounter. No ethical doubts embarrass the author. Perhaps he is too serenely confident: perhaps

he underestimates evil. In speaking highly of the ethical element there is no purpose to depreciate the religious, for the whole work is suffused with reverence and love toward that "infinite Good Will" which is God. And the style of the book is well worthy of its spiritual substance.

WILLIAM N. CLARKE.

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CAN I BELIEVE IN GOD THE FATHER? Lectures delivered in the Summer School of Theology of Harvard University, 1899. By WILLIAM NEWTON CLARKE, D.D., author of *What shall We Think of Christianity?* and *An Outline of Theology*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1899. Pp. 215. \$1.

THE subjects of these lectures are (1) "A Practical Argument for the Being of God;" (2) "Divine Personality;" (3) "The Relation between God and Man," and (4) "The Moral Effect of the Doctrine of God."

Whatever Dr. Clarke writes will be sure to find readers among thoughtful men, and these lectures, though addressed to a school of theology, are in form and style level to laymen of average intelligence. His method of putting the argument for the being of God is "practical" and forcible. A godless universe must be a mindless universe, which this manifestly is not, and though the sin and suffering in the world may seem to forbid belief in a good God, yet the fact that there is any goodness in the world and that religion is normal to men compels the belief that God is good. The agency, or force, that produced and controls the universe being intelligent and benevolent, "a conscious unity of intelligence, affection, and power," is, by the very definition of personality, a person. The relation of this person to men involves authority, whether kingly or parental. In fact, it is both, the former manifested prominently in the infancy of the race, the latter in its increasing maturity. Man made in the image of God sustains to God a filial relation, but sonship is not complete till man accepts the relation with the spirit of filial trust and obedience, so that it is not absurd to say that one *born* a son may *become* a son of God, a true son in loyalty and affection. The author's discussion of divine fatherhood and human sonship seems to leave nothing further necessary. The conception of God as rightful ruler has produced in men a sense of duty. The conception of him as righteous in character has made them

feel that to secure his favor and approbation they must be righteous, and the belief in him as Father has deepened their sense of duty and of the ill-desert of sin. Thus men have been enabled to live in better conformity to such moral standards as they had, and been helped progressively to raise their standards.

The discussion is so frank and candid as to disarm all prejudice, and so transparently clear and convincing that it cannot but be helpful to all who honestly desire an intelligent faith in God the Father.

N. S. BURTON.

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**LIFE BEYOND DEATH.** Being a Review of the World's Beliefs on the Subject, a Consideration of Present Conditions of Thought and Feeling, Leading to the Question as to whether it can be Demonstrated as a Fact. To which is added an Appendix containing some Hints as to Personal Experiences and Opinions. By MINOT JUDSON SAVAGE, D.D. (Harvard). London and New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1899. Pp. xv+336. \$1.50.

THIS book, by a well-known Unitarian minister, is an argument for Spiritualism of the higher kind. The author surveys the beliefs concerning the future existence of man which have been held at various times and by various great teachers. He begins with primitive ideas, and then reviews successively the ideas of the Old Testament, of Paul, of Jesus, of the Middle Ages, of the existing Protestant denominations, and of the modern agnostics. He is thus brought to Spiritualism, which he presents in five chapters. In an appendix he gives us some of his own experiences with mediums, whom he prefers to call "psychics." The design of the entire study is to show that there is crying need of Spiritualism to answer the doubts of the mind and satisfy the craving of the heart. With the great majority of Christians this course of reasoning will avail but little. Their doubts and cravings are satisfied by the revelation of future life contained in the New Testament. For Dr. Savage, however, this revelation is not worth much. He finds that Paul was dominated by the views current among the Jews of the first century. He is quite uncertain as to what the views of Christ were, and the resurrection of Christ he does not even mention. It is no wonder that he turns to Spiritualism for light. It is easy for him to show the great need of Spiritualism, if one grants his interpretations of Paul and Christ. But few will do that. It is to be hoped that his

interpretations of other teachers are more intelligent. The Spiritualism to which Dr. Savage would introduce us, he says, is of the higher kind. He admits and denounces the frauds of the ordinary mediums, and assures us that it is useless to go to them. But where is the honest Spiritualism to be found? The world has grown weary of the dishonest, and has not yet discovered the honest. Dr. Savage writes in an easy, colloquial style, and difficult distinctions of thought do not trouble him, but become luminous under his plain and simple exposition. The publisher has given his discussion a sumptuous dress, and those who find no satisfaction in the contents of the book will admire its artistic appearance.

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THE THEOLOGY OF MODERN LITERATURE. By REV. S. LAW WILSON, M.A., D.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1896; New York: Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons. Pp. xx + 446. \$3.

IN his preface Dr. Wilson proposes to himself the task of bringing modern literature "into comparison with the theology of church and creed." The particular creed is not designated; but it becomes plain in the pages that follow that the standard by which modern literature is tried is that of "evangelical Christianity," somewhat narrowly construed.

If Dr. Wilson's "theology" is narrow, his conception of "literature" is sufficiently broad. In a lengthy chapter of introduction the reprehensible theological teaching of a swarm of popular latter-day novelists is gravely exposed. Have Marie Corelli, Sarah Grand, Hawley Smart, and "Rita" a standing in literature? But anything, it seems, will serve Dr. Wilson as a peg to hang a sermon on. Marie Corelli's *Barabbas* furnishes the text for a discourse refuting the "back-to-Christ" heresy. "Rita," whose insignificance might have protected her, is solemnly lectured for her misplaced sympathy with "poor Pharaoh" and her defense of Cain. But will the readers of Marie Corelli and "Rita" ever so much as hear of Dr. Wilson's book? And does any reader of English literature, properly so called, care in the least for the erroneous notions of inspiration held by these industrious purveyors of fiction?

In succeeding chapters Emerson, Carlyle, Browning, George Eliot, Macdonald, Ian Maclaren, Mrs. Humphrey Ward, Hardy, and Meredith are discussed in turn. Upon these authors Dr. Wilson makes



many interesting and acute observations, with frequent and apt quotation. He is intelligent, clear, vigorous, sometimes hard, but often sympathetic. Nevertheless, he can never get away from the creed of evangelical Christianity. He holds a brief for it, indeed, and he argues the case for his client at tiresome length. One looks for criticism and finds polemics. What, for example, could be more exasperating to the reader interested in George Eliot's religious or irreligious thought than to encounter seven solid pages setting forth and confuting the errors of that long-forgotten book, George Hennell's *An Inquiry into the Origin of Christianity*; or to be asked to listen to an enumeration of Dr. Wilson's objections to Emerson's doctrine of the intuitive knowledge of God?

It is a minor grievance, but a real one, that Dr. Wilson allows himself to employ such barbarisms as "concussed," "unresurrected," "magnificated," "requisitioned," "shepherdised." The list might be extended.

It is George Meredith whose theology meets most closely the exacting demand of Dr. Wilson's type of orthodoxy, and his chapter upon Meredith is in consequence the least "preachy" and the most readable in the book.

Dr. Wilson's topic is a most interesting one. He has evidently made careful preparation by the thoughtful reading of many books. He can write good English when he will. But the homiletic habit is so strong upon him that he has done little more than to furnish material which, sifted and cleared of slag, would make an excellent book of a sort much needed.

A. K. PARKER.

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**ETHICS AND REVELATION.** By HENRY S. NASH, Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Mass. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1899. Pp. vii + 277. \$1.50.

THIS work is sure to be greeted with many a well-merited encomium. Like the author's earlier volume, *Genesis of the Social Conscience*, it fairly abounds in vivacity and force. He who guides us, as we advance, is manifestly a thinker. His outlook is wide, and his insight is quick and penetrating. Nor does his logic limp. An amazing alertness of thought, and a singular aptness of speech, distinguish and dignify the progress of a searching and difficult discussion. Acute sayings, cogent definitions, unexpected glimpses into distant regions beyond, illuminate the stages of a serious and well-sustained argument.

As regards the general contents of *Ethics and Revelation*, the opening words of the first lecture answer our inquiry forthwith: "The aim of these lectures is to show that the Bible marks out the road along which conscience must travel, if it would treat our life on earth with abiding seriousness" (p. 1). The theme, assuredly, is a most inviting one; a very few words will suffice to outline the author's procedure as he essays to deal with it.

Professor Nash imagines himself and the reader to be confronted, throughout the discussion, by a modern scientific student of ethics—one who exalts, exalts perhaps unduly, the prerogative of reason, but who certainly views with undisguised and unvarying suspicion the dicta of conventional authority. Touching absolutely all things, he demands "patient and fearless examination" (pp. 191, 224, etc.). The man in question is not thought of as being a Christian man; but it is assumed that he is willing to embrace Christianity if he can be convinced that such action would be reasonable. Yet further, he is a man who does not believe too exclusively in "the other world;" he is one, rather, who recognizes, and who eagerly utilizes, the advantages which the present world can supply. And finally, this modern inquirer's unit of thought—his fundamental concept, his ultimate principle—is individuality: not the individual, separate and apart from the rest of the race, but rather "the human individual as made up of, and exhausted by, *relationships with history*" (pp. 75, 76). "The man who denies his responsibilities for truth is outside the moral order of things. Likewise the man who denies his responsibility for society is outside the moral order of things" (p. 104). "The only thoroughly good thing which the visible universe knows is a human will, wholly bent upon spreading and communicating the goods of individuality" (p. 216). "There is need to recognize and safeguard one's neighbor's rights, in order to be sure of one's own" (p. 162).

Such being the case, Professor Nash goes on to show that, since "the world that offers itself to the attention of apologetics today differs deeply from the Mediterranean world, apologetics, while working out the same central ideas, must take a different turn" (p. 185). He proceeds to prove, in obedience to severely scientific methods, (1) that "individuality, self-knowledge, and self-masterhood [constitute] the pearl of great price" (p. 173), and that the preservation and development of these qualities are the highest end of our being. "The one and sole good is individuality: all other goods are the trimmings and trappings of this" (p. 231). (2) A conscious individuality and "deepening

self-knowledge and strengthening self-mastery are not to be attained except in communion with society" (p. 188).

Lecture 3, which deals with "Comparative Religion, and the Principle of Individuality," is especially acute and timely; it is probably the best of the six.

It is a great pity that the volume under consideration has been written by an expert *for experts*; for herein its usefulness will be found to have been needlessly circumscribed. It deals too largely in abstractions, and appeals far too much to the abstract reason. Oftentimes we seem to be carried away into a world of unreality, as the writer indulges his fondness for strange collocations of terms, needless subtlety of phrasing, and severely philosophical forms of statement. The author says somewhere: "Apologetics is an effort of reason exerted by the Christian consciousness, in the desire to remove or lessen certain mental difficulties which, so long as they hold their ground, put it out of the question for the outsider to give free course to the tendencies which life at large might start in him" (p. 75); but this book, in many portions of it, furnishes instances of the way in which a professed apologetic may so *multiply* mental difficulties as practically to defeat the very purpose of his whole undertaking. The discussion is sadly in need of being translated into a speech that is more terse, pithy, and apt.

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NEUTESTAMENTLICHE ETHIK. Von D. HERMANN JACOBY, ord Professor der Theologie und Konsistorialrat in Königsberg Königsberg: Verlag von Thomas & Oppermann (Ferd. Beyer's Buchhandlung), 1899. Pp. xi + 472. M. 11.

THIS is much more than a treatise on Christian ethics in the ordinary sense. The author has subjected the New Testament to an exhaustive study, with the single purpose of ascertaining its ethical teachings, that is, what, according to its several writers and teachers, should be the conduct of men, in all possible relations both to God and their fellow-men, and the motives of such conduct; what, in fact, are the elements of an ideal Christian life and character.

He regards the ethical teachings of the Old Testament as defective in two respects. It allows some things, because of the hardness of men's hearts, which the New Testament condemns; and it enforces its requirements by divine *authority* (appealing, of course, to every

man's sense of moral obligation); while the New Testament, on the other hand, not only sets up an ideally perfect standard of duty, but substitutes *love* for authority as the motive of action and conduct. By all the writers of the New Testament love is recognized as the supreme law. To obey God's commandments or to do good to our neighbor from any other motive than love is to fall below the standard of the New Testament. But love is of God. He that loveth is born of God. Love is the fruit of the Spirit of God, which we have freely received of God. The reception of the Spirit is indeed the free and intelligent act of the individual, but regeneration (*die Neugeburt*), which is the work of the Spirit, is the implantation of love in the heart, which becomes from that moment the law of the life. As Jesus said to Nicodemus: "Except a man be born from above he cannot see the kingdom of God." Here our author lays the chief emphasis. He reiterates that love is the fulfilling of the law, and love is the fruit of the Spirit which we have of God. To this test all conduct and character must be subjected. He would not say (though he is liable to be so understood) that Christ abrogated the law given in the Old Testament, but that love lifts the subject of law into a higher sphere where he no longer feels the pressure of law, but serves in newness of spirit, not in the oldness of the letter.

The method chosen by the author is that of biblical theology, the several New Testament books, taken in groups, being subjected to a careful search with a view to ascertaining the ethical teachings of each and the application of these teachings to conduct and life. Though involving some repetition, it has special advantages, since in this way the author is able to present each writer's teachings in the light of the circumstances that called them forth. Thus the apparently conflicting teachings of James and Paul respecting faith and works are shown to agree, and Paul's instructions given to the corrupt church in Corinth, and those to the purer church in Philippi, when studied in the light of the condition of the respective churches, are in substantial harmony. Indeed, our author does not find any want of harmony in the ethical teaching of the New Testament writers. The fact is recognized that Christ and the writers of the books of the New Testament regard the ethical standard set up by them as an ideal one which love will constrain every disciple to strive to reach, but which no one is to count himself to have attained. Though (ideally) he that is born of God cannot sin, he that saith he hath no sin is a liar, so that every disciple needs reproof and instruction and exhortation. The

indispensable thing is love which prompts the lifelong endeavor after holiness.

The author has carried out his purpose with great thoroughness. Taking the books of the New Testament, in groups, he has presented with great clearness the ethical teachings of each as the law of love gives them form and character; showing what this law requires of each one in the various relations of human life: as members of the kingdom of God; as members or officers of the church; as subjects of civil government; as members of the family, parents and children, husbands and wives; as masters and servants; toward the poor; toward enemies and strangers and the heathen; and not merely the outward acts or conduct, but the motives of action and the feelings cherished. He discusses with discrimination the mutual relation of love and faith and repentance and regeneration, emphasizing equally the divine and the human elements, in their harmonious coöperation—God working in us, while we work out our own salvation. Occasionally (not often) he makes hair-splitting analyses or subtle distinctions hard to be understood, as when he discusses at some length Paul's use of the phrase "the obedience of faith" in Rom. 1:5 and 16:26. We think we understand Paul, but we are not sure we understand Jacoby.

Our author seems to attach undue importance to baptism. He speaks of disciples as coming into union with Christ, and as receiving the Holy Spirit, in baptism. He interprets Christ's words to Nicodemus to mean that baptism as well as being born from above is necessary to entrance into the kingdom of God. He calls baptism an act of faith (*Glaubensthat*), but also the mediation (*Vermittelung*) of the reception of the Holy Spirit, and because it is the former it is the latter, and so on both accounts it is the founding (*Begründung*) of a new life; but he does not fail to insist that baptism avails nothing where faith and love, of which they are the sign, are wanting, here, manifestly, leaving no place for infant baptism, which indeed he says (as shown by 1 Cor. 7:14) was not in use in Paul's time.

Our author's attitude toward the law contained in the Old Testament inclines him to regard such passages as Matt 5:17-20 and 24:20 as probably not uttered by Jesus, but derived from logia or tradition by Matthew who desired to make the gospel acceptable to his Jewish brethren. Conservative scholars will regard such text criticism as arbitrary and dangerous.

The work is one, upon the whole, of great merit and value. The author has kept strictly within the lines which he proposed to himself

—the ethical teachings of the New Testament as distinguished from historical or doctrinal, and within these lines he has done his work thoroughly. His interpretations of Scripture are scholarly and sound and clear. His treatment of difficult questions indicates candor and soberness of judgment, and his spirit is not only reverent, but thoroughly religious.

N. S. BURTON.

ANN ARBOR, MICH.

CHRIST IN CREATION AND ETHICAL MONISM. By AUGUSTUS HOPKINS STRONG, President of Rochester Theological Seminary. Philadelphia: The Roger Williams Press, 1899. Pp. xix + 524. \$3.

THIS is a handsome, well-printed volume of about five hundred pages. It comprises essays, papers, and addresses on a considerable variety of subjects, ranging from the most difficult problems in dogmatic theology, through history and criticism, to a series of warm, practical exhortations given to the students of Rochester Seminary on their graduation (1888-99). Such a mass of material must prove a severe test of any man's intellectual power and equipment; and Dr. Strong comes well out of the test. His wide reading, his intellectual energy, and his moral rigor receive ample witness and illustration in these pages.

There are certain subjects in which Dr. Strong is chiefly interested as a Christian thinker. To these he returns on every opportunity to reiterate, to illustrate, to defend his own strongly held convictions. Two of these subjects pervade so many portions of the book with their influence that they have been chosen for its title, "Christ in Creation," "Ethical Monism." A third is "Evolution." Probably the subject on which our author feels himself compelled to speak most strenuously is that of "Ethical Monism." He easily shows that many of the brightest thinkers of our day—poets, theologians, and philosophers—affirm their faith in a monistic solution of the problem of existence. And he also shows, without much difficulty, the directions in which "monism" of some kind or another aids our solution of some theological and philosophical problems. Dr. Strong is, of course, most careful to distinguish his monism from that of Spinoza or the materialist. He also, though more vaguely and inadequately, distinguishes it from idealism. For him monism is the doctrine of "one underlying reality, the infinite and eternal spirit of God, who contains within his own being the ground and principle of all other being" (p. 65). He is not afraid to say that

"there is but one substance, and that substance is God," so long as the word "substance" is taken in its metaphysical meaning, as that "which stands under, which upholds, which furnishes the principle of life and being." Dr. Strong will go even farther than that. If we regard God as the absolute self-consciousness, and if we assert that Christ "is of the substance of God, yet he possesses a distinct personality;" and, further still, if, taking a hint from certain phases of psychological investigation, we admit the possibility of multiple consciousnesses within our own self-consciousness, why should we shrink from believing that in the substance of God there may be multitudinous finite personalities, that our human self-consciousnesses may be of the very substance of God?

Monism, as thus described, is called ethical, because by conserving the full reality of the human self-consciousness, claiming freedom and responsibility, it avoids the deadly moral results of that monism which fully identifies God and the universe.

Our author believes that this doctrine is both confirmed and illuminated by his christological doctrine. Christ is, of course, the eternal Logos, a personal being, through whom all the thought of God utters itself in creation and history. "Creation is the externalization of the divine ideas through the will of Christ!" In him all things are held together. He is for Dr. Strong the explanation alike of the ultimate mechanical and epistemological problems. *E. g.*, we are told that "we cannot explain the interaction between individual things unless they are all embraced within a unitary being who constitutes their underlying reality." "What holds together the planets of the solar system? The Scriptures answer, 'In *him* all things consist' or hold together" (p. 8). Likewise, "there must be a bond between the knower and the known. 'The two must be connected by some being which is their reality,' and which constitutes the ground of their existence. And so we *know* in Christ" (p. 9). This fundamental relation of Christ to the universe is used by Dr. Strong in relation, not only to metaphysical, but also to strictly theological problems, such as the atonement. Dr. Strong does not here explicitly develop his doctrine of evolution, but he frequently refers to it as a theory which he heartily and ungrudgingly accepts. To him it is easy to see that evolution is just God's method, and that "Christ is the principle of evolution." The fall of man is said with great emphasis to be quite consistent with a doctrine of evolution, because at the first man must have been in harmony with his environment, and his sin is "revolt against the will of

God." On this subject Dr. Strong appears to have lost his opportunity of writing what would be exceedingly helpful, by finding his solution too easily.

And, indeed, that is our main criticism of the leading positions expounded in the leading essays of this book. Dr. Strong solves philosophical problems by means of dogmatic doctrines. A Christian believer may well accept his dogmatic positions and have faith that they do fit into the universe of facts. But something more is needed by way of philosophic explanation than is here granted ere our faith becomes intellectual insight. For example, the idea that the universe must rest in and be held together by a unitary principle is often asserted without being explained. That is no great crime. But when Dr. Strong goes on dogmatically to say that this principle must be *spirit* or a personality, we catch our breath. Oh! if he could prove that, his brows should be garlanded with our praises forever. And that is the kind of leap which Dr. Strong frequently takes with great Christian joy and confidence; but he leaves the philosopher yonder with large eyes of yearning, unable to leap. Exactly the same kind of thing takes place as to monism and evolution, and the vicarious sufferings of our Redeemer.

Only one small slip has struck our attention. Professor Upton is said (p. 50) to be "Upton at Manchester," the fact being that he is on the staff of Manchester New College, the Unitarian theological school to which Martineau was so long attached in London, and which was a few years ago moved to Oxford.

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THE REFORMATION SETTLEMENT, Examined in the Light of History and Law. With an Introductory Letter to the Right Hon. Sir William Vernon Harcourt, M.P. By REV. MALCOLM MACCOLL, D.D., Canon Residentiary of Ripon. London, New York, and Bombay: Longmans, Green & Co., 1899. Pp. lxxviii + 565. \$2.50.

THIS book is a plea for the ritualists of the Anglican church, and is designed for the more intelligent of those readers who are interested in theological discussions. Dr. MacColl possesses some unusual qualifications as an advocate of his party. He hates the papal system heartily, and hence will not be accused of wishing to deliver the Church



of England over to Rome. He professes a respect for the Nonconformists as hearty as his hatred of the papal system, for he sees that at least they are in earnest to do good, and are succeeding in doing it. Still further, he is moderate in his ritualism, and puts a comparatively innocent interpretation upon its most objectionable features.

By the "Reformation settlement" he means the settlement of Protestant doctrine and administration by the English church of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. He does not claim that ritualism was established by this settlement, but only that it was clearly recognized as a permitted and legal type of faith and practice. His argument is chiefly historical, and, where he confines himself to the history of his own church, it appears to be successful. But, in order to accomplish his purpose fully, he is compelled to define the doctrines and practices of his party, and to attempt to defend them by an appeal to reason and Scripture; and here he is weak.

He comes perilously near making the presence of Christ in the eucharist purely spiritual. He comes perilously near making the eucharistic sacrifice the mere submission of the will of the participants to the divine will. He comes perilously near making the confessional nothing more than the ordinary Nonconformist inquiry-meeting, and assures us that every faithful Nonconformist pastor has a confessional, and that Mr. Moody had one. He comes perilously near making purgatory the mere continued probation of immature souls, some of whom turn from the light, while others learn to rejoice in it.

No doubt these softened representations of the system which Dr. MacColl wishes to have his church permit will win the favor of many, and will do something to check the rising tide of popular opposition. But they will not influence very greatly the minds of the better-instructed of his opponents. They do not represent the real abuses which the Anglican is asked to tolerate within the pale of his church. The majority of the pronounced ritualists believe in such a real presence of Christ in the eucharist as justifies them in elevating the bread for the worship of the people. They believe in a eucharistic sacrifice which perpetuates the sacrifice of Calvary, not by the mere submission of the will of the worshiper to the will of God, but equally if no worshiper is present, and hence in saying mass even if the church is empty, as a means of presenting to God an acceptable oblation. They believe in a confessional whose priest possesses a very real authority to remit sin and to retain it. They believe in a purgatory from which souls may be delivered by masses and prayers offered on earth. The

views presented by such writers as Dr. MacColl constitute only the head of the pleading camel, and, if admitted to the house, will surely be followed by the neck, the hump, and the whole body.

One cannot commend too highly the dignity and urbanity of Dr. MacColl. He has strong party preferences, but no partisan rancor, and always attributes the best motives to his opponents. He has been a diligent student of the records of his own church, and makes his pages interesting with some curious bits of history, like that concerning the papal plot to assassinate Queen Elizabeth, and the chapter entitled "The Prisoner of the Vatican." He uses modern science in a skilful manner to illustrate the more mystical of his speculations, as in the chapter entitled "The Propinquity of the Spiritual World."

FRANKLIN JOHNSON.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE FIFTH BOOK OF HOOKER'S *Treatise of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*. By VERY REV. FRANCIS PAGET, D.D., Dean of Christ Church. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1899. Pp x + 265. 12s.

By common consent, Thomas Hooker is the classical writer of the English church on ecclesiastical polity. He produced his celebrated treatise on that subject, consisting of eight books, during the closing years of the sixteenth century. It was a period of fierce controversy. The Puritans, many of them learned men, like Cartwright and Travers, vehemently maintained that the ceremonies and government of the Church of England were unscriptural. To meet these attacks Hooker wrote his "Polity." But while it was born of controversy, it is singularly free from bitterness. This is all the more remarkable when we remember the stinging invective of his famous opponents. But in his defense of the ceremonies, rites, and polity of the English church, he based his contentions on the great fundamental principles of law and theology, so that his writing is of permanent value.

In this "Introduction" the author sets forth clearly the life and labors of Hooker, and the contentions of the Puritans, so that any intelligent reader may be prepared to understand and fully appreciate the profoundly philosophical treatise of Hooker on the "Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity."

The author has prepared this "Introduction" simply for the fifth book of Hooker's treatise. But he unfolds the main positions of Hooker in each of the four preceding books, since this is necessary to the

understanding of the fifth. In the fifth book Hooker briefly states principles which he more fully elaborates in the three remaining books, so that our author, in this scholarly volume, leads us into the thought of the whole eight books of Hooker's "Polity."

The author has done his work thoroughly. He is evidently well versed in the abundant literature pertaining to his topic, and he has used it with effect. While in all points we agree with neither him nor Hooker, this "Introduction" will be to the writings of Hooker what Cope's "Introduction" is to the writings of Aristotle.

GALUSHA ANDERSON.

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DER MÜNDLICHE VORTRAG UND DIE GEBÄRDENSPRACHE DES EVANGELISCHEN PREDIGERS. Ein Handbuch zum Selbstunterricht für angehende Geistliche. Von H. ALLIHN, Königl. Superintendent und Kreisschulinspektor zu Leubingen. Leipzig: E. Ungleich, 1898. Pp. iv + 404. M. 6.

THE reputation of the Germans for thoroughness in scholarship causes one to open with interest a German work on the delivery of preachers; but one who is familiar with the latest and most advanced of the methods of training speakers in America is very soon disappointed with this book. He finds chiefly an aggregation of quotations, made without discrimination, from the various "methods" which have been published in different parts of the world—a rehashing of well-known facts regarding the anatomy and physiology of the voice—a summary of Helmholtz' discoveries or theories regarding speech, the science of sound, and other subjects remotely connected with delivery. When he looks for particular points of practical importance to the comprehension of the nature of delivery, he finds a lack of insight, superficial observation, and little experience. We have many pages about breathing, but if the author had thoroughly understood the fundamental conditions of right breathing, and the numerous faults to which preachers are specially subject, he would not have stopped on the surface with scientific or commonplace facts regarding respiration, and overlooked all the worst faults. These rather confuse the mind of the student than assist him to secure normal control of his breath, to develop his power, or to avoid a sore throat. The author's ideas regarding the shock of the glottis have been given up for nearly fifty years by every prominent teacher of singing in Europe, so far as I can find. The long discussion upon the registers of the voice only confuses

the student and prevents rather than aids in the development of the right use of the voice. I can find no place where there is any adequate study of the causes of misuse of the voice, and no exercises which are safe for the student to practice. The special reason for this is that there is no insight into fundamental principles, no understanding of causes, and no realization of the true nature of training.

It is hardly worth while to enumerate particulars to prove the justice of these criticisms. I shall take two illustrations—one to show the author's method of dealing with a specific fault, and the other to show the conventional or antiquated character of the elocution of German preachers, and the inadequacy of German methods for the development of natural delivery.

Among the faults enumerated as peculiar to clergymen it is stated that the larynx is held too high in speaking; and it is implied that if a preacher holds the larynx low he will not suffer from sore throat. This statement is not true. The real cause of a sore throat is not touched. Besides, such a direction is a mere superficial expedient, and does not eradicate the evil. Half the real trouble in such cases is constriction of the throat, and if the larynx is fixed or held at its lowest point, it introduces a worse constriction. No method of training which does not free the larynx and pharynx from muscular constriction will be of any use. This may be taken as an illustration of all the exercises and methods of the book. They are mere expedients; they are not founded upon insight into causes. Such directions show no distinction between modulation and manipulation of the voice, and form no part of a true science of training.

From the beginning to the end of the book I can find no idea that faults of delivery are caused by wrong actions of the mind. Even the physical occasion of defects is not seen, much less remote psychic causes.

The other point to be mentioned is the failure to realize inflection. Delivery is marked out with musical notation, as if there was no distinction between song and speech, or, at any rate, that this distinction has no relation to inflection. Delivery to this author is not founded upon naturalness or conversation, but upon an unartificial system with a notation similar to that of song. The methods in our country observe the elements of conversation and idealize and accentuate, but do not depart from the actions of the voice in simple speech; the German methods entirely ignore naturalness.

Inflection was not discovered in England until 1775. At first there was a tendency greatly to exaggerate it or to relate it to mere phraseology, so that it had little effect upon delivery until the elder Russell and Professor Monroe. In fact, there were few practical exercises for the development of natural speech melody until recent years. Was the presence and command of inflection as an element of delivery in proportion to the influence of Wendell Phillips in this country? At any rate, in those cities where he spoke so often the speaking is simple. In those parts of the country where Wendell Phillips never spoke the delivery is stilted. But the teaching of Professor Monroe and of William Russell was given in the immediate circle and neighborhood where Wendell Phillips exercised the influence of his example. Was it the example of Webster and Phillips, or the precepts of the founders of American elocution that caused the reformation?

Germany has had a few exceptional, natural, and able speakers, but it seems never to have had a teacher of elocution to discover the primary elements of conversational speech.

This book adds nothing to the store of knowledge regarding delivery. The author often quotes Oscar Guttman, whose book is translated into English. Guttman gives more practical instruction than is found in this book, and gives a better understanding of what practical teachers have tried to do in Germany. This able teacher was starved in his own country, and had to come to America for appreciation.

The views regarding delivery in our own country are poor enough. Within a few days I heard one of the most prominent professors of homiletics in this country make a public plea for elocution, and I was astounded to hear him call it "the physical equipment of the man," and to see that he regarded delivery as a mere physical thing. The gentleman seemed to be utterly ignorant of the recent revolution that has been wrought or of the fact that this view of delivery has been exploded—that it is only a half-truth, which is the worst kind of falsehood.

Of course, the training of the voice is a part of the development of delivery. A knowledge of physiology and a knowledge of the correct method of breathing is a part, but a very external part, of the development of the delivery. The problem of delivery consists in the training of the voice and the body to be responsive to the mind—the development of the processes of thinking so that the man can, upon his feet, rethink his thought and feel it in such a way as to use the natural

languages as a direct expression of his thought and feeling. Vocal training secures a physical equipment, but vocal expression is as much a development and requires as much exercise of the mental powers as the writing of good English.

But though the views of delivery are inadequate here, they are worse in Germany, and this book proves that Germany is the last place in the world to which a student should go who desires to become a practical and effective preacher. With all its accumulated and pretended learning, it proves the absolute misconception of the preacher's functions among the great Germans and German-trained scholars which today gives the standard in all our theological schools and universities. The real problem of delivery is not touched. To read such a work and to study and practice its exercises would work more harm than good. It is fifty years behind the times in America. Its point of view is wrong; its realization of the needs of the preacher, like the theological schools of our time, is essentially, so far as the development of the practical preaching power of the man is concerned, on the wrong track. The student who longs to develop himself as a scholar may find help in Germany; but the one who longs to develop himself as a preacher should carefully avoid the German universities and their influence. The contempt of scholars for any scholarly treatment of the subject of delivery has long been to me a cause of the greatest wonder. Does this book furnish a key? Is it because our standards of scholarship come from Germany?

S. S. CURRY.

BOSTON, MASS.

SERMONS AND ADDRESSES. By ROBERT FLINT, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Divinity in the University of Edinburgh. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1899. Pp. 333. \$2.50.

THIS volume contains twenty-four sermons and two addresses. The sermons are upon such subjects as "Christian Unity," "The Chief Good," "Nonconformity to the World," "Christ Suffering for Sins," etc. It thus appears that they are devoted to great themes. The style is simple, clear, and pure; the substance of the discourses is strictly evangelical; and the spirit is devout, sincere, and beautiful. These sermons are of a high order homiletically, and have suggestive and devotional worth alike for preacher and people.

The two addresses are devoted to "Christianity in Relation to Other Religions," and "Some Requirements of a Present-Day Apologetics."

The former concludes that the ethnic religions can only be understood when viewed in relation to Christianity, and that Christianity cannot be fully understood unless viewed in relation to those religions. The latter insists that Christian apologetics should have absolute truthfulness of spirit, a Christo-centric point of view, due regard for the *historical* as well as the ideal element in Christianity, confidence in scientific method and in true philosophy as an ally, and adaptedness to present-day conditions of thought and life. It is a notable address.

GEORGE B. FOSTER.

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*The Place of Immortality in Religious Belief.* A Discourse. By J. Estlin Carpenter, M.A. (London: Philip Green, 1898; pp. 110; 1s.) This discourse was printed in part in the *New World* for December, 1897, and is now reproduced with some additions. As the author acknowledges, the argument in its affirmations and negations will not probably satisfy any person. Yet everyone can gain some help from it. It is conceived in the light of the new knowledge and special attitudes of our own time. The forcible and moving evidences for immortality are seen to lie in the implications of the human and the divine nature rather than in the conditions and experiences of this life. It has seemed to us that sometimes the author confounds everlasting life with immortality. Indeed, he nowhere tells us plainly what he means by immortality. The literary expression of the thoughts, with its studied, suggestive vagueness and frequent questions left without answer, is admirably adapted to the theme. After all, faith alone is the proper organ for apprehending this vision, and he that believes and loves God has entered into the secret of immortality.—*The Religion of Time and the Religion of Eternity:* being a Study of certain Relations between Mediæval and Modern Thought. By Philip H. Wicksteed, M.A. (London: Philip Green, 1899; pp. 108; 1s.) No one who takes up this little book will lay it down till he has devoured it. Apart from a few paragraphs addressed to Unitarians, to whom it was delivered as the Essex Hall lecture for 1899, it is a message to every one of us. That message, to be sure, is couched in a critical form, fearlessly impugning many beliefs, perhaps conventions, which we are wont to take as established facts. But the gist of the thought emphasized is this: "Progress" is not the only word, not the best word. "Attainment" is better. The former has the mark of time. The latter belongs

to eternity. Eternity, the vision of God and eternal life in him — this was the prime, the permanent, message of true mediæval theology. And this is the message it brings to us today. We look forward, and are prone to find our inspiration in the forward look alone. That is inverting the true sequence of life. That is the religion of time over against which is the deeper and truer religion of eternity. It is strange to receive this message from one of the most advanced and radical of modern religious teachers. But it is a true message which we all should do well to heed.—G. S. GOODSPEED.

*Mémoire sur la grande inscription dédicatoire, et sur plusieurs autres inscriptions néo-puniques du temple d'Hathor-Miskar à Maktar.* Par M. Philippe Berger, membre de l'Académie. (Paris: Imprimerie nationale; Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1899; pp. 48, 5 plates; fr. 4.) During the last few years every number of the *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions de Paris* has contained detailed reports, by Father Delattre and others, of the French excavations at Carthage and the surrounding territory, extending now over the whole of Tunis and Algeria, and directed by men of tact and experience. One of the directors, M. Bordier, found in November, 1892, in the ruins of the ancient town of *Maktar* several inscriptions, chief among which was a neo-Punic building-document in ten columns of three to six lines each. It is the longest of its kind yet discovered, and is now reproduced and discussed, together with two smaller ones, by M. Berger with all his well-known philological acumen. The dialect of these inscriptions represents a bad mixture of Phœnician, Latin, and Berber words, and it is therefore an exceedingly difficult task to interpret these texts satisfactorily. The larger inscription relates the building of a temple to a deity *Htr Mskr* (Hathor-Miskar)\* by a society (בְּזִרְיָה, see pp. 16–19), whose thirty-two members—together with the name of the father of each—are mentioned at the end of the inscription. It is quite significant that, while the names of the fathers are mostly Phœnician or Berber, those of their sons are, as a rule, Roman or Latinized.—W. MUSS-ARNOLT.

*Recent Archæology and the Bible.* The Croall Lectures, 1898. By Rev. T. Nicol, D.D. (Edinburgh and London: W. Blackwood & Sons, 1899; pp. xii + 333; 6s.) Dr. Nicol has traversed the entire field of the relations of archæology to the Old and New Testaments in  
 מֶלֶךְ הַטֶּר מִצְנֵר רֶזֶן יָמָם בַּעַל חֲרָדָה׃



a series of eight lectures. The commendable points about his work are (1) the clear and vigorous style of his presentation; (2) his evidently thorough study of the whole field in the latest and best available literature. What makes his book, in spite of these merits, no more than a common-place apologetic, with a little fuller and fresher information than others of the kind, is that he omits or glosses over difficulties produced by archæological discoveries, and conveys the impression thereby that archæology not only everywhere vouches for the historical accuracy of the biblical narratives, but does this in a direct and convincing way. Between Dr. Nicol's lectures and Professor Driver's chapter in *Authority and Archaeology* there is no comparison. Our author seems to have sacrificed exactness of treatment to the necessities of making an impression upon his auditors. Of course, this is not in any way to intimate that the author is not expressing his real convictions. But objectively considered the treatment is inadequate.—G. S. GOODSPEED.

*Die Schöpfungsgeschichte, der Sündenfall und der Turmbau zu Babel*, in drei im akademischen Gottesdienst zu Halle gehaltenen Predigten behandelt. Von Dr. F. Loofs. Hefte zur *Christlichen Welt*, No. 39. (Freiburg in B.: Verlag von J. C. B. Mohr, 1899; pp. 42; M. 0.75.) Dr. Loofs does not make any attempt in these sermons to defend the literal interpretation of the Mosaic accounts of creation, the fall of man, and the building of the tower of Babel. He finds in these accounts, however, valuable truths which, he says, Protestant clergymen ought to preach. For example, the biblical account of creation recognizes the transcendence of God; the fall of man teaches that sin is not from God; the story of the tower of Babel points out the lesson that even in the earliest years of history costly temples were erected chiefly to commemorate the skill of their builders or their patrons.—A. J. RAMAKER.

*Proverbia-Studien zu der sogenannten salomonischen Sammlung C. x-xxii, 16*, von Dr. H. P. Chajes (Berlin: Schwetschke & Sohn, 1899; pp. vii + 46; M. 1.60), is an attempt to find in the chapters named traces of an original alphabetic arrangement of the proverbs. The author has carefully collected and arranged the separate proverbs according to the initial Hebrew letter. He has gone farther and arranged each list under a given letter in accordance with the alphabetical order of the *second* letter. This scheme reveals some striking facts for the

author's theory. He finds, for instance, that the *Aleph* lines number 38, the *Beth* 39, the *Gimel* 12, the *Daleth* 6, the *He* 15, the *Waw* none at all, the *Zayin* 5, the *Qoph* 5, and the *Samekh* only 1. The great diversity in the number of lines found under the different letters does not uphold the theory of the author. Again, when we test this arrangement by the thought of the proverbs thus thrown together, we fail to find sufficient evidence for an original, mechanical alphabetical arrangement.—IRA M. PRICE.

*Le Saint-Sépulcre depuis l'origine jusqu'à nos jours et les Croisés du Maine*: essai historique. Par A. Legendre, professeur d'archéologie biblique et d'Hébreu à l'Université catholique de l'Ouest. Avec photographies, plans et gravures. (Le Mans: Imprimerie Librairie Leguicheux et Cie., 1898; pp. 116.) The author gives a connected historical sketch to show that the traditional holy places are incontestably authentic.

He enlarges particularly upon the time of the crusades, introducing at length a notable list of Mayenne names of crusaders; in part the more completely to fill out his outline, in part also for patriotic and local reasons. He thus writes primarily for his countrymen and neighbors, though of course for true Catholics everywhere.

The effort is didactic, never apologetic. No other possible site is even suggested. It is taken for granted that the question is forever settled. At the same time the book shows scholarly care coupled with much religious earnestness, and is therefore readable. The underlying desire is to awaken added reverence for the holy places of the church, and secondarily to revive honorable ancestral distinctions. This endeavor to assure to prominent family names the glory of a great ancestry is found in much other recent French historical literature.

From the Protestant point of view the site of the holy sepulcher and of Calvary is still unsettled. And yet controversy has largely ceased, and in its place has come a patient waiting for light through further excavation. The supposed identification of the remains of the lost Second Wall has induced many Protestants to accept the traditional site. A most noteworthy example is the distinguished Baurath C. Schick, of the Deutsche Palaestina-Verein. For thirty-seven years in the midst of persistent archæological inquiry, chiefly in Jerusalem itself, he held steadily to another site; then, compelled by later discoveries which in his view located more exactly the basilica of Constantine, he adopted the traditional view.

It is possible that an exact and complete identification, sufficient to convince all branches of the Christian church, will never be attained. But that possibility seems nearer today than ever before, and it is quite decidedly one of the possibilities of Protestantism that the Roman Catholic ecclesiastical traditions of the holy sepulcher and of Calvary may become at last a catholic standard for us all.—CHARLES C. STEARNS.

*Two Years in Palestine and Syria.* By Margaret Thomas, author of *A Scamper through Spain and Tangier*, *A Hero of the Workshop*, etc., etc. With sixteen illustrations reproduced in colors in facsimile of the original paintings by the author. (London: John C. Nimmo; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1900; pp. xiv + 343; \$5.) In this beautifully printed book Miss Thomas has given a series of interesting impressions of Palestine gathered during a considerable stay in the country. The book is enriched with sixteen illustrations reproduced in colors in facsimile from her own paintings. Its chief value lies in the fact that in her long residence in the country Miss Thomas, with artistic tastes and a keen eye for that which is characteristic, has seen things which the ordinary traveler does not see. The book is good reading, and gives one a very vivid impression of the life of the country. It makes no pretensions to any great scholarship, and in fact its archæological information is very limited.—SHAILER MATHEWS.

*The First Three Gospels in Greek*, arranged in parallel columns, by Colin Campbell, D.D.; second edition, revised (London: Williams & Norgate, 1899; pp. xv + 233; 5s.), has some advantages over other books of its class (Huck, Heineke, Wright, Veit) and narrowly escapes being the best. By dint of much repetition of sections the material of each gospel appears continuously (if bracketed passages are omitted). Spacing of lines facilitates verbal comparison. On the whole, however, we prefer Huck and still look for something better.—*The Special Characteristics of the Four Gospels.* By Herbert Mortimer Luckock, D.D., Dean of Lichfield. (New York and London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1900; pp. xvi + 278; \$1.75.) A pleasantly written book expanded from a series of lectures to clergymen, containing much that is familiar to all students of the gospels, some things that are fanciful and far-fetched, and some that are, if not exactly new, freshly and interestingly put. The author has an interest in the question which gospel should be represented by the man, which by the

lion, which by the ox, and which by the eagle, that it is difficult for us to sympathize with. Its point of view is distinctly conservative.—*Studies in the Four Gospels*. By Professor William G. Moorehead, D.D. (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1900; pp. 230; \$1.) This little volume, by one who has been for many years helpfully teaching the gospels, disclaims the title of an introduction to the gospels, yet deals chiefly with questions of introduction, and especially with the distinctive characteristics of the several gospels. The writer's point of view appears in such statements as that "evangelical Christians hold . . . that the four gospels were written by the men whose names they bear;" that doubt of the apostolic authorship of the first gospel "springs mainly from philosophical presuppositions or doctrinal bias;" that the silence of the synoptists concerning things recorded by John cannot be due to ignorance; that the prophets witness to the great truth that Messiah is none other than the "Lord of Glory;" that the plan and unity of Matthew's gospel cannot be due to Matthew's education, "its real author is the Spirit of God." Despite this "doctrinal bias," which distorts somewhat the writer's view of the gospels, the book contains many valuable interpretative suggestions.—*A Free Inquiry into the Origin of the Fourth Gospel*. By P. C. Sense, M.A. (London: Williams & Norgate, 1899; pp. vi + 456; 7s. 6d.) The writer of this volume defends the thesis that the fourth gospel in its original form was the work of Cerinthus, our present gospel, however, containing a considerable apocryphal element added in the second century. He has read the church fathers to some purpose, makes some rather shrewd, though for the most part highly improbable, suggestions, and altogether gives us an example of the most mischievous kind of *a priori* subjective criticism. The Johannine problem is not to be solved by such wild guessing as this.—*St. Paul, the Master-Builder*. Being lectures delivered to the clergy of the diocese of St. Asaph in July, 1897. By Walter Lock, D.D., Professor of the Exegesis of Holy Scripture in the University of Oxford. (London: Methuen & Co., 1899; pp. x + 124; 3s. 6d.) These four lectures were, we doubt not, adapted to their original purpose as lectures. But we discover nothing in them sufficiently new in substance or form to warrant their publication. The author falls into a curious error on pp. 40 and 41, in the statement that "our Lord chose as the word for the Christian body, not συναγωγή, the common rendering [in the LXX] of qāhāl . . . but ἐκκλησία, the common rendering of 'ēdhāh." The fact is that ἐκκλησία is never in the LXX the translation of 'ēdhāh, and that συναγωγή

represents 'ēdhāh much more frequently than qāhāl. One would be inclined to regard this error as a mere accidental transposition of words, but that the author builds his argument on this reversion of the facts. Hort, from whom Lock intimates that he took these statements, states the facts correctly.—*The Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Galatians*, explained by A. W. Robinson, B.D. (London: Methuen & Co., 1899; pp. 133; 1s. 6d.), is designed "to be of service to the general reader in the practical and devotional study of Holy Scripture," and achieves this general purpose well. That it affords little help in the *exact* statement of the argument or in the interpretation of the difficult passages of the letter is no reproach, these things being beside its aim.—*Die drei Briefe des Apostel Johannes*. Neu bearbeitet von Dr. Bernhard Weiss. (= "Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament," XIV. Abtheilung, 6. Auflage.) (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1900; pp. iv + 195; M. 3.20.) This volume, which in the fifth (Meyer) edition, published in 1888, was entirely rewritten by Professor Weiss, is now republished with minor additions and changes, chiefly by way of discussion of the views put forth in commentaries and essays published since 1888. The author defends as strenuously as ever the Ephesian residence of the apostle John and his authorship of all three of these letters.—*The Trial of Jesus Christ: A Legal Monograph*. By A. Taylor Innes. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark; New York: imported by Charles Scribner's Sons, 1899; pp. 123; \$1.) This book by a British lawyer reproduces with modifications and additions two articles of the author in the *Contemporary Review* for 1877. Comparing the proceeding in the case of Jesus with the usage of Jewish and Roman courts, the author discusses interestingly and instructively how far the proceedings were formally regular and what were the real grounds on which Jesus was condemned. We know of no better treatment of the subject.—*Hard Sayings of Jesus Christ*. By Rev. William Leighton Grane, M.A. (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1899; pp. viii + 212; \$1.50.) The fifteen papers that make up this book are admirable examples of the union of the interpretative and the homiletical spirit. The author expounds with a practical purpose, but he aims first of all to interpret correctly. We feel constrained to dissent from some of his interpretations, but the papers as a whole are marked by sound exegesis, clear perception of the relation of Jesus' teaching to human experience, and a graceful, forcible style.—*The Son of Man: Studies in His Life and Teachings*. By Gross Alexander, S.T.D., Professor of New Testament Exegesis in Vanderbilt University.

(Nashville: Publishing House of the M. E. Church, South, 1900; pp. xiv + 380.) In the introduction to this book, written by the author's friend Dr. J. J. Tigert, it is spoken of as "the first contribution to biblical theology emanating from our ministry or church [the Methodist Episcopal, South], and a most noteworthy one." Its characterization as a contribution to biblical theology is not precisely accurate; the subtitle of the book describes it more correctly. But it is worthy of Dr. Tigert's praise. It is characterized by sober exegesis, spiritual sympathy, and a good degree of appreciation and appropriation of what is best in modern biblical study. If at some points there is a certain lack of firm grasp, an apologetic tone when only clear exposition is called for, the fact to which the introduction refers probably accounts for, if it does not even justify, it. The book ought to have a wide reading, especially among those for whom it is particularly intended.—ERNEST D. BURTON.

*Einführung in das Neue Testament.* Zweite, vermehrte und verbesserte Auflage. Mit 10 Handschriften-Tafeln. Von Eberhard Nestle. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1899; pp. 288; M. 4.40.) The first edition of this work was published in 1897, and had but 129 pages. This second edition has been entirely rewritten, new matter being added throughout; the volume has been increased to nearly twice its former size. It presents the whole subject of New Testament textual criticism in a concise but complete and scholarly way. Chap. i presents the history of the printed text of the New Testament since 1514 A. D., including the latest editions of the text by the author, Schjott, Baljon, and others. Chap. ii treats of the material of New Testament textual criticism, the uncial manuscripts, the most important minuscules, and lectionaries, prefaced by an admirable fifteen-page section on the palæography of the manuscripts; also of the translations of the New Testament, and of the patristic quotations. Chap. iii treats of the theory of New Testament textual criticism, with a careful exposition of the most important principles and problems involved; and then is added nearly sixty pages of "observations" upon the textual readings of a large number of difficult passages throughout the New Testament, a useful contribution to text-critical study. The volume is an important aid to the student in this field. It does not take the place of Hort's second volume of *The New Testament in Greek*, but supplements it and brings it down to date in a necessary way. Nestle is persuaded that there is still much work to be

done upon the text of the New Testament, particularly with reference to the so-called "Western" family of witnesses. Holding firmly by the genealogical method, he still thinks that further study may bring important modifications in the results already obtained. He is a moderate representative of the younger German school of text-critics, who would revise the current estimate of the type of text found in Codex Bezae. This advance work calls for careful consideration.—*Textkritische Bemerkungen zu Markus*. Von Professor Fr. Blass. (= "Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie, dritter Jahrgang, Heft 3, pp. 51-93.") (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1899.) Blass has a theory of his own about the gospel of Mark, which he presented in his *Philology of the Gospels* (1898), to the effect that Mark wrote his gospel in Aramaic, after which various persons translated it into Greek with some freedom; one of these translators was Luke, who also made use of Mark's gospel in the composition of his own; the Greek text of Mark's gospel which is handed down by the Greek MSS. of the New Testament, and which is now accepted as the standard text, is not Luke's translation, however, for it contains almost no Lucan characteristics; but in the text of D and the Old Latin MSS. appear many readings which came from Luke's Greek translation, so that in them we have often better readings than those in the text of Mark at present accepted. The purpose of the *Observations* here being noticed is to make a more extended examination of the text of Mark, contrasting the readings of the approved Greek MSS. with the readings of D, the Old Latin, and the Sinaitic Syriac. What Blass gives is a fragmentary treatment of the subject, which, however, is interesting and useful. In his general remarks he does not restate his former opinion about the origin of Mark, but says that the gospel passed through many hands, being constantly redacted; and he concludes that the evidence of the Syro-Latin group of witnesses to the text of Mark must be given fuller consideration, and must be allowed a larger influence in the ultimate New Testament text.—*The Method of Jesus: an Interpretation of Personal Religion*. By A. W. Anthony. (Boston: Silver, Burdett & Co., 1899; pp. 264; \$1.25.) This little book realizes its aim, which is to help the people over from traditional to progressive conceptions of Christianity. Its spirit is excellent, its method sympathetic and successful. The ideas which it contains are commonplaces with the leaders of religious thought, and the contents are somewhat miscellaneous; but this is probably what the majority of the ministers and laymen most need.—*The Christology of Jesus*, being his Teaching concerning Himself

according to the Synoptic Gospels. By Rev. James Stalker, D.D. (New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 1899; pp. xiv + 298; \$1.50.) This volume contains the *Cunningham* Lectures for 1899. It is the first of three volumes which Dr. Stalker purposes to write; the second is to be upon *The Ethic of Jesus*, the third upon *His Teaching as Recorded by St. John*. The title of this first volume is not a good one; for "Christology" is a theological term, and Dr. Stalker rightly says "the words of Christ belong not to theology, but to religion" (p. 23). Further, the author should have prepared and published first his treatment of *The Ethic of Jesus*; for he says also that "the teaching of Jesus is predominantly ethical, and that theology has done no sort of justice to the ethics of Jesus" (p. 23). This would have brought the two subjects into the order of prominence which Jesus gave them. The chapters of this volume are entitled "The Importance of the Teaching of Jesus," "The Son of Man," "The Son of God," "The Messiah," "The Redeemer," "The Judge" (two articles previously published are appended, one on Wendt's *Lehre Jesu*, Bd. I, the other on the book of Enoch). Notwithstanding the fact that "the teaching of Jesus about himself in the synoptists is scanty and inconspicuous" (p. x), Dr. Stalker manages to find in it a sure basis for pretty much all of the ecclesiastical Christology. The "younger theologians of Germany" seem to be his *bête noire*. Upon not a few points one would be compelled to differ with the author, not least among which would be his peculiar aversion to the phrase "the kingdom of God"—an aversion which he unwarrantably attributes to Jesus himself (p. 165). The book will serve a good purpose among the rank and file of Christians, as a popular presentation of the subject.—C. W. VOTAW.

*St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans*. A Practical Exposition. By Charles Gore, M.A., D.D. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1899, 1900; 2 vols.; pp. viii + 226; viii + 241; each, \$1.50.) Both the purpose and the method of these volumes are to be commended: the former, as it seeks to interpret to "ordinary Christians" the results of the scholars; the latter, in that judicious use is made of analysis and paraphrase, supplemented when necessary by fuller explanations of the "main ideas or phrases" which each section (of the Revised Version) contains.

The writer's point of view as an expositor is consistently that of the English churchman. To instance one position among many. Justification is rightly explained as a "forensic" word, expressing the



verdict of acquittal. The object of the divine justification is, however, declared to be the individual only as becoming and remaining a member of the church. It is, therefore, equivalent to acceptance for membership in the church, wherein Christ is still perpetuating his life by his Spirit. Into this life in the body, for which "justification" qualifies us, we are admitted (at least Paul is said to "know of no other way") by baptism; and we have no other means of communion in Christ's body and blood except in the breaking of bread.

In the second volume there is a very sane and helpful treatment of Romans, chaps. 9-16. Here the author shows that in Paul's treatment of the divine election there is no warrant for Calvinism (defined as the doctrine that God created some men absolutely and irresistibly predestined to eternal life, and the rest to eternal death); that, while Paul clearly recognizes that God works "universal ends through selected races and individuals, this recognition is robbed of all that ministers to pride in the elect or hopelessness and a sense of injustice in the rest."

These volumes will prove especially helpful to the class for which they are intended—"ordinary Christian" members of the Anglican church. And they will be read with no less interest by others, who, however, will have occasion to question that article in the writer's exegetical creed which affirms that only "one who enters thoroughly into the spirit of churchmanship is able to interpret with any completeness the mind of St. Paul."—HENRY TODD DEWOLFE.

*Manual of Patrology.* By Rev. Bernard Schmid. Translated from the fifth German edition by a Benedictine; revised, etc., by Right Rev. V. J. Schobel. (St. Louis, Mo.: B. Herder, 1899; pp. 351; cloth, \$1.25.) This handbook, written by a good Roman Catholic for Catholic readers, is intended to be merely "an introduction to the knowledge of the Fathers of the church." The standard of modern Protestant scholarship cannot, therefore, be applied in the criticism of this book, which is pleasantly written and gives, on the whole, a good deal of general information concerning the writings of the Fathers from the apostolic time to Isidore of Seville, among the Latin Fathers, and John Damascene, among the Greek. Four epochs are distinguished: (1) origin; (2) growth and development; (3) full growth (325-461 A. D.); and (4) decline of patristic literature (461 to ca. 700 A. D.). We have discovered very little use of modern critical literature, so that in many points the book is not up to date.—*Novatians Epistula de cibis iudaicis*, herausgegeben von Gustaf Landgraf

und Carl Weyman (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1898; Separatabdruck aus Wölfflin's *Archiv*, Vol. XI, pp. 221-49), is a carefully prepared edition of a tract of which, until recently, no extant MS. was known. In 1894, however, Harnack discovered the tract in a Petersburg—formerly Corvey—codex (A) of the ninth century, but assigned it to Tertullian. The present editors secured a careful copy, which they published together with a very minute discussion of the MS. containing the text (pp. 221-5) and critical remarks (pp. 239-49). They have proved in this edition three points: (1) The treatise *de Trinitate* is undoubtedly written by the author of *epistula de cibis iudaicis*, i. e., by Novatian; (2) both treatises were written originally in Latin and not translated from the Greek (this against Quarry, *Hermathena*, 1897, pp. 36 ff.), and (3) pseudo-Cyprian, *de spectaculis* and *de bono pudicitiae* are the work of the same author that wrote *de Trinitate*, *de cibis*, and Nos. 30 and 36 of the collection of Cyprian's letters, i. e., Novatian.—*Fabii Planciadis Fulgentii, V. C., Opera*. Accedunt Fabii Claudii Gordiani Fulgentii, V. C., de aetatibus mundi et hominis et S. Fulgentii Episcopi super Thebaiden. Recensuit Rudolfus Helm. (Lipsiae: in aedibus B. G. Teubneri, 1898; pp. xvi + 216.) (= "Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana.") The author of the instructive article "Der Bischof Fulgentius und der Mythograph," *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*, Vol. LIV, pp. 111-33, has edited now the works of the grammarian Fabius Planciades Fulgentius, whose language and style, even at its best, was always bombastic, flowery, and often lacking in the rudiments of Greek rhetoric. This fact, together with the fragmentary, bad condition of the text, has thus far deterred scholars from editing Fulgentius. Strange to say, what even so great a Latin scholar as Reifferscheid has declared an *opus iniucundum*, our editor, owing to the grammatical and historical questions involved, has found so attractive that an *auctor iucundissimus ex iniucundo factus sit* (Preface, p. iii); and the whole edition gives evidence and proof of this. From cover to cover we notice the careful hand of the editor, his love for this work growing under his hands, the result of minute study of many MSS. The three books, *Mitologiarum* (pp. 1-80), the *expositio virgilianae continentiae secundum philosophos moralis* (pp. 83-107), and the *expositio sermonum antiquorum ad grammaticum Chalcidius* (pp. 110-26), as well as the *de aetatibus mundi et hominis*,<sup>1</sup> are assigned

<sup>1</sup> That is, A Christian History of the World, so arranged that in each of its twenty-three books—of which only fifteen are extant—one letter of the alphabet does not occur, e. g., in the first book, "abest A," etc.

to the same author; the last named, however, being of much later date, when Fulgentius had become a monk and had improved both in manner and style. Following the same line of reasoning, Helm believes that the author of all these tracts is identical with the well-known Fulgentius, bishop of Ruspe († 553 A. D.). It is possible, but the existing MSS. do not corroborate this conclusion; only a single one adding to the first book of the Mythology the name of a presbyter. The *S. Fulgentii episcopi super Thebaiden* (pp. 180–86) must be, for stylistic reasons, the work of another author (see pp. xv, xvi). Students of late Latin will welcome this careful edition, whose value is greatly enhanced by a very good “index auctorum” and an “index nominum,” as well as by a minute “index sermonis” (pp. 192–215); this last of special interest and importance.—W. MUSS-ARNOLT.

*Luthers Reise nach Rom.* Von Dr. Theodor Elze. (Berlin: Verlag von Alexander Duncker, 1899; pp. xi + 99; M. 2.50.) The journey of Luther to Rome has always enlisted the special interest of historians. Several writers have made a careful study of it. Dr. Elze, the author of this latest treatise on the subject, has examined it afresh in the light of all that his precursors had ascertained. But he has made investigations for himself, and has contributed some new light to the discussion. He has traveled over all the roads which Luther must have taken, and has marked the places where it is most probable that he found temporary lodging on the way. He has also done much to reconstruct the Rome which Luther saw. In short, he has weighed every scrap of evidence concerning the journey now left to us. The evidence concerning the time and the occasion of it he has gathered up in an appendix, where the reader may examine it for himself. He shows that Luther went to Rome late in 1510, and returned early in 1511, and that the journey exercised a strong influence upon his opinions, not perhaps at the time, but later, when he came to reflect upon what he had seen and heard.—FRANKLIN JOHNSON.

*The Acts and Decrees of the Synod of Jerusalem*, sometimes called the Council of Bethlehem, holden under Dasetheus, Patriarch of Jerusalem, 1672. Translated from the Greek and with Notes by J. N. W. B. Robertson. (London: Thomas Baker, 1899; pp. viii + 215; 5s., net.) The occasion of this synod was the rededication of the Basilica of the Nativity of Bethlehem. This explains why it was sometimes called the Synod or Council of Bethlehem. Its object was to condemn a work entitled *The Eastern Confession of the Christian Faith*,

published in the name of Cyril, formerly patriarch of Constantinople, and maintaining many of the doctrines of the Calvinists.—J. W. MONCRIEF.

*Richard Rothe.* Ein theologisches Characterbild. Von Dr. Paul Mezger. (Berlin: Verlag von Reuther & Reichard, 1899; pp. 77; M. 1.20.) The author endeavors to show in this book that Rothe's theological teachings are not a body of speculative truths thought out and elaborated in the quiet of the study, but are rather a record of the personal religious experiences of an exceptionally deep, receptive, and spiritually rich personality. He believes that in this respect Rothe's theological system is not unlike that of Schleiermacher, from whom, however, he differs in many important doctrines. The author claims a yet larger influence for Rothe's teachings in the future, especially among educated Christians.—A. J. RAMAKER.

*The Life-Work of Edward White Benson*, sometime Archbishop of Canterbury. By J. A. Carr, LL.D. (London: Eliot Stock, 1898; pp. 278; 6s.) This work is in no sense a memoir of the late archbishop, for the author has had no access to his papers or letters. Beyond its record of the chief events in his life, and citations from his more important public addresses, it does not go. But within these limits the work is well done. The author has a practiced hand, and the picture here given increases one's respect for the late archbishop's intellectual character, his learning, and his scholarship. It also confirms what Bishop Temple, the present archbishop of Canterbury, said at the time of Dr. Benson's death: that he was one of the few men who continued to grow stronger with advancing years. Sweetness of character, amiability, gentleness, and purity, and withal great devotion—these characteristics were written clearly in his features. But he had also insight and strength of will, and, with great charity toward others, maintained an inflexible attitude. He continued the traditions of the high office to which he was called by Mr. Gladstone.—ALEXANDER V. G. ALLEN.

*Der Ordo Salutis in der alt-lutherischen Dogmatik.* Von Max Koch, Lic. theol., Dr. phil. (Berlin: Verlag von Alexander Duncker, 1899; pp. 203; M. 4.) The exact order of the steps through which God takes us in accomplishing our salvation was a subject of much interest to the older Lutheran theologians. The order, according to Quenstedt, is as follows: calling, regeneration, conversion, justification,

penitence, mystical union, and sanctification. This section of the old Lutheran theology Dr. Koch subjects to a searching examination. He considers first the doctrine itself, and exhibits the painful efforts of the writers who made most of it to overcome the difficulties which inhere in it. The difficulties of the mystical union receive his chief attention. He then studies the origin and development of this section of the old Lutheran theology. The origin he finds in certain suggestions of the earlier Reformed theologians, and he thinks that the development was greatly influenced by certain prevailing metaphysical conceptions and by the syncretistic controversy. The later religious life of the Lutherans found no nourishment in this speculation, and hence it fell into abeyance. In this book Dr. Koch shows that he possesses a keen and discriminating mind, and that he regards the doctrine of the mystical union with special disapproval.—FRANKLIN JOHNSON.

*Christian Ethics.* By William L. Davidson, M.A., LL.D., Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in the University of Aberdeen, author of *The Logic of Definition*, etc. (London: A. & C. Black; Chicago: The Fleming H. Revell Co., 1899; pp. 156; \$0.50.) This little volume discusses the meaning and the originality of Christian ethics, the relation of ethics to religion and happiness, the strictness, consequences, rewards, and inward test of Christian morality, and such other topics as moral progress, humility, charity and its results, judging, the Christian ideal, and Christian optimism. This is a readable book. The thought is clear, the distinctions and definitions sharp and just, the transitions natural, and the progress constant. A pure and elevating spirit breathes through the whole. It is, indeed, not only a discussion of Christian ethics, but a Christian discussion of ethics. One finds himself drawn on from the first page to the last, and rises from the reading of the book with the satisfactory sense of having been in congenial Christian company. Professor Davidson has made every reader his debtor, and the readers ought to be a great multitude. If in the discussion of happiness he had been a little more careful to make it clear that neither he nor Scripture makes happiness the supreme good of man, and virtue a mere means to that end, it might have been a gain.—GEO. D. B. PEPPER.

*Die biblische Lehre vom heiligen Geiste.* Von Karl v. Lechler. (Gütersloh: Druck und Verlag von C. Bertelsmann, 1899; pp. vii + 307;

M. 4.80.) This book is not, as might be expected, a study in biblical theology. There is no recognition of modern scholarship in the treatment of biblical material. There is no attempt to show what the Hebrew thought about the Spirit was, or how that thought was developed in the early church. All parts of Scripture are regarded as expressing with equal exactness a definite theology. The creation narratives state the true relation of spirit to matter, viz., that of realism. The dove at the baptism of Jesus was no vision, but an actual bodily appearance. The lamb in the visions of the Apocalypse is not a comparison or a symbolism, but a heavenly reality. The book is a defense of mystic realism. Its peculiar doctrine is that the Spirit underlies all the realities of the physical and mental world. Most of the philosophy of its position, without the emphasis on the Spirit, and free from the somewhat remarkable exegesis of this author, may be found in certain recent English books defending an extreme sacramentalism.—IRVING F. WOOD.

*Holy Baptism.* By Darwell Stone, M.A., Principal of Dorchester Missionary College. (=“The Oxford Library of Practical Theology.”) (London, New York, and Bombay: Longmans, Green & Co., 1899; pp. xii + 303; \$1.) The author of this book is a sacramentarian. Men are saved by baptism. This salvation includes both regeneration and adoption. He rightly distinguishes between regeneration and conversion, but in the case of adults holds that regeneration follows conversion; but in the case of infants the order is necessarily reversed. Such theology, to say the least, is somewhat shifty. The doctrine of faith in relation to personal salvation, so very prominent in the Scriptures, our author largely ignores. He makes the extravagant declaration that “in the New Testament no other means of becoming a Christian than by being baptized is anywhere mentioned or implied,” and he declares that the meaning of the Great Commission is that we are sent to make disciples of all nations by baptizing them. To justify his opinions he quotes from the apostolic and church fathers far more copiously than from the Scriptures. He does not seem to be aware of the fact that very early in the Christian era the doctrines of the New Testament were sadly corrupted by the assumption of heathen notions, and that the teaching of the Fathers, on which he so confidently relies, was, much of it, quite contrary to the teachings of Christ and his apostles. If one wishes to become acquainted with sacramentarianism in its extreme form, we can heartily commend to him this volume.—GALUSHA ANDERSON.

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## AUTHORITY AS A PRINCIPLE OF THEOLOGY.

By JULIUS KAFTAN,  
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### I.

THE word "authority" has no attractive sound for modern ears, at least where religious conviction and scientific knowledge are concerned. For we live under the prevailing impression that piety is genuine only when it rests on inward personal conviction and has its mainspring, not in submission to authoritative traditions, but in the experience of our own heart and conscience. Likewise it is a distinguishing feature of scientific knowledge that it yields obedience only to fact and the inward constraint of reason, never to mere opinions about fact, no matter by what authority these may be hallowed.

But in theology religion and science meet. For whatever else theology may be, it is at all events the science of the Christian religion. Hence it seems to be required of the theological, that is, the dogmatic, judgment that it should forego all considerations of authority, and that on a twofold ground: both because it must be the offspring of inward personal conviction, and because it should be characterized by a free and wide scientific outlook.

On the other hand, the work of theology is, of course, wrought in the service of the church, of the Christian community, which will not have its faith disturbed, least of all by theology, which must be a handmaid of, not a mistress over, Christian faith. It is at all events required of theology that it shall assume as true, and take as its presupposition, a certain well-defined tradition. But this is just equivalent to saying that there is a definite authority which it must respect. Here I take no account of differences of theological schools. These only make themselves felt from the fact that the circle of what is recognized as certain is narrower or wider according to the school. If this stable element disappear altogether, Christian theology ceases to exist; a philosophical view of religion takes its place. In reality theology has never claimed to discover new truth, but only teaches a better understanding of the truth given to it. And even he who diverges, in his doctrinal positions, farthest from the traditional forms of faith will yet assume that he is in harmony with the church and its faith in the matter, *i. e.*, the truth, with which he is dealing.

In his noteworthy book on the *Foundations of Belief* Mr. Balfour has remarked on the twofold position occupied by dogmas in connection with the religious life.<sup>1</sup> They belong, on the one hand, to the foundation on which the organized community of the Christian church rests, and must therefore be unchangeable. On the other hand they are articles of theology which, as matters of science, must be ever anew grounded on reality, and must therefore also be subject to change. For it must always be stipulated as a condition of science that it should be seeing the facts in new lights and learning to understand them better. As a corollary of this our doctrinal formulas must be regarded as liable at any time to modification as inquiry advances.

This is precisely the situation that I have in mind. Only it must be added, I think, that it is not science alone, but also personal religious conviction, which may bring theologians in conflict with what is authoritatively taught in the church. Within

<sup>1</sup> *Foundations of Belief*, by RIGHT HON. A. J. BALFOUR, 5th edition, p. 260.



Protestantism subjective faith must and shall ever maintain its right. Moreover, the doctrines held by the church as authoritative are valid as such because they are by hypothesis based on divine revelation, not simply because they form the basis of the organized church. Mr. Balfour would not deny this, only he has treated this part of his subject in an incidental and summary way, confining himself to the main theme as it presented itself in the course of his discussion. Here, however, where this situation is to form the main theme of discussion, we require to bring these further relations into prominence.

Mr. Balfour has also suggested that the cases of friction which inevitably occur between theology and the faith of the church might be made entirely harmless through a little wisdom and charity. He believes that, if we would only resolve to give those Christian virtues more scope, we should find to our surprise that discord would vanish more readily than one would think and than usually happens. For my part I have no doubt of the correctness of this. Recourse must always be had, above all things, to mutual good-will. No reconciliation of conflicting interests can be established which absolves us from this as the main thing. But are we to regard the present state of things in church and theology as unalterable, and is it inconceivable that we shall yet arrive at a better mode of the general harmonization of these things, which may facilitate the peaceful coexistence of theology and the church, and make an end of their perpetual conflict? Ultimately each points to the other. Should not then a *modus vivendi* be possible, whereby they may, as a rule, have peace, and occasions of friction be limited in number and confined to special cases?

The answer to this depends, above all, on how theological work is related, according to its own structural idea, to the *principle of authority*. Supposing that theology, in its own sphere, fights shy of the idea of authority, then no way of harmonizing *on principle* the interests of theology and of the church, that is, of its system of authoritative doctrines, is apparent. In each separate instance it may be held that such harmonization is actually possible, and its attainment may be hoped for;

but under these conditions the question cannot be, on principle, cleared of difficulty. But the matter stands on a different footing if the principle of authority be taken as the natural principle of theology, and if it is justified as such in a scientific way. The question now raised would then be answered affirmatively, and the hope could be entertained that a general accommodation may be possible. And this is the point of view I desire here to represent; this is the theme of our discussion.

The conflict of the two principles, authority and reason, is almost as old as Christian theology. It was continually recurring in the history of the church. Nor will it ever wholly cease. In the mediæval scholasticism, however, a way was gradually found of uniting both principles and of assigning to each its rights. Thomas Aquinas in particular formulated the scheme of fundamental doctrine in this way. He did not consider, like Anselm, that what is in the first place content of faith can then also be proved true and reasonable by presuppositionless thought. Just as little did he, like the later Nominalists, withdraw the whole domain of church dogma from the judgment of reason. He struck a middle course—others before him had expressed similar thoughts, but he may be taken as the representative of this way of thinking—and by this middle course he united these principles. He distinguished expressly between such dogmas as even reason is capable of knowing, and in which it finds the necessary completion of the knowledge which is attainable by it, and those dogmas which transcend the range of reason and which are accessible only in the church on the ground of revelation. In regard to these latter doctrines we have to submit to authority. But these two kinds of dogma are not unconnected. Revelation includes also those dogmas reached through reason, and they are to be taken as more reliable from that source than from reason, which is always liable to error. On the other hand, reason is not to be denied all capability in regard to supernatural truths. She cannot prove them, and therefore should not attempt such proof. But she can refute objections which may be raised against them and may, through figurative illustration, assist the apprehension of those

truths. Nevertheless, that reason is not competent in this sphere, that the highest truth surpasses her power of comprehension, admits of being proved to be itself reasonable. But it does not fall within our present scope to consider the nature of this proof, but only to point out the fact that through that proof above all a real union of the principles is reached.

This theory in regard to reason and authority, as Thomas Aquinas has most clearly formulated it, belongs to the weightiest order of thoughts which are presented and enunciated in Christian theology. It has its roots in the whole preceding history of theology; and its influence on all the subsequent history extends to the present day. It by no means, indeed, met with immediate or universal acceptance. Thomas was followed by Duns Scotus, and he again by Occam and other Nominalists; and they in turn held essentially different views of the coördination of authority and reason. Gradually, however, it became the predominant view, apparently because its conformity to the habits of thought of the pious and the needs of the church gained it a central place in the church.

In the Roman Catholic church today Aquinas' theory is the recognized basis of the official theology. Pope Leo XIII. proclaimed St. Thomas the normal philosopher of the church. Nor was this a mere arbitrary decree; it is a consistent outcome of the Roman Catholic view of the nature of Christianity.

The church, in that view, is the divinely appointed teacher of the truth; to her has been committed the treasure of divine truth which reason is incapable of discovering, and which no one can rightly comprehend without the authentic interpretation of the church. If theology undertook to deduce the truth by a process of reasoning, the church's supernatural function of teaching would be liable to be set aside as superfluous, a blasphemous proposal in the eyes of Roman Catholic Christians. It must then be maintained, as Aquinas taught, that there are supernatural dogmas in Christianity which rest on authority in spite of the judgment of reason, which may, indeed, play a supplementary part by defending them so far as it can refute objections to them. The fact, however, that another department of

Christian truth is accessible to reason is almost equally important. For thereby alone the church retains connection with our God-given reason, that is, with the rational spirit-life of mankind. Hereby is furnished a basis of proving that it is rational that men should trust to the supernatural teaching function of the church, and a basis for her claim that in all affairs of reason and the spirit-life she shall decide. If theology were to come and receive all truth at the hands of the church, this again would not be the right way. She has rather to seek her foundation in reason, and on this as a basis to set up the truth which is above reason and which, as such, is established by the divine authority of the church. The Roman Catholic church repudiates equally a theology which would prove all things by reason and one which would prove nothing by reason. Papal decrees have been issued in our age against the one tendency as well as the other. If at first sight this appears contradictory, yet on closer inspection it proves quite consistent. We have only to keep in view that the fundamental idea of Roman Catholic Christianity is to refer everything to the church, and especially, in regard to theology, to establish the dominion of the church over the religious life, as well as the whole mental life, of Christendom. Since it furnishes the means to this end, the theory of Thomas Aquinas concerning authority and reason is the logically necessary basis for the official Roman Catholic theology. It is, therefore, not accidental that the pope has proclaimed it as such.

And how, then, does evangelical Protestant theology stand related to this theory? It may be assumed as well known that the orthodox Protestant dogmatic, in its doctrine of principles, propounds ideas similar to those of Aquinas, whether as inherited from him or derived from the sway of Aristotle which was soon established in the evangelical theology. Only here the question is not as to the authority of the church, but that of divine revelation, that is, the Holy Scriptures. If we meant, however—as we do not—to give a thorough account of the orthodox standpoint, all sorts of divergences would have to be noted. I am concerned only with the fundamental idea. This is the same with Protestant theologians as with Aquinas: on the basis of

a rational knowledge of God—which, however, is insufficient in and of itself—it constructs for itself a revealed theology, established by authority, and allows the bringing in of proof for the principle of authority. This proof, however, in the case of Protestantism, is not one purely of reason, but takes into account the Christian's inner experience of the Holy Scriptures (the *testimonium Spiritus sancti internum*).

No doubt this principle has long ceased to be the dominant one in Protestant theology, but it has given a stamp to the thoughts of the church on this subject, and it has a determining influence on them to the present day. This can be proved by two considerations. On the one hand, any attempt to separate theology from all connection with empirical knowledge of the world at once encounters invincible mistrust among pious Christians. The pious will have it that true science leads to the conception of God, and that a science that does not do this has lost its way. Every attempt to mold scientific knowledge so that it will issue in some kind of knowledge of God is hailed as a victory of the truth, even when this so-called scientific knowledge of God is not precisely that of the Christian faith. Better so, it is held, than if science went its own way and faith remained in its own sphere untouched by the researches of science. On the other hand, it is held to be equally necessary that the Christian should derive his knowledge from the supernatural source of Holy Scripture, accepting as binding upon him all that is written, and allowing no other rule for theology. These, however, are the fundamental ideas of the old theory: reason and authority side by side and mutually complementary! A theology which follows these ideas can always count most surely on being understood and recognized among the pious.

The evangelical theology, however, cannot return to this mode of thought, and that for a twofold reason. The presuppositions for it no longer exist in the present methods of science. In every discussion of fundamental principles there stands at the outset the question of the relation of Christian faith to other modes of the cognition of truth and science, and much depends on what views are held in this general field. But the empirical

science of the present day does not follow a path in which it is of necessity led to ideas of God as its culmination. And it is not to be lost sight of that from such a path science must diverge ever more widely, following instead that path of empirical research on which its great and wonderful results have been attained. Hence the general presuppositions are wanting under which the fundamental principles of scholastic doctrine originated and could alone originate. To seek to restore these presuppositions would be an unpromising undertaking.

The other reason which forbids our return to such theories is that it is opposed to the spirit of Protestantism to renounce in any point whatever the inward appropriation of Christian truth. The individual Christian can always make the reservation that he believingly accepts the revealed truth even without wholly understanding it. He can then add that he does so in the hope of one day learning to understand it by the guidance of the Holy Spirit, and of thus benefiting by it. He cannot, however, as a Protestant, assume that its real inward appropriation is entirely excluded because it transcends the subjective spirit, nor can he on principle set himself over against it as something alien or wholly foreign to himself. Least of all can theology admit of this. She must rather regard it as her highest task to show the people the way to the inward appropriation and real understanding of revealed truth. The accomplishment of this task must, therefore, appear to her possible. But the principle of authority in the old sense is hereby excluded. Nevertheless I abide by the opinion already expressed that the principle of authority (namely, that of divine revelation) is the natural principle of Christian theology. If, as Protestants, we cannot employ that principle in the old form, we must modify it and give it a sense in harmony with the spirit of Protestantism. And this must in all circumstances be possible if the principle of authority is the natural principle of the Christian faith, and if Protestantism is the most perfect form of Christianity, at least up to the present time. Moreover, it is further conceivable that this modification of the principle of authority would correspond to the already mentioned revolution of science; and that the

evangelical Protestant faith and modern science will be reconciled in a new combination, just as the old science and Catholic Christendom were reconciled in the combination proposed by Thomas Aquinas.

This, in my opinion, is the true state of the matter, and I think it best at once to specify the modification I have in view. The older view is thoroughly intellectualistic in character; and it is so above all because it seeks the peculiar essence and excellence of spirit in thinking and knowing. To behold God, to know God, that was defined as the highest end and *summum bonum* of humanity—and that not in the sense in which Christianity, as well as every spiritual (*geistige*) religion, declares a communion of the spirit with God, and one always mediated by thought, to be the highest thing. According to the older view this knowledge is conceived as the culmination and unifying bond of all human knowledge, and is regarded as knowledge in a special and narrower sense, so that even the sciences are represented as steps toward the knowledge of God, and are valued and classified accordingly. Religious knowledge is correspondingly viewed as something merely of the intellect. The practical side of religion, which certainly can never be ignored, gets its rights in participation in worship and the use of the confessional, so that worship and the confessional are regarded as the main things in the exercise of Christian piety. But faith is held to be nothing but the holding of something as true; it belongs to the intellect and is conceived as purely an intellectual assent. It need hardly be added that the same is true of knowing as understood in connection with secular science.

One thing must certainly be conceded to this intellectualism, viz., that spirit is nothing without thought. This is the universal medium of all life of the spirit, but of itself is not, to speak scholastically, the substance of the spirit. *That* is the will of the spirit. To adopt an expression of the Swiss theologian Biedermann, a late offshoot of the Hegelian philosophy, it is not logical being (as Biedermann supposes), but ethical being, which is the substance of the spirit. One can certainly understand how such an overestimate of thought could originate and how,

in the case of all of us, it runs, as it were, in our very blood. It is through thought that the will is, or becomes, a thing of the spirit. Therefore what constitutes the peculiar value of the spiritual appears to depend on thought, but in our view only because the *will* may and does thereby become a thing of the spirit.

However, it is not our purpose to demonstrate, but only to point out the difference; and this is just what we have indicated. From the very fact that we are Christians, however, we are from the outset committed to the side of the will, that is, to the distinct subordination of intellect to will. For we know that obedience, the doing of the will of God, is necessary in order to know God and the teaching of Him whom he has sent. The other tendency, originating in Greek antiquity, forced its way into the church of the empire in its formative period. It is not derived from the gospel itself, and the Reformation has set us again on the original platform of the gospel. Hence we know nothing of a faith which is merely a subordinate form of intellectual experience. No; faith is personal conviction, that is, a recognition founded in motives and experiences of the will. And may it not be possible that something similar holds good of all knowledge? In other words, may we not find, on analyzing it, that the decisive and determinative point in all knowledge is its relation to will? I am convinced that this is the case, as I have in more detail set forth in my book on *The Truth of the Christian Religion*. And herein lies the modification or revolution which in my opinion contains the presuppositions for establishing authority as the natural principle of theology. No doubt the old ideas of the teaching of Aquinas would thus return; but it would be in a form in which authority would come into contradiction neither with the Protestant demand for personal conviction nor with the freedom of science.

In the life of the spirit the equilibrium of the great interests which give substance and significance to our life and which chiefly make it worth living is the matter of gravest importance. These are faith in God, man's destination to God for whom he was made, the ordering of the life by the moral law, and, finally,



the knowledge of the truth so far as it can be attained. The above-mentioned doctrine of reason and authority, which mutually demand and limit each other, succeeded for a long time in maintaining such an equilibrium. That doctrine, however, has been discredited and cannot be restored to its former position. Meanwhile, however, in course of the process through which it has fallen, new forms of thought and life have risen which in their turn require to be harmonized. To further the means whereby that harmony is to be effected appears to me to be one of the weightiest tasks of Protestant theology. Not that a perfect and absolutely permanent equilibrium can ever be found. That can never be so long as history lasts, for the reason that history is never at a standstill, but is continually moving forward, an equilibrium of the opposing elements ever and again emerging, and anon dissolving. Not the existence of such moments of equilibrium, but their becoming and dissolution, constitute the contents of the history of the life of the spirit.

Certainly, the attention of most men has not been directed to the necessity of attaining a new equilibrium. We live in the age of natural science, whose progress and discoveries hold men in suspense. But much more important than any progress of natural knowledge, for the central questions of the life of the spirit, is the correct fundamental valuation of natural knowledge itself. Others are of opinion that the historico-critical investigation of the past and its great epochs furnishes the weightiest means of studying our spiritual life as a whole. But however great may be the estimate of the advantage thence to be gained, it appears to me to be a mistake to suppose that decisive questions can be settled in that way. The problem is quite falsely conceived if it is supposed that its solution can be reached in any way by directing the attention outwardly. Only in the way of self-reflection, only by an endeavor after an inward harmonization of all those interests which constitute the life of the spirit, can we in a relative way reach the goal where human aspirations find their fulfilment.

I must now indicate in brief outline what is proposed in the present discussion. I shall arrange the subject in the following

order: first I shall deal with the idea of authority; then with the significance of the idea of revelation in connection with the Christian religion; next I shall bring out the different forms of the principle of the authority of divine revelation as understood by Catholicism and Protestantism respectively; and finally I shall take up the question as to how and in what form the idea of authority, which is indispensable to theology, can be justified in connection with the science of today.

## II.

It is in the region of practical affairs that the idea of authority is peculiarly at home. In every society there are, to some extent, authoritative ordinances which require obedience and observance from the members. This is true even of the family, which cannot exist, at least in well-being, without authority and subordination. It is true also of the civil community and its common life in the state. The distribution of power in the family rests on the natural relationship of the members to one another. The government is according to natural laws; and the exercise of authority is in great measure connected with personal affection. Still more plainly and distinctly defined are the authoritative ordinances in civil life. It is to the laws of the state that authority belongs; and they supply the best means of studying what constitutes the essence of authority.

The distinguishing characteristic of authority is its independence of the personal judgment and liking of those with whom it has to do. The law must be observed because it must. It requires obedience, without further ground, just because it is law. It may be said, however, that grounds for obedience exist, grounds which give validity to the law, and which lie partly in the relations common to all societies and partly in the special relations of each particular society. This, at all events, is the case in every state that has any degree of order. But what has just been said is not thereby invalidated; for it holds true that in each particular case obedience must be rendered because the law is the law, and that even without any ideal ground. We all regard it as self-evident that we have to obey the laws that are

actually in force. We do not refuse obedience to the law, even supposing we cannot see its reason. Nay, perhaps we may regard a particular law as a bad one, and may do our best to propagate that view and get the law abrogated. But it never occurs to us to transgress it so long as it remains law. That at least is the general rule. The possible case where a law requires of us what we must for conscience sake refuse is so rare that it may be left out of account.

A further characteristic of civil law is that its observance is enforced as necessity arises. If the state is to exist, its laws must be carried out, and every deviation from them must be punished. It must have recourse to the power which is necessary for that purpose, otherwise its authority is gone. And in each particular case transgression and punishment must be plainly and manifestly related to each other. This, however, cannot be said to belong to the essence of authority as such; it is the peculiar quality of civil authority which is thus expressed. While the common life of the community passes into more fixed forms, what is indispensable to its stability will be established as law, that is, as a rule for the conduct of individuals, and its maintenance must be enforced by the supreme power of the state. And it is to this that the state confines itself, even while, in course of time, the law embraces more than is absolutely indispensable to the existence of the state. The real and decisive characteristic of authority as such, what in all cases forms its essence, is the point already indicated, viz., its independence of the inclination and judgment of the individual, who must obey whether he understand the ideal reason of the command or not.

Precisely in the same sense we find authority also in connection with the moral life. Here too it is the authority of a command which confronts our subjective will and claims obedience from us. What Kant called the categorical imperative is and remains the typical expression for what constitutes the very essence of all vivid and oft-recurring moral experiences.

To be sure, in the more recent ethics a tendency prevails which prevents the ready acceptance of this position. Kant's system of morals is censured as one purely intuitive, which is

based on inner experience, and which sets up *a priori* principles. But ethics, it is alleged, must rather become teleological: its task should be to derive and explain the moral law with its peculiar contents from the end to be realized in mankind. As such end the general weal in some form is designated, this of course understood, not in a lower, but in a higher sense, as pertaining to the life of the spirit.

But if, on the basis of this mode of conceiving the ethical problem, the fact which Kant has placed at the center and declared to be the main point in ethics is assailed, it appears to me to be a palpable error. I do not wholly dispute the assertion that there is a teleological aspect of ethics to be taken into account. Further, it appears also incontrovertible that in ethics we find ourselves led in the direction of a supreme good, or *summum bonum*, as the end which moral progress subserves. But it remains none the less true that the peculiar quality of the moral process consists in what Kant and the other representatives of the intuitionist ethics have defined as such. For we are all conscious of this by immediate experience. If in the teleological explanation it is left out of account that this constitutes in ethics the very subject-matter which is treated of, then that explanation is of no value. For in that case it does not help us to understand the reality, but it rather expresses a preconceived opinion or theory.

The relation of end and means is very different in different cases. Their mutual relation is often such that apart from the end the means have no independent significance. When the end is realized through them their significance is exhausted. It is so, for example, in dietetics or medicine, as has been well brought out by way of comparison and illustration by representatives of the teleological ethics. The rules which constitute these branches of knowledge have no other import than that their observance conduces as far as possible to the maintenance or restoration of health. In other cases, however, the means acquire independent significance apart from the end. Thus intellect is man's weapon in the struggle for existence, for dominion over the earth. Necessity has taught him, and again

and again teaches him, to frame his knowledge of things in an objective and exact way. This knowledge originates as a means, and as a means for an end lying beyond itself. On account of the indolence so natural to man it is much to be doubted whether without this primeval stimulus we should possess knowledge and science to the wonderful extent we do today. Yet no one would maintain that the significance of knowledge lies in its being a means in order to life. It will be admitted by all that it belongs to the very *contents of* life, to that without which life has no value. In this case means have an independent significance apart from and alongside of the end.

This distinction may be drawn more sharply still. In cases of the latter description the end itself is changed through the means. While the end itself sets the means in motion, it becomes in itself fundamentally different. The means then acquire a sort of mastery over the end, and so far become more important and significant than the end itself. So it is in regard, for example, to knowledge, which originates as a means of life and then makes this life spiritual, thereby raising it to a higher platform. In means of the first-mentioned kind, however, nothing of this sort happens, no specific change of the end takes place. Health remains health, and all rules of life which help to maintain it effect no change in it.

The application of this to ethics is obvious. The teleological view is certainly well founded, and it affords insight into how the moral elements arise in course of the realization of human life. And the welfare of all, or the supreme good, may, so far as I am concerned, be called the end, or goal, for which they serve as a means. But then this is only one side of the subject. The other, and much the more important, side is that this goal, the supreme good, is specifically changed through the means, that is, through the moral elements. The personal existence of spiritual beings and the attainment of and participation in that existence by all—this is that for whose sake all the rest exists. Personal spirit, and through it a creaturely image of the eternal God, can be attained only in the way of moral experience. And so this is, and remains, the chief point in ethics, even teleological

ethics, namely, the point on which the intuitive ethics lays its finger, and whose typical character Kant expresses by the term "categorical imperative."

We must therefore still maintain that obedience to the authority of the law expresses and indicates the peculiar character of the moral experience. Here we have another sphere, besides that of political life, in which the idea of authority is at home. And certainly in the moral sphere there is an inner experience of the spirit for which the idea of authority has force. This involves an essential difference. The idea of constraint is, in the first place, excluded. It might perhaps be asked if moral disobedience does not always in the last instance involve an effect that is detrimental to life; or allusion might be made to the eternal reward which is a matter of faith. Nevertheless this would not preclude the fact that the constraint to obedience which prevails in public life is absent in the moral sphere. Whether we obey or not is a matter of internal freedom. An obedience in any way compulsory would not at all correspond to the moral requirement which is founded on free obedience. Just on this account I have already maintained that it is not an invariable attribute of authority that it should be backed up, in case of necessity, by force.

Yet of the authority even of the moral law it holds true that it is independent of the recognition and will of the subject. And just on that account it presents itself to him authoritatively in his conscience. The conflict between the moral precept and the impulse or inclination of the subjective will is always a characteristic of every vivid moral experience, and most clearly testifies that authority is independent of the will. Nor does recognition of the ideal basis of the moral command furnish the explanation of its validity. We are often in a position in which we recognize clearly and plainly in our conscience what our duty is without being able to give a sufficient account of its basis and reason. This further confirms, what we already found, that superiority to the subjective inclination and insight of the individual is the peculiarly decisive characteristic of authority. Authority is what has validity because it is valid.

The matter stands thus both with civil and moral authority. So far they are both alike. Beyond this, however, there is also an essential difference which pertains both to the nature of the authority and its validity for the subject. The authority of civil law is a purely external thing, and is respected, as has been shown, even when it lacks inward recognition. With moral authority, however, the case is different. In this case inward recognition and validity coincide. If we did not inwardly recognize it, if it were not such as to win our inward recognition, it would have no force or significance for us. Its authority for us rests precisely on the fact of its commanding our inward recognition. Therefore moral authority is the peculiarly true authority because it is inwardly recognized and self-constraining. For so surely as it belongs to the essence of authority to hold a position of supremacy over its subject, so surely it will not have a mere external force for him. We regard it as a defect in any civil law if we must yield to it just because it is in force, while inwardly we must condemn it. Here also the normal condition is one of inward approval. And if in some particular state inward aversion to the prevailing legislation were the rule instead of the exception, the very existence of that state would be imperiled. Finally the civil authority should be subordinate to the moral, and should thereby share its prerogative. On the other hand, authority as such is certainly impaired if the fact of its being authority can be established only through an inward act of approval and recognition; for the characteristic of authority is its complete independence of all opinions and judgment of the subject. At the same time any loss that moral authority may be supposed to suffer in this way is compensated by the fact that we are most clearly conscious of not conferring anything upon it by our recognition; but that it stands on its own right and compels our recognition. Authority as such is complete on the ground that it is valid because it is valid.

The idea of authority in theology, however, has acquired quite a different sense from that which we have been considering. Here the reference is to establishing *knowledge* by authority, and that without any inward mediation through such ideas

as have been just unfolded. A truth is acknowledged to be truth because it is contained in authoritative (that is, professedly divine) sources, or is derived from such. The Catholic church, which represents this view in its most decided and emphatic form, expressly denies that inward experiences, which are connected with the recognition of authority and the appropriation of authoritative truth, can be the basis of this recognition. On the contrary, it is held as fundamentally true that subjection to authority, namely, that of the church, is not merely empirical, but must ever be the central source whence the whole of salvation flows. It will be shown farther on that this is a necessary link in the organic connection of the Catholic scheme of doctrine. Here we have only to take special notice of the fact that the theological principle of authority, in its ordinary traditional acceptation, finds its most uncompromising form and stamp in Catholicism. For thus it is most clearly evident that we neither can nor ought to have to do with the principle in this sense.

There is no other authority for scientific knowledge than the facts themselves with which knowledge is for the time concerned. When we yield to their force we perceive the truth. At least this would appear to me correctly to indicate the decisive element in knowledge. Instead of this, others may think of intellectual necessity, the laws of thought, or the like. What is of consequence for us here, however, is not this distinction, but rather the opposition between this view and the traditional principle of authority. For, when we say that there is no other authority for scientific knowledge than the object to which it is directed, the word "authority" is used only in a comparative and figurative sense. We must not allow ourselves to be deceived as to the opposition referred to, by the use of the same word in a double sense. For the opposition exists, and it implies that, so far as knowledge and science are concerned, there can be no question of a principle of authority as commonly understood and most consistently proclaimed in the Catholic church.

However, this whole discussion appears neither of moment nor advantage. For there is no need of further pains to show that we can make no use of the principle of authority in science.



Nevertheless, I think the matter is not quite so hopeless as it appears. If we look more closely we find that in and along with the experience of moral authority a knowledge is also given, namely, the knowledge of a law or moral norm which has not merely relative significance, like other maxims for conduct. For although the concrete experience still contains so much that is relative and conditional, yet the fact that an *unconditional* law is recognized constitutes the essence of the experience. Then also the knowledge consists in the very fact of there being such a law. And it is known and recognized just by its authority; the *authority* with which it urges itself upon men is the *ground of the knowledge*.

Further, this knowledge refers not merely to a fact of the inner life. No doubt it does refer in the first place and immediately to such a fact. But the fact is of such a kind that it points beyond itself and the sphere in which it lies. For we cannot know and recognize the moral law without ascribing to it universal significance. This it carries along with it because of its unconditional character. It is not as if we recognized a fact of the inner life, and this suggested an inference as to a law of universal validity, while it remained open to our choice whether to draw the inference or not; but it includes this inference itself as a component element, so that to reject it is to deny the fact itself. And therefore it can be said that we have really here a knowledge which rests on authority, and is knowledge because it constrains us with an authority that cannot be resisted.

No doubt this position is open to an objection. The peculiar quality of the moral experience on which it is based may be denied. It may be pronounced a prejudice, and morals, in view of their great diversity, as shown in historical experience, may be said to be in reality no unconditional thing. Such a conclusion as the one just indicated may be held unwarranted and only apparent; it may be said to be derived from an alleged form of experience which, on closer examination, proves to be imaginary.

So far as such an objection arises from the opinion that the facts demand a teleological, instead of an intuitional, treatment

of ethics, it has already been discussed and dismissed. It was urged in opposition that the character of moral experience forbids that it should be regarded as a mere means to an end, or as the product of any earthly fiat. The immediate certainty which belongs to it in its peculiar nature does not admit of such a supposition. Yet no objective refutation could be offered if anyone persisted in the contrary opinion. What is objectively certain is only the peculiar authority of the moral law, the *impression* that it is concerned with something of absolute greatness. If we yield to this impression and give it effect, still it is always a matter of personal decision and conviction. And it will not be otherwise in all cases which have to do with knowledge based on authority, if that authority is understood in the inward sense which it bears in relation to the moral life.

Therefore, if the objection in question were obstinately urged, we should say that it cannot be denied that the knowledge of which we treat has something of the character of personal conviction; but that does not detract from its certainty; on the contrary, it enhances it for one who shares in that conviction. Yet undoubtedly it is thereby removed from the sphere of ordinary scientific knowledge. Its peculiarity lies in the fact that it is formed in the domain of inward freedom, and is necessary, not in the way of a mathematical axiom or a logical deduction, but necessary as a duty which compels acknowledgment from us.

The result would then be this, that there is undoubtedly a knowledge which rests upon and is established by a self-authenticating authority, it being always characteristic of this knowledge, however, that it originates as personal conviction, and never wholly loses that character.

I should like for a moment, however, to direct attention to the fact on which the last-mentioned objection is based. I mean the historical diversity in which moral experience presents itself. I do not believe that it is justifiable on that account to refuse it a unique and universal character. It just forbids our trying to seek a teleological understanding of moral phenomena. For we find them so closely interwoven with human life all the

world over that we are therefore led to look for that which is recurrent in ethical experience in spite of all diversity. But we cannot here follow the matter farther. There is another side of the subject which equally claims attention, viz., the significance attached to history and historical development for the moral life.

The historical diversity of the moral judgment makes it unmistakably clear that conscience is molded by the historical environment and is thereby conditioned as to its concrete phenomenal form. Yet it is not on that account to be branded as something accidental, as some who shrink from admitting that diversity apprehend. In order to understand its character of necessity we have to fix attention, not on individuals, but on mankind as a whole, that is, the human race as developed in history. Our doing so does not negative the quality of necessity belonging to the utterances of conscience, nor lower its significance, though no doubt it would prevent us, when dealing with ethics, from restricting our analysis of the moral consciousness to that of individual men, as is done by Kant and other representatives of an intuitive system of morals, who therefore disregarded the historical diversity of the judgments of conscience. Instead of this it will be necessary to consider the historical development in immediate connection with the phenomena given in the inner experience, and thus coming into consciousness. Here is the weightiest point in the whole connection, the mutual relation between the individual conscience and the moral development of the whole race—how the former is gradually shaped through the latter, and how, in its turn, it has an influence, greater or less, upon the latter. A weighty result follows from this for the question with which we are here occupied, namely, the question of knowledge founded on authority.

This authority appears, in the first place, to be a purely inward one. It emerges in conscience. Kant designated it the law of practical reason, thereby meaning that it is reason itself which here becomes legislative. But while it must be maintained that this subjective side has fundamental significance, yet it cannot be ignored that, alongside of it, the other, or historical, factor has essential importance for determining the moral

authority, if indeed the center of gravity does not lie in this historical factor. In other words, do not the *contents* of the moral commandment arise out of the history? The peculiar authority of the moral law rests on the recognition which conscience yields it. But *what* is commanded or forbidden, what is felt in conscience as good or bad, has taken shape in history. Therefore it is decidedly not in the conscience of individuals, but in the great phenomena of history, that we have to seek the most highly authoritative court of the moral life. But this is an important extension of the results we previously arrived at. We saw that it belonged to the essence of moral as of all other authority that it should be independent of the subjective judgment of the individual. While, however, it appeared to be a purely inward thing, it now turns out that it must be pronounced as something given objectively in history. This mode of view appears necessary if, as the state of the facts requires, we connect together the teleological and the intuitive views of morals. If the latter be overlooked, then the significance which the point of view of authority possesses for the moral life is not rightly apprehended. If the former be left out of account, the seat of authority is falsely determined.

No doubt those who follow Kant will condemn this more precise determination of moral authority. They will say that the inviolable autonomy of the moral consciousness is hereby impaired. But this is certainly not our idea. Only an exaggeration of this autonomy of conscience ought to be guarded against. It implies that we should never recognize or do anything contrary to our conscience. Even if conscience should be wrong, we are bound to follow it. It implies, further, that we should recognize or do nothing for which we find no point of connection in our conscience, and which we cannot by that means inwardly appropriate. If we did so, recognition and obedience would in this case be merely external, and they would lack distinctively moral characteristics. The autonomy of the moral consciousness does not imply, however, that we should seek only in an infallible individual conscience the moral authority to which we must bow. The individual conscience is not sufficiently

independent for this; it is not self-sufficient as to its contents. We must take in addition a reference to the moral authority given in history. This is regarded as self-evident by evangelical Christians who, from the Reformation downward, have accepted the conscience subjected to God's Word as the final and decisive arbiter.

And it is not as if these considerations were employed with a view to establishing the Christian or evangelical standpoint in the domain of moral questions. They are not derived from what holds good merely among ourselves, but from what holds good generally. The conscience of man, and therefore also morals, are conditioned by the great currents of historical life. The moralists do not make morality, but it, along with its systems, is dependent on history. This they can generally very well show from the views of their predecessors, so far as these belong to history. Only the present is held to be always exempted from this dependence on history, and to be judged purely from the facts according to unbiased reason. This self-deception is explicable; but one need not share in it. We are in harmony with the truth here only if, in all discussions upon ethical subjects, we keep the historical relations in view and are clear that ethical matters—to put it briefly—rest on a historical, not a metaphysical, foundation. The decisive court of morals is not a fact of consciousness leading back to a metaphysical basis, but the great experiences of mankind which we call history.

There is, then, a species of knowledge which is substantiated as such by authority; and from the nature of this knowledge we infer that the authority can be drawn only from history. We shall now proceed to show that the knowledge which is certain for Christian faith is to be classed under this general head of moral knowledge.

### III.

Christianity claims to be the religion of revelation. If one seek to establish more exactly the nature of this religion, viz., to determine whether the revelation is real or only imaginary, it will be found that an investigation of this kind will not yield a

decision. Our present concern is only with the fact that Christianity exists by virtue of its resting on revelation. In the same way it can be shown that faith in God, and a definite kind of faith in him, is essential to Christianity, without anything being thereby decided as to the truth of what is believed. Quite in the same way, in my view, it belongs to the essence of Christianity to appeal to revelation, whether this appeal is justified or not.

No doubt much importance is nowadays attached to the fact that we have through recent investigations gained an incomparably wider outlook on races of men and their religions than formerly, and that, in view of this knowledge, the old prejudice as to the exclusive revelation-character of the Christian religion cannot be maintained. The old division into Christians, Jews, and heathen, or Christians, Mohammedans, and Jews, has, it is said, become obsolete. We see today, it is said, that it belongs to every religion to appeal to revelation, and that this is no monopoly of Christianity, which must not any longer be spoken of as a religion of revelation in a peculiar or quite exclusive sense.

But whoever judges in this way leaves out of account the distinction just indicated. That is, he is thinking especially of the question whether and in what sense the claim to rest on revelation corresponds to the truth. What he denies is that this claim, so far as Christianity is concerned, may be summarily pronounced as justified, but the same claim on the part of other religions may be declared false. That, however, is a question which must here be left out of account. In regard to it the old view must, no doubt, be subjected to modification. Our wider historical knowledge of races and their religion will occasion a freer employment of the idea of a universal divine revelation than the old scholars used. It does not appear to me, however, that this will give rise to any fundamental change of opinion. For the older scholars could speak of a *cognitio Dei naturalis* which was attainable by the universal reason, by the reason of all men. We must abandon this idea. We have learned that a knowledge of God which corresponds to that of Christianity is not a natural heritage of the human spirit. May we not say that it is but a compensation for this denial of a natural knowledge of God if

we have learned to think more highly of non-Christian religions? Is this really in substance a fundamental change of view? In particular, has it really become impossible to ascribe to Christianity an exceptional position among religions, and to assign to it such a position because it rests on revelation? But I only refer to this in passing. It does not specially concern the question with which we are here occupied. For this question is simply whether it is not peculiar to Christianity to appeal in a special way to revelation, so that an understanding of Christianity is impossible without having regard to the fact that it claims to be the religion of revelation.

If I perceive rightly, however, this cannot be disputed from any point of view. It results, indeed, from a historical-comparative treatment of religions; for where is there any religion which makes a claim similar to that of Christianity? Judaism must be left out of account. That religion forms, according to the Christian mode of view, merely the Old Testament portal to the completed religion of revelation. But Islam must be equally excepted in making such a comparison, since it is closely connected with the biblical religion, as a wild offshoot from a noble stem, a usurpation of the character of revelation, modeled upon the biblical religion. But if we leave these out of account, we find that there is really no religion whose claims correspond to those of Christianity. The Persian religion can at most be compared with the Old Testament, Zoroaster with Moses. In the Indian religions, again, the element of appeal to revelation has extremely little prominence; Buddha did not claim to be a prophet. Whose prophet could he have professed to be when he knew of no God? In short, a comparison of religions from this point of view appears to establish the fact that Christianity has something peculiar to itself, something without parallel. One may, indeed, conclude from the facts that there is no religion in which this element (of revelation) quite fails, but it cannot be disputed that it has nowhere else the same significance as in Christianity.

We are led to the same result if we consider the nature of Christian experience. Its peculiar characteristic is the idea of

forgiveness of sins, or reconciliation—a forgiveness which is conceived as an unmerited gift of God, which is bestowed on man independently of his own moral worthiness. Thus we find it in the New Testament, and thus we have relearned it in the churches of the Reformation. But this makes faith depend on a special revelation of the grace of God to which the sinner looks for the forgiveness of sin and for peace with God. On this point, however, we need not go into more minute detail. What is important is the fact that appeal to a special revelation cannot be dispensed with. In and of itself there is something in this unconditional forgiveness which seems to conduce to making light of sin and a lowering of the moral standard and requirements. On the contrary, however, nowhere in any other religion do we really find such moral earnestness or such stress laid upon ethics as in Christianity. An eternal significance is ascribed by it to moral obedience. This has been pronounced to be the inwardly essential condition of eternal life, the life in God. The Christian's self-judgment is so severe, his conscience is so tender and sensitive, that no one is more in earnest as to sin than he. This seems to clash with the Christian's assurance that he is free from all guilt before God and has perfect peace with him, although he is a holy God who is angry with sin. This seeming contradiction is resolved through faith in a special revelation of God which above all has as its contents forgiveness of sins and reconciliation. Faith in it is, therefore, an essential factor in the inner connection of Christian piety, which cannot exist without reference to the revelation of God.

So far as I see, this is an incontrovertible conclusion. Our conscience condemns us as sinners. We feel and acknowledge this condemnation as the judgment of the holy God. From this state of mind and feeling there is an alternative way of escape. Either we cast the sense of condemnation to the winds and learn to regard sin lightly, in which case we have abandoned Christianity; or we appropriate by faith the revelation of God in Christ, in which case we are Christians, but are such precisely through our accepting and recognizing the divine revelation as such. Nor let it be said that, since it is an axiom that God



remains ever true to himself, theology must indicate the way of reconciling this twofold relation of God to sin; for only on the ground of revelation can such a mode of reconciliation be discovered. Here, however, above all, the question is not one of theology, but of religion. In this matter we regulate our inner life, not by the wisdom of the theologians, but by the constraining forces which we experience within ourselves. And these condition revelation as an essential factor. Exclude revelation and the Christian religion becomes impossible. And this is what was required to be shown. And it might be added that this is confirmed by history, which teaches that the peculiar features of Christian piety grow dim in proportion as belief in revelation loses its power.

But the same thing can be shown in yet another way. The general character of the Christian religion is determined by the fact that it is in an eminent degree a moral religion. The task which the gospel sets is to consummate the unity of religion and morality. The confessions of individual churches must be judged above all according to how they accomplish this task. But this task of combining religion and morality cannot be maintained in the long run without reference to revelation.

The correlative of the moral law is always expressly a good to the possession or enjoyment of which it has reference. Not that moral activity is to be degraded into a mere means of insuring that good. Rather, as has already been shown, the good itself has been *inwardly* transformed and dominated by the moral relation. We designate these goods in general as moral goods. The well-ordered family life, for example, is a good of this kind in which duty and good are blended into an inner unity. But it holds true universally. We have here to do with a supreme rule for the moral realization of life. This is clear from the fact that the estimate of such moral good in any given condition of human society stands always in exact relation to the moral requirements recognized in it. This may not hold in regard to every individual; for in the individual there is always the possibility of shirking those requirements. But it holds good if we take account of the moral society as a whole.

Now, while the gospel sets the task to the Christian community of effecting the unity of religion and morals, it lifts the moral requirements above earthly relations. No good in this world corresponds to the command of universal love of mankind. Righteousness and love in the family, among tribal kinsmen, or members of the same nation, always correspond to the requirement of a common good. A common civilization can also in some measure bind together a number of peoples, although the bond is a fragile one because the maintenance of the civilization does not depend on the number of peoples which participate in it, and the national stamp which that civilization receives in each people essentially limits the union among the different peoples which is based on that civilization. Universal love of humanity, however, is not backed by any earthly good whose possession and enjoyment bind all men together. Its demand has no reason if there is not a common supermundane destiny of men such as the gospel proclaims. What we call humanity has arisen as the pledge of this faith. They stand or fall together. We can only deceive ourselves if, in a short-sighted way, we regard the principles gradually impressed on the conscience of Christendom as a natural possession of the human spirit. Much more are they a historical heritage, which, indeed, for a time outlasts the conditions of its origin, but which cannot definitively exist without them. Therefore we cannot maintain the Christian understanding of the moral task if we abandon the eternal hope which the gospel has given us.

And still more distinctly does this principle hold good in the case of the moral demand for the dominion of the spirit over the sensuous nature than in the case of the moral demand as to the social life. Whatever may have been the process of development of the life of the spirit, a supremacy is claimed for spiritual good over sensual, and moral precepts are evolved therefrom. In order, however, to understand the command that all that is sensuous should be regarded only as means to an end, there is need once more of the consciousness of a supermundane relation and destiny of men. It is also a fact of experience that alongside of a departure from Christianity an uncertainty and laxity enters

into the moral judgment of the things of this life—and that even in the case of those who retain the Christian commandment of love to one's neighbor under the title of humanity. Here the connection between the moral commandment and the supermundane relation of human life comes into still greater prominence than in the social sphere. And therefore it is an established principle that Christianity, being, according to its general character, the unity of religion and morality, appears to be connected throughout with the supermundane relation of our existence. If Christianity is the truth, there is such a supermundane relation. If this is left out of account, Christianity has no inner truth.

But this higher relation of our life is established only on the ground of revelation, and attains to inward certainty only through the faith which rests on the revelation of God in Jesus Christ. May it, then, be held that the Christian's assurance is founded on the *inward experience* in which his life in God and his moral activity in the world are bound into a unity for him, so that the connection between the inward life and revelation can be dispensed with? Whoever judges the matter thus misapprehends the peculiar contents of the Christian idea of a highest good. The mystic needs no revelation. The blissful experience of the nearness of God and union with God is, in this form of religion, the ultimate goal of piety. There all depends on the present inward experience, so far as that can be grasped. With Christianity it is otherwise. That it does not yet appear what we shall be is one of its fundamental ideas which cannot be lost sight of. Even the inner union of religion and morality which will be fully attained in the eternal kingdom of the world to come, while in this life it retains the character of a task, an unsolved problem, directs our thoughts in this respect entirely to the future, to what shall be. Therefore the inward experience is not the ground of that assurance; it is the faith directed toward the eternal consummation which first makes the inward experience possible in which Christian truth is certain for us. This faith, however, has for its object the revelation given in Jesus Christ, and for its chief contents the kingdom of the final consummation.

This becomes complete certainty when we consider that in this fact of the eternal kingdom the Christian has the *starting-point* of his thought and activity. It is not for him a mere possible inference or supposition. Were it such, it would perhaps admit of being proved to rational thought. From the whole development of the religious and moral life in history the inner union of both might be inferred as the goal of that progressive movement, and from that again it might be deduced that the destiny of man lies above the world in an eternal kingdom of spirits. But faith cannot live on such postulates and hypotheses. One becomes a Christian in acquiring that standing-place above the world which is his eternal destiny, and thence he goes on to all the rest. This is the great turning-point of the inner life, in which the natural man, who is bound to this world, dies, and the new creature formed by God in Christ becomes alive. Along with this, however, there must be faith in revelation. The revelation, and it alone, produces faith, in which this experience becomes reality.

Thus it is not to be doubted that the revelation, along with faith in it and appeal to it, cannot be excluded from the circle of inner experiences in which Christianity realizes itself. This is true whether we have regard to reconciliation or the kingdom of God. Therefore it is true that Christianity is the religion of revelation and is thereby distinguished from all other religions. Let me repeat that I do not mean that the reality of the revelation, and the truth of the claim which Christianity makes to be the religion of revelation, can be established by the considerations now adduced. That is not at all the question here. We are concerned only with the fact that Christianity stands or falls with this claim, and that, according to its inner structure, it is the religion of revelation, and when it ceases to be so it ceases to exist.

All revelation is revelation of God. Religious faith also is nothing else than faith in God, and the knowledge involved in it has always God as its object. No doubt reconciliation and the kingdom of God have been mentioned instead of this as the contents of revelation. Reconciliation, however, as it is viewed

in Christianity, is a *divine* provision. It is with *the will of God* to forgive sin and to admit the sinner, in spite of guilt, into his peace that revelation and the effecting of reconciliation are concerned. Moreover, the eternal kingdom of the future is the kingdom of the *divine* spirit and life. To be a member of it means to partake of this spirit and life. Its revelation makes known how God, according to *his own eternal character*, has appointed to humanity its goal and its task. The union of religion and morality which characterizes the kingdom of God indicates the revelation of God as that of holy love, as the revelation of him who displays his love to us, in training us to good and thereby making the fellowship of the saints attainable for us. Looking more closely, if we call the concrete contents of Christianity by another name, we still find that the subject of the revelation is the divine character and will.

All the religious knowledge which we have as Christians comes from the *faith* which appropriates the revelation. It proceeds from the revelation, and, viewed as to its contents, it is knowledge of God. It is such even where it does not appear to be so. Thus the Christian view of the world, regarded more closely, is the knowledge of God as the creator and ruler of the world. It is the same even with the knowledge of sin, since its principle is the knowledge of the divine will. But this religious knowledge, as the knowledge of God, is also the conclusion of all knowledge which men possess or attain. Nor could it possibly be otherwise. It lies immediately in the fact that it claims to be knowledge of God. For whatever else God is, he is at all events the first cause and ultimate end of all reality, of all that is an object of possible knowledge. Thereby in any case the view which we are more particularly to take of the mutual connection of the Christian knowledge of God with other knowledge is marked out for us. The only point of importance for us here is that knowledge of God can only be reached in the same way in which Christian theology has hitherto always thought its way to it. For thence it follows that Christian faith supplies us with a supreme ultimate knowledge embracing all reality in so far as it draws it from revelation and refers to revelation for the proof

of its truth. Let us now examine what is thereby determined for the question with which we are here occupied.

First of all I think at all events that revelation is the natural and given principle of all Christian knowledge. This holds good of individuals and their faith. Faith certainly cannot dispense with revelation, by which it is awakened and from which it receives its contents. How should we be able to think of separating faith and the knowledge it includes from revelation? It also holds entirely true of the Christian community, which is a product of this revelation in history. All agreement on questions of knowledge can here be sought and found only in revelation. The Christian community has a right to claim that no other court of appeal in regard to truth should be forced upon her. Finally, the same thing must also be said of Christian theology as such: its natural and given principle of knowledge is divine revelation.

Christian theology has certainly also the task of continually harmonizing the relations of Christian truth with the life of the spirit in its changing forms. This implies that it cannot work exclusively on the ground of revelation. It must also concern itself about the great relations of the life of the spirit with the adjacent spheres. But it cannot thence be inferred that theology can ever ignore the significance of revelation as her standard. It must remain settled that she must derive her articles from revelation, and thereby also the proof of their truth. This demands the inner organic connection of the subject-matter. Revelation is concerned with facts, which cannot be reached deductively, which either are or are not, and the existence of which is established only through revelation. How can I substantiate Christian faith which attaches itself to those facts as realities, except by falling back upon revelation? It only accords with truth if, and so long as, the revelation is real. The several articles of faith are true only if, and because, they are the expression of the faith grounded on revelation. Revelation is the given and natural principle of knowledge in Christian theology (dogmatics).

Hence it appears remarkable that this principle has not been unanimously recognized and carried out in the newer theology. But this is explained from the old (Catholic) form of the principle which, as we saw at the beginning, is as little compatible with the Protestant requirement of a personal faith as with the principles of modern science. Just on that account it is intelligible how substitutes for revelation have often been used in the newer theology. With some it has been a philosophical construction connected with the revival of speculative philosophy through Schelling and Hegel. The need of free scientific inquiry has therefore with some a preponderating influence. These theologians are convinced that the truth of the Christian faith must and shall ever anew be victoriously confirmed according to the requirements of science. In this sense, for example, Dorner has propounded his dogmatics. Others, following Schleiermacher, think that inner experience ought to constitute the fundamental principle of theology. The certainty of the central experiences of the Christian provides the starting-point for the inner verification of the whole contents of faith. In this sense, for example, Frank has sought to build further upon the foundation laid by Schleiermacher.

I call express attention to the fact that the theologians just named invariably make it a point of importance to accept the contents of revelation unabridged. They do not doubt that theology, or dogmatics, can and ought to have no other contents than these. But their scientific principle is a different one. Revelation, in their view, is not to be regarded as the sole and peculiar principle of theology (*unicum et proprium principium theologiae*), as the old teachers maintained. And it is in opposition to their view that our controversy is directed, since we adhere to that principle of the old theologians of our church.

Philosophical speculation, as history teaches, is an uncertain matter, and is subject to the greatest fluctuations according to the changeful currents of the intellectual life. It affords no guarantee that Christian truth will be maintained entire. In the *Dogmatik* of Strauss, *e. g.*, it is through the Hegelian philosophy that Christianity has been completely dissolved. Yet Strauss

was the logical representative of the principle, not those others who held by the traditional faith. Again, inner experience is no reliable source of knowledge. It is an indispensable element in the origination of knowledge, but it is not capable of serving even as a principle. What makes experience in general a safe basis of knowledge is the compelling force which rules in it. But this force is lacking just in the experience whereby the Christian religion is realized, since it lies in the sphere of inward freedom. It has certain regulative ideas, viz., those of the eternal kingdom and of reconciliation. Then comes the question whether these ideas are really truth or not, since only in that case can real knowledge be based on them. But they are actual truth only if and because they form the contents of divine revelation. This, and this alone, is the necessary principle of knowledge for Christian faith, and therefore also for Christian theology.

In Christianity we have accordingly a knowledge which, while it is knowledge of God, claims to be the highest and conclusive knowledge of man. And this knowledge is founded on revelation, in the sense that only when it is substantiated by revelation is it really what it claims to be, a knowledge of the highest and ultimate truth.

It may now be asked how the relation of faith—and along with it of all Christian knowledge, even that which has to be developed in theology (*Dogmatik*)—to revelation is to be expressed rightly and conformably to the facts. It may more definitely be asked if it is appropriate to designate revelation, in its significance for Christian knowledge, as authority, and therefore to speak of a principle of authority in Christian knowledge.

We have repeatedly observed that the theological principle of authority in its traditional form, in which it virtually signifies a supernatural communication of theological doctrine, is incompatible with the principles alike of evangelical faith and of modern science. With evangelical faith, because this is not concerned with a supernaturally imparted truth which is recognized as truth just because it is so imparted, but with a truth which can be inwardly appropriated, and which is approved as



truth because it is personal conviction. Nor is it compatible with modern science, because, according to its nature, it is subject to no tutelage and supernatural authority. But, as has already been repeatedly affirmed, the principle of authority which underlies this mode of thought is essentially Catholic. We shall discuss the question here raised in order as far as possible to seek to understand why the natural principle of knowledge, in connection with Christian faith and theology has, in Catholicism, assumed this form. Thence it will directly be seen what transformation that principle undergoes in Protestantism, and in what form we can use it under the presupposition of the evangelical faith and modern science. We shall finally come back to the views which have already been propounded in the second, and now here in the third, section.

#### IV.

The characteristic feature of authority, as we have already seen, is its independence of the insight and inclination of the individual subject; it is valid because it is valid. The idea is transferred in the same sense to the domain of religion and theology; and we find it consistently carried out in the Catholic church. The idea of the recognition of the supernatural authority of the church founded on divine revelation here forms the continual and main groundwork of all Christian and theological knowledge. We are accustomed to designate this, viz., the supernatural teaching function of the church, as the *formal* principle of the Roman Catholic church. No doubt the official theory nominally is that Scripture and *tradition* are the source of revealed truth. But no one in the Catholic church can explain Scripture and tradition otherwise than these are interpreted by the church, which is qualified for their authentic interpretation by the supernatural teaching function appointed to her by God. This teaching office is bound to maintain the historical continuity of doctrine, and cannot fashion new dogmas at pleasure and *ex abrupto*. This means in reality the principle of tradition. It involves also a more exact definition, not without importance, of the principle of the infallible teaching function of the church.

But tradition as such is not here, as in the Eastern church, the ruling principle, which is rather that of the infallibility of the church, of which infallibility the pope has recently been declared the organ.

But formal principles are never the peculiarly final and determinative thing, but have their root in a certain conception of the subject. The formal principle of Roman Catholicism also can only be understood in its inner basis from this point of view. We have to ask further in what actual organic connection this principle stands; and in reality we must look to the idea of the supreme good, which here, as always, is found to be the determining idea for religion as well as for the church confession.

The Roman Catholic conception of this idea, however, implies that the supreme good transcends the finite mind and its power of comprehension. It is not merely through sin that it is put beyond the reach of the human spirit; but this fact is due to the created nature of man as such. It was not otherwise with the first man before the fall. Adam was furnished with extraordinary endowments of divine grace, and so was in a wholly different position from the actual human race which has fallen into sin. But those endowments were something additional to his nature (*donum superadditum*), not a property inwardly and personally belonging to him. Those endowments have been lost through sin; hence, on the Catholic presuppositions, it can be said that sin is responsible for the fact that the supreme good is unattainable by man in his actual state—not, however, in the way of sin having changed his nature, but of its having deprived him of the grace of God and its gifts. The fundamental idea, however, is that the supreme good wholly transcends the sphere of the finite spirit, by whose intrinsic powers it can never be appropriated—never, at least, in a really inward way. It will never be attainable for man except through its being superadded by grace to what he is on the ground of creation.

Hence, also, it follows that even the Christian cannot appropriate the supreme good in such a way that he will be conscious of possessing it in a really inward manner. No doubt it is

through Christ that a man's renewal is accomplished, the fall of Adam having been counteracted by his advent and his death on the cross; but the church has control of the powers, blessings, and truths which God has granted to mankind in him. These are available for the individual Christian only through the church, without which no one can be saved. But all that one receives through the church remains in a certain sense external to him, inasmuch as it remains something above him, even when he has been inwardly changed through its influence; and it never becomes for him a personal possession of which he is conscious as of his own life. Hence, also, the Catholic Christian never ceases to be dependent on the church, on the blessings it bestows and the truths it imparts.

It is quite evident that the formal principle of Catholicism—the infallible teaching function of the church, whose ever-present organ is the pope—has its foundation in this condition of things. The Christian remains continually and on principle dependent on the church for his knowledge of the revealed truth. Recognition of the church's authority is the indispensable foundation of all that follows. The Christian can as little judge what is the truth, surpassing, as it does, the capacity of his finite spirit, as he can at any time be conscious of his salvation. The church must impart to him the truth, and he must believingly and obediently receive the church's teaching; then he may hope for the best. He does not receive the truth because it is this and no other, but because the church tells him that it is the truth. Such is the aspect which the principle of authority of divine revelation assumes in the Catholic acceptance, and the traditional theological principle of authority belongs to the same order of ideas.

But of this order of ideas Protestantism knows nothing. The evangelical view diverges from the Catholic at the decisive point. According to it the supreme good does not transcend the finite spirit as such, but can be really appropriated by man with the spiritual powers founded in creation, and can become the personal possession of each individual. Indeed, this was the divine will and the divine decree. Hence, also, Adam possessed

a perfect and blessed knowledge of God, and this according to his intrinsic nature, not as a supernatural gift of grace imposed upon him. If it is otherwise with mankind as they actually exist, if man is destitute of the knowledge of God, the cause of this lies in sin. In sin, not in the nature of the finite spirit as such.

In accordance with this, the evangelical view in regard to the Christian's capacity of knowledge is quite different from the Catholic. The external authority of the divine word preached by the church is no doubt first in actual experience. It is not otherwise in religion than in other departments of the life of the spirit. One always begins by accepting what is traditionally given on authority. But he must not stop there. As everywhere, so in religion, one must attain to a faith and knowledge really one's own. Perhaps in many instances one never does attain to this, or only partially so. But it is the goal after whose realization and attainment in the case of all her members the evangelical church will strive. Its principle is personal faith, personal knowledge, inward personal assurance. Every Christian can and should be personally assured of his salvation through his own faith.

And now, what consequence has the application and employment of these fundamentally new ideas in theology? The natural reason is obscured by sin, and has no power of judgment in spiritual things; but the reason of the regenerate Christian is enlightened by the spirit of God. And reason so enlightened is qualified to judge. This is the direct consequence of the evangelical standpoint. It corresponds to the evangelical anthropology in the same way that the opposing view, viz., that even the Christian is never capable of a personal knowledge (independent of the church), corresponds to the Catholic anthropology.

But if we inquire more definitely as to how the reason is enlightened by the spirit of God, we get this answer from orthodox dogmatics: that that reason is enlightened by the spirit of God which subordinates and surrenders its own judgment to the Holy Scriptures. And now the principle of authority will be

held as definitely in the Protestant church as in the Catholic, only that the former is not concerned with the authority of the teaching function of the infallible church, but with that of the inspired letter of the Holy Scripture. In other words, the continuity of Protestant thought is broken up at the decisive point and is led back, although with certain modifications, to that of Catholicism. The principle of authority in dogmatics remains in the end the same as it has been handed down from Catholic antiquity.

Now, it seems a very easy matter to correct this error. Is it not simply necessary to draw the conclusion from the premises, and so to conclude that the Christian reason which has acquired the Word of God as its own and inwardly appropriated it has to determine questions in theology? But the matter is not so simple in reality. For if we drew such an inference we should give up the principle of revelation and of authority altogether. It would retire behind reason, and there would be no guarantee that theology delivered the revealed truth and not its own inventions. In order to avoid this, orthodox dogmatic theologians have not drawn from the premises the conclusion that is ready to their hand. The Reformers, indeed, no less emphasized the authority of revelation than the Roman Catholic church, but it was their object to bring once more into force for the church and theology the original ideas of revelation in opposition to *human* tradition. The Protestant dogmatic theologians could not, therefore, think of giving up, or even of narrowing, the principle of the authority of divine revelation. Notwithstanding all the changes in the *substance* of teaching, they have known no other resource than finally to fall back upon the Catholic principle of authority, and thereby to bring themselves into contradiction with the other fundamental Protestant principles held by them. In order to understand this and to pave the way for another conception of the principle of authority, and one more in accordance with Protestantism, along with the point which has already been indicated we must consider a further point which mainly distinguishes Catholicism from Protestantism.

Once more it is the idea of the supreme good with which we have to do. We have already intimated that it is characteristic of the Christian religion to associate religion and morality in the closest way, and that it is a special task of the gospel to bring out their unity. This is tantamount to saying that the supreme good (God or the life in God) is primarily connected with *the moral life*. Man becomes a partaker of that good when he obediently subordinates his own will to the will of God. The knowledge of God in particular depends on one's coming into this inward relation to the object of that knowledge, viz., to God. The knowledge comes into existence as faith; it stands in these practical relations, and can be as little dissociated from them as the knowledge of nature from sense-perception.

This is the inner structure of the Christian religion and of Christian knowledge. It is conditioned by the conception of the supreme good which underlies it. But this is not the sole possible form of this idea. Along with it there is another which connects the supreme good primarily with *knowledge* instead of with the moral life. When knowledge, and not practical obedience, is regarded as the summit of the supreme good for man, then it will be proclaimed as the peculiar pathway to God and to the life of blessedness in him. Our conduct will also be held as conditioned by this mode of view; and this is equivalent to saying that the contemplative ideal of life will have the supremacy over the active with its moral demands for the daily life. This corresponds to the spirit of Greek thought. Plato's gospel is based upon this idea. Resting on a common basis of idealism, it forms the counterpart to the gospel of the Galilean fishermen.

I wish here to take occasion to emphasize the fact that this alternative as to whether, in regard to the supreme good, the knowledge of God and blessedness, we give the prominence to moral obedience or to knowledge, constitutes a, if not *the*, fundamental question of theology and the idealistic philosophy. I have again and again affirmed this without gaining much attention. Not that it has been really denied. Most thinkers, or at least many, suppose that they have disposed of a mode

of view which starts from the fundamental significance of the idea of the supreme good when they have censured it as Eudæmonism. Such a method of dealing, however, cannot be taken seriously. Unmoved thereby I desire here again, to all who care to go to the foundation of such problems, to commend the reflection whether it is not even as I have said, and if there is not here a fundamental question which, on the one hand, cannot be further solved, but on whose decision, on the other hand, everything else depends.

However, we have not here to do specially with the general problem, but with the fact that the Catholic form of Christianity originated from the combination of inward faith with the Greek Platonic idea of the supreme good, a process which has been accomplished in some sort self-evidently through the naturalization of Christianity in the Græco-Roman culture. I cannot and will not here go into any particular demonstration of this. I must refer to what I have previously and repeatedly set forth on this subject in my books, *Das Wesen der christlichen Religion* and *Die Wahrheit der christlichen Religion*.<sup>\*</sup> It is sufficient here to take up certain points. *First* of all in Catholicism, under the form of monastic perfection, the Christian or active ideal of life is subordinated to the contemplative ideal corresponding to the gospel of Platonism. *Second*, the Greek esteem of knowledge, which from the first, even in Plato himself, was religiously colored, passed thence into religion, and, indeed, in such a way that this degenerated, in mysticism and sacramentalism, into the ethically indifferent idea of the supreme good. For proof of this we can point to the neo-Platonic philosophy in its later stages. The corresponding features of the Catholic religion, foreign to Christianity, proclaim themselves to be from this source. *Third*, the practically conditioned faith of the Christian, which rests on personal conviction, was transformed in the early church into the *γνώσις*, and this philosophical knowledge of God was strenuously maintained as the necessary and perfect form of Christian knowledge, while faith was degraded into mere faith in authority,

<sup>\*</sup>The latter is translated into English under the title, *The Truth of the Christian Religion*.—EDITORS.

a highly imperfect form of theoretic knowledge. Not at all different from this is the *fides* which the Roman Catholic church demands down to the present day.

This latter point especially concerns us here. In the first place, it is the most direct consequence of the transformation effected in the fundamental idea, of the change to intellectualism, which has been wrought upon it. Further, the task of theology has thereby been determined, as it has been conceived in the dogma and as it has, up to the present day, dominated the theological tradition connected with the dogma. Finally, in very close connection with this stands the Catholic conception of the principle of authority. For, if Christianity is conceived and understood in an intellectualistic way, revelation must be explained as a supernatural communication of knowledge. This intellectualistic conception of the supreme good, therefore, is the other point which here demands our consideration.

Protestantism rests upon a restoration of the original Christian idea of the supreme good. This also we cannot and shall not here particularly demonstrate; the detailed discussion of this subject will be found in the books already indicated. I mention, as before, only a few points. *First*, the Protestant ideal of life is that which is proclaimed in the gospel; the union of religion and morality is sought to be thoroughly carried out; and monasticism, with all that is connected with it, is rejected. *Second*, the place of the sacraments, which are applied and which operate in a material way (*ex opere operato*), is taken by the faith-producing Word. Moreover, according to the evangelical teaching, the significance of the sacraments is connected with the word of divine promise, which accompanies the sensible use of the sacramental elements and which is employed with a view to faith. *Third*, and chiefly, faith is not conceived as a subordinate form of theoretic knowledge, as mere assent to the claim of authority, but as personal conviction, as both assent and knowledge, which rests on a personal relation to its object, that is, to God in his revelation. This change in the idea of faith, however, implies a change in the task of the theologian; I mean in this sense, that theology is not concerned with a *γνώσις* of the object



of faith to which faith is subordinated, but with the ascertainment and presentation of the knowledge involved in this personal faith, in such a way that the relation of knowledge to the personal life of the believer will be established and made clear.

But this reconstruction of theology, required because of the evangelical conception of faith, has not been undertaken in orthodox Protestant dogmatics; far less has it been thoroughly effected. The doctrinal change introduced by the Reformation has been maintained and defended, and its logical consequences have been drawn in regard to particular doctrines. But the new idea of faith is itself only an actual change in regard to the doctrine of salvation; it has not been recognized and valued as the principle of a thorough reconstruction of the whole theology. The orthodox dogmatics of Protestantism is wholly an adaptation of the scholastic system to the new knowledge of salvation regained by the Reformation—that and nothing more. The fact already brought out, that the orthodox dogmatists have still decidedly maintained the Catholic principle of authority, is now seen to be no isolated phenomenon, but to correspond to the whole of this theology. They have in general adhered to the theological tradition which sprang from the same source as the Catholic conception of faith.

This will become still more evident if we more carefully consider a point which has hitherto been noticed only in passing. The theological method is never governed merely by the intellectual apprehension one may have of the Christian religion, but it always depends at the same time on the general conditions of the life of the spirit. For it belongs to the task of theology in every way to demonstrate the truth of Christianity, and to establish the connection between Christian knowledge and all other kinds of it possessed by the human spirit. And, indeed, men's whole conception of the Christian religion is itself usually influenced by the circumstances of the time, which condition this further task. Nowhere is this more clearly shown than just in the transformation of Christianity into the Catholic world-religion. It so developed by an inward necessity, without in any way proceeding from a conscious purpose. Christianity assumed that

form through appropriating the Græco-Roman culture. Here lay the root of the Catholic conception of the Christian religion. And precisely in this we find the conditions of the method of theological knowledge which lies at the basis of the dogma. The two are inwardly connected. The more general circumstances of the life of the spirit have brought about that modification of the Christian idea of the supreme good from which we saw that the Catholic form of Christianity is explained.

The Reformation, however, has brought a new understanding of the Christian religion. But, for the rest, the circumstances and conditions of the life of the spirit meanwhile remain the same, and herein lies the explanation of the fact that the theology of the Reformation churches has mainly adhered to the forms of the Catholic scholasticism.

Historical progress is no uniform thing. At *one* point and in *one* department a new stage of historical life begins to announce itself and to gain a footing, while as yet it does not influence the other departments. And progress, even in the department wherein it is followed out in principle, is thereby hindered as to its full effects. Under this point of view the Reformation and the theology which has emanated from it will be understood. That movement implies a great advance in the sphere of religion, the advent of a new, great, historical form of life, chiefly in regard to religion and faith. But the theology, which is now unavoidably affected by the reciprocal interworking of itself with the whole life of the spirit, is impeded and restricted just because that progress has been mainly in the religious sphere. Or, to put the same thing somewhat differently: because the mediæval school-philosophy mainly held sway, the Protestant theology, representing the new faith, was meanwhile necessarily accommodated to forms of knowledge thereby conditioned, that is, to forms essentially Catholic.

It is the great significance of Kant's philosophy that it brought about a stage of progress for philosophy similar to that which we owe to the Reformation in regard to religion. I do not hereby mean that this system is the consummation of philosophy, and that it ought henceforth in all its particulars to

rule the thoughts of men. I am very far from being an orthodox Kantian. I only mean that in Kant a great turning-point is reached in philosophic thought, and that permanent significance belongs to certain fundamental ideas of his philosophy. This, in the first place, is true of his mode of proof that the idea of God does not lie in the region of ordinary understanding and of the science which is based on experience, but lies forever essentially above this circle of thought. The same applies, above all, to the transformation in the idea of the supreme good and the consequences derived therefrom for the ultimate questions of human knowledge. Until Kant the Platonic idea of the supreme good had prevailed in philosophy and theology, and according to it the loftiest place in the human spirit belongs to the faculty of knowing: it is in knowledge that we are united to God. It is easy to show how greatly Kant himself was still affected in his thinking by the influence of this mode of view. It is not unusual that those who promulgate new ideas are themselves still so far influenced by the old forms of thought which they assail. It is none the less true that Kant made the decisive step, and that he indicated the Christian idea of the supreme good as the true one, according to which the highest place belongs to the moral will, wherein the point of union with God must be sought. To express this in the language of Kant: the practical, not the speculative, reason has the primacy; the highest and conclusive kind of knowledge, the knowledge of God, is practically conditioned. This is the philosophical correlate of Luther's Reformation, a further establishment of the new form of life of the spirit due to Protestantism.

In particular the means are thereby given to the Protestant theology to stand on its own feet and really to carry out the form of knowledge indicated in the Reformation idea of faith. It develops the knowledge which is given as such in faith, and does not seek a pretended higher *γνώσις* superior to faith, but sets forth Christian truth in those inner relations to personal life which are indicated by faith. No peculiar article of faith should run otherwise, or be propounded in another form than that hereby given. The truth is accessible to us only in this

way, and only if we so conceive it do we really *know* it. But this again is not a matter which can be brought out here in detail. Only it could not be left unnoticed, since it forms the presupposition for the right knowledge and determination of the Protestant principle of authority which is our special theme.

That it is the revelation of God which forms this authority is self-evident among Christians. Nor is any proof required that this revelation, in which we believe, is given to us in Holy Scripture, or is conveyed to us through that medium. We all, as Protestants, think of Holy Scripture when we speak of the principle of the authority of divine revelation. The question here discussed quite naturally takes the concrete form, how we as Protestant theologians are to relate ourselves to Scripture, what is implied in its being the authority which we must follow.

What we have to say on this subject can be stated in two propositions. *First* of all, each article of dogmatics is quite strictly and inviolably connected with Holy Scripture. For, according to Protestant rule, dogmatics should be nothing else than the instructively expounded confession of the Christian faith which has been produced by the revelation in the Scriptures and which appropriates that revelation. There is no article of dogmatics which is not an expression of this faith. Hence there is no other principle for dogmatics than Holy Scripture; its authority, and that alone, decides everything. On the other hand, however—and this *second* proposition is complementary of the first—we have no single doctrine which is drawn *immediately* from Holy Scripture. So to derive doctrines is to regard the authority of Scripture in the old traditional (Catholic) sense, as if it were a supernatural, and therefore infallible, communication of doctrine. As evangelical Christians we know that it is no more this than faith is a sort of knowledge related to such doctrine. Faith is a personal relation to God which rests on the relation in which God has placed himself toward us in revelation. Since it is concerned with matters of the spirit, thought is certainly a weighty element in it, and it is the foundation of a new knowledge, and consequently of a definite doctrine. But this is a second and a derivative point. This knowledge never comes

direct from revelation or its document, the Scriptures, but from faith, whose formation is the object of revelation. The very thing, namely, faith, which indissolubly connects doctrine with Holy Scripture as the testimony of the divine revelation, comes with a separating effect between the letter of Scripture and dogmatic teaching. It is not as if, according to the old rule, the doctrine were taken direct from the Scripture and presented to the individual for belief; but the revelation awakens faith, and out of faith proceeds doctrine. This is not the proper succession: Scripture, doctrine, faith; but rather: Scripture, faith, doctrine.

The principle of authority in the old form is so deeply rooted in the thoughts of men that one may always expect, in a discussion like this, to encounter the objection that in this way no real authority whatever will be conceded or insured to the Scriptures. The reply to this is, in the first place, that, within Protestantism, the authority of revelation and Scripture can be conserved only in this way. If, instead of this, the teaching of Scripture as such were the authority—infallible according to the letter, for only in this form has the assertion consistency and sense—then there must also be an infallible interpretation, because otherwise the principle, instead of establishing authority, tends to arbitrariness. Experience has proved this a thousand times. But even if such an interpretation, as given in any way even without the infallible teaching function of the Roman Catholic church, could be made conceivable, nothing that is valuable according to Protestant judgment would be insured. The subjection of the intellect to a prescribed doctrine, without inward appropriation or inward understanding, is, according to the Roman Catholic view, a meritorious work, which necessarily belongs to Christianity, if it does not by itself alone constitute the whole of Christianity. According to the evangelical view, it is a legal ceremonial performance of no importance. Hence, from any point of view, when evangelical faith is presupposed, no good result can come from the old principle of authority. Whoever seeks to establish it in an inward way, without leaving the ground of the evangelical faith, alters the sense quite freely and gives the thought a direction similar to that which is here expounded. Even so, however, he

does not succeed in justifying the old principle, so that in this way no establishment of it can be attained. What is required is to formulate anew, as we have already done, the Protestant principle of authority. Thereby authority would really be attained. Revelation is directed to the whole man, that is, to the will of the man, and claims obedience from him, an obedience which we call faith. And since all Christian knowledge is mediated through faith, it holds true that it rests on obedience to the authority of revelation.

I revert to what has been set forth in the second section on the idea of authority. It was there shown that moral knowledge rests on the fact that the moral law gains our recognition and obedience. The case is quite similar, at least formally, with Christian faith. This is grounded in the fact that the Christian idea of the supreme good has taken up and contains in itself the moral norm. Hence Christian knowledge originates merely as moral knowledge based on authority, that is, so that the authority which gains our inward obedience and recognition is the nerve of the knowledge or the factor which establishes its certainty. If, however, anyone object that, then, it is not the revelation on which the knowledge is based, but rather the ideas which form its contents, we have to remind him of the discussions in the third section. It has there been shown that the contents of revelation, the eternal kingdom of God and reconciliation to him, are established as truths only through revelation. No doubt it is thus the peculiar contents of revelation which gain men's faith and impart knowledge, but only because they are given historically as the contents of divine revelation.

Hence divine revelation forms for faith the peculiar and sole principle of knowledge, and of all the knowledge which comes from faith; and itself has, indeed, the form of authority that demands obedience. This is the Protestant principle of the authority of revelation, the basis of Protestant theology.

## V.

It formed the starting-point of our discussion to note that barriers of a twofold kind present themselves against the idea

of authority in Protestant theology, arising, on the one hand, from the evangelical form of faith, from the requirement of a faith which is personal, which springs from one's own inward conviction; and, on the other hand, from the irreconcilableness of the idea of authority with scientific freedom. So far as the former class of difficulties is concerned, it has, I think, been invalidated by what has already been set forth. It falls to the ground as soon as the principle of authority is conceived in the Protestant sense, that is, when it corresponds to the evangelical idea of faith. For it has not then to do with the recognition of a teaching which is authoritatively established without inward appropriation. The requirement is rather to place one's self, with the will, under obedience to divine revelation. The truth which is to be recognized does not address itself immediately to the intellect; it requires the obedience of the whole man; and the exposition of the knowledge thus won in its particular details of doctrine leaves the individual judgment perfect freedom—so far as freedom is possible where truth is in question.

I would further seek to apply this in a somewhat more concrete way. When an individual Christian or theologian thinks that he cannot accept a certain doctrine, he is wont, indeed, to be advised nevertheless to do so and wait, in order that with the growth of his faith he may gain insight into it and derive spiritual benefit from it. This advice is good, as it seems to me, if it be taken in the sense of evangelical faith. For we know no other truth than that which is appropriated by the whole man, and which, when so appropriated, both implies a law for the inner life and denotes a furtherance of the life in the highest sense. And whoever understands anything of faith knows how appropriate to us always is the prayer: "Lord, I believe, help thou mine unbelief!" But an essential condition of this is that all doctrines and truths should clearly be so framed that they shall penetrate into the inner personal life and be recognized as demands upon the will. But if, on the contrary, they are framed as articles of philosophical teaching about the objects of faith, no real help can in this way be gained. For then, in presence of doubt, one must seek to overbear the intellect or to exact the *sacrificium intellectus*.

What we seek here to bring out amounts to this, that a form must be given to the authoritative teaching in the evangelical church whereby it shall appeal to the will, the heart, and the conscience of the Christian. Certainly this does not exclude what can never be excluded so long as the Christian church shall stand, namely, that the great demand laid upon everyone is to submit himself to the revelation of God and Christ. Whoever will not or cannot do this must be allowed, meanwhile at least, to go his own way; he cannot in any case be a Christian theologian. But this being presupposed, the case in regard to particular doctrines is such as we have already asserted. These present themselves to the individual in the way of an ideal whose glory enlightens us and which, we trust, may ever more fully enlighten us. Thence it is inferred that the objections to the principle of authority arising, under the Protestant mode of view, from the evangelical requirement of a personal faith are invalid.

But also in regard to the objections to the principle of authority arising out of the freedom of science, and the necessity of that freedom, something has already resulted from our discussion. We have found that the moral perception is analogous to that of Christian faith. The analogy consists primarily in the fact that somewhat of personal conviction is inherent also in moral discernment. What the moral life is, as it is evolved in history, what kind of moral ideals thence emerge, and how they are mutually related—these are questions for objective scientific discussion. And this objective survey of the moral life yields much that goes to favor the recognition of a definite ideal. But the recognition itself (of that ideal) is always something specifically different, something new, it being no purely scientific judgment, but the direct expression of personal conviction. And therein is moral discernment, that is, the discernment of good and evil, related to Christian faith. The analogy consists, secondly, in this, that the principle of knowledge in both cases is just the authority which gains our inward recognition. Thirdly, it consists in our being directed in both cases, not to facts of our own consciousness, as the decisive tribunal, but to the great phenomena of history.



What follows from this? In any case one thing, viz., that science and the principle of authority are not altogether contradictory. There is in science—leaving Christianity quite out of view—one region, viz., ethics, in which this principle, with its correlative, personal conviction, is inevitable.

But we have also further found what a change of western thought has been effected by Kant, and in what it consists. It lies in his discernment that the final and conclusive knowledge of the human spirit originates for us in connection with the practical consciousness. We must not expect it as the result of any ingenious exercise of intellectual power. It will and can proceed only from practical obedience. Hence it is at home just on what is the natural ground of the principle of authority. But this is of such importance that we must enter upon it somewhat more particularly.

I may connect what I have further to say with the alternative already indicated, that is, the contrast between the biblical and the Platonic gospel. The question in this case is as to the exact department of our inward nature which furnishes us the warrant for regarding ourselves as personal spirits: Is it in thought or in the moral will; has this or that element the chief place in the life of the spirit; and do we attain to God and to blessedness (the supreme good) through thought or through moral obedience? For these are all only different forms of expressing one and the same great fundamental question.

Platonism prevailed until the time of Kant. But so long as that was the case, the old (essentially Catholic) principle of authority had an *inward* justification. For in Platonism speculative and scientific thought was conceived from the point of view of the free activity of human reason, and itself appeared as something akin to and inwardly connected with religion. But then it had to be demanded from the point of view of Christianity that speculation and science should in the last instance be subject to revelation and to the knowledge thereby attained. Thus understood, science came into the same relation to revelation as faith. But in this case one cannot be a Christian without maintaining that science has finally to accommodate itself to the

enlightenment which comes to us through revelation. These inwardly correspond to each other; and that not merely in the sense, as we formerly showed, of the principle of authority assuming this form under the presupposition of Platonism, but also in the sense of the traditional principle being ideally grounded in this organic connection of ideas.

Wherein, then, do we find the reason of the inadmissibility of the old principle of authority for modern science? Simply in the *empirical* foundation of science. The freedom of reason of which we are speaking is not her demand to go her own way untrammelled. The usual Catholic accusation that it is the pride of the natural man which refuses obedience to the church is totally irrelevant. That is not at all the question. We seek by all available means to investigate reality and to recognize what is given to us in experience. Then we can always make the proviso that our results are not infallible, and that it is always possible that they may be corrected. But this correction is conceivable only on the ground of investigation. There is absolutely no place for supernatural authority. And the adoption of this and no other position is not to be ascribed to pride, which is always morally reprehensible, but simply to moral duty. It would be contrary to the spirit of truthfulness if we assumed any other attitude. Moreover, what gives science its unassailable independence is its empirical foundation. That independence belongs to science and its results just in proportion as it really retains that foundation.

Of course, the objection is possible, and many will certainly raise it, that the opposition between modern empirical science and the old method of thought under the auspices of Plato is nothing so definite as is here maintained. Along with Plato stands Aristotle; and he, much more than Plato, is the philosophical authority of the great schoolmen, particularly of Aquinas and those associated with him. Aristotle, however, has not unjustly been termed the father of science, even of modern empirical science. With him these two things are unmistakably combined: the motives of Platonic speculation, and sober investigation of the reality given to us in experience. Our own

time is not without examples of philosophic systems whose fundamental idea is to take up the work of empirical science where it stops short and to construct its results into a complete, well-rounded whole.

Nevertheless I am of opinion that the antithesis between the two methods is a real one, and that we must not allow ourselves to be deluded on that point by such hybrid systems as those referred to. Kant's critical system has given the death-blow to Aristotelianism and everything akin thereto. Only the historical development is an extremely slow process. Many today interpret Kant from the Platonic motives which still influenced him, but with the same right and reason as when Luther has been represented as a scholastic theologian and representative of the Catholic dogma. In both cases there exists a great deal of material for the historical justification of such a view. But if that view were correct, then we should have seen neither the revolution in regard to faith in which Luther led the way nor the fundamental change in philosophy for which Kant's name stands. In these facts, which those who attempt such an interpretation cannot gainsay, lies their refutation. In truth, the critical philosophy of Kant has broken the direct bridge from empirical science to—expressing it briefly—the idea of God. And if we have learned and shall learn anything from it, it is this, that a fundamental distinction exists between scientific inquiry and a definitive philosophic system of world-knowledge. The former depends on experience, and the intellectual elaboration of experience; the latter, on the other hand, rests on the idea of the supreme good. But here comes in the question, already formulated, as to whether the chief place in the economy of the soul is due to thought or to the moral will.

We are here really concerned with what is irreconcilable: Platonic speculation and empirical science. If one hold to the standard of the former, the old principle of authority can perhaps be justified; with the latter it is quite incompatible. All the considerations which tell against the principle of authority, and which are in reality inwardly justified, are founded on modern empirical science. But they are not valid as against this principle

in its Protestant form. Rather, if we step resolutely on the ground of empirical science, we find that the oft-mentioned transition to this principle follows quite spontaneously in the sphere of ethics. And here Protestant theology, founding on the principle of authority, finds its secure point of nexus.

We owe to the Reformation the new conception of faith. Yet in reality it is not new. The Holy Scriptures, and particularly the New Testament, have already attested it, and it is the conception of faith naturally involved in the Christian religion as the spiritualized, eminently moral religion of humanity. Even in the Catholic church itself, wherever there is genuine living Christian piety, it participates in this faith, which is the very marrow of Christianity. We owe to the modern development of the human spirit the new science which, independently of religion and philosophy, undertakes the task of investigating and knowing the reality given us in experience. But neither is this new; it is what has been striven after in science from early times, even the extending and completing of our knowledge whereby we exercise the dominion of the spirit over the world of things. The one and the other are new only in relation to the old combination, whose patrons were Plato and Aristotle, and which has found its most perfect expression in the Roman Catholic church. But, indeed, ever since the sixteenth century it has been retreating before the Protestant culture, whose two cornerstones are the evangelical conception of faith and modern empirical science. The new combination thereby produced has for its champion Kant and the critical philosophy connected with his name. What I had in view just amounts to this: I have endeavored to show that the principle of authority retains its place even in this modern world of thought, and also in what form it does so.

The question, as indicated at the commencement (p. 683), was in regard to a new method of determining and establishing an equipoise of the essential interests of the spirit, a method which I contrasted with the mediæval Catholic one, represented with special distinctness by Thomas Aquinas. The keynote of this latter mode of thought is the idea we have often referred to, viz., that we have to seek God and the supreme good directly

in the sphere of thought and knowledge. Consequently the knowledge of God is sought and prized as the consummation of world-knowledge. A further consequence is the subordination of the moral and practical ideal of life to the contemplative, whether in the form of monasticism or in any secular form of spiritual aristocracy. And a final result is that the divine revelation will be conceived as a supernatural communication of theological knowledge, which implies the principle of authority in its traditional form.

On the other hand, the fundamental idea of Protestantism is that we should seek God and the supreme good directly in the sphere of moral activity and practical obedience, where alone it can be found. Thence it follows that the knowledge of God and scientific world-knowledge cannot be directly bound into one whole; this belongs rather to the idea of the practical moral task of the spirit, and forms an essential element of it of high importance; while the knowledge of God is the result of the inward obedience with which that task as a whole is apprehended and accomplished. Thence further follows the unconditional subordination of the contemplative ideal of life to the practical moral which is alike accessible to all stages of culture. A final result is that divine revelation is conceived as a communication of truth which appeals to the will of man, demanding obedience from it and only imparting new knowledge in connection therewith; here we have the principle of authority in its Protestant form.

It would be a needless undertaking to seek to demonstrate, by further discussion, that this latter, and not the former, combination is the really important one. In this matter nothing at all is accomplished by abstract reasoning. It is not in such a way that anyone can be brought to seek or recognize a definite goal of his knowledge, a consistent view of the universe, a faith, or whatever it may be called. Whoever will not seek this, but will hold aloof from it, must remain without unity in his thought or in the ends to which his will is directed. It may with certainty be taken for granted that it will always be only certain individuals who adopt this attitude. The practical need of the

spirit leads the majority to faith of some kind. And what is of most importance, a society with developed culture of the spirit cannot in the long run exist without faith and without guiding ideas. Therefore there is no question as to whether this can be dispensed with. Only men cannot be constrained to it on logical grounds, and as little can the controversy as to which of the two positions is the right one be decided on such grounds. The question is not in regard to a scientific theory which is in conflict with an opposing theory. There are here two great stages of culture which struggle with one another. There is no doubt that the Protestant culture which has been formed within the bosom of Christendom will gradually overcome and displace the old culture which we have inherited from the Greeks and Romans.

I have repeatedly indicated Kant as the sponsor of this stage of culture. Indeed, I am of opinion that his philosophy, as above set forth, represents a turning-point similar to the Reformation. It is also quite clear that it supplies the principle for the unifying of Christian faith, as understood in the Protestant sense, and modern science. Finally, it was incumbent upon me to present the ideas of theology in the form in which I hold them along with other theologians, such as Herrmann, Reischle, Gottschick, etc. One must always be careful not to fashion the truth, in which and in whose victory one believes, too precisely in the particular mold in which it is presented to one's self. Yet I will not close the discussion without having said something more definite in regard to how I specially conceive the matter, and without acknowledging that to me this more definite and special exposition is as unquestionably true as the fundamental idea itself.

Science or theoretical knowledge is strictly limited by Kant to the domain of experience. And this is one of the ideas on which the harmonious coexistence of modern science and evangelical faith depends. I have no doubt that idea corresponds to the truth. But on what does Kant found so important a statement? He believed he had demonstrated that the categories of the understanding were an *a priori* possession of the

spirit, whose use depends on sense-perception. In order thereby to know anything this perception, whose forms of space and time are also *a priori* possessions, must be given to us. Experience originates through the spirit apprehending in the forms of the understanding the material brought in through sense-perception. Perception and categories of the understanding are the conditions of the possibility of all experience. Theoretic knowledge, therefore, exists only on the ground of experience, without which there is mere dialectic illusion (*dialektischer Schein*).

But this whole doctrine of the *a priori* is nothing else than Platonism cut down to the root. The spring comes and the roots sprout afresh. Such a spring we have already seen in the Hegelian revival of neo-Platonic ideas. And although this may have had its good side, yet I am not sure that there would be any advantage in a revival of Hegelianism, which would infallibly present itself as a restoration of the Kantian doctrine of the *a priori*. It appears to me better clearly to recognize that Kant has refuted Platonism, and that the true continuation of Kant is to dig out both Platonism and the roots of it that Kant allowed to remain. Moreover, it is an impossible undertaking to seek to establish the conditions of the possibility of all experience. No one can see his own eyes, and no one can cognize his own cognition, that is, though he may do so relatively while he takes and analyzes knowledge as a phenomenon of experience, yet he cannot do so in the absolute sense so as to know the conditions of the possibility of all experience. *Through epistemology no way leads us behind the inmost veil.* Moreover, upon this ground the way in which Kant bases his restriction of theoretic knowledge to the domain of experience is convertible, nay is quite untenable.

But it is precisely here that we find a means of conclusively establishing our thesis, viz., thus: We live in a subjective-objective world, and nothing breaks through the inner barriers which are thereby drawn around all our knowledge. Presumably, however, were we only intellect, this would not discommodate us; we should not seek to overpass those barriers. That we seek to do so is due to the fact that we are not merely

thinking subjects, but have our peculiar nature in the will. And thereby a way is opened for us out of the cavern cell in which the inevitable self-limitation confines us and prevents our escape out of the subjective-objective world. In other words, we have to declare that in the inner world, which is the world of the will, we have, besides the external world, another weighty object of knowledge. And this world is not merely an internal one; it has objective reality, as the world of the history out of which we as individuals grow, and out of which we nourish and fructify the life of our spirit.

What follows from this? One thing, in any case, first of all, viz., that in the matter of our perception of the external world we are absolutely restricted to experience. It is a subjective-objective world—how can we ever, in perceiving it, divest it of the subjective relation to us which is occasioned through experience? It is a world *for us*. And this is not merely a general thesis; it can be particularly shown from the fact that in all forms of knowledge the reference to the will has characteristic and determining significance. I have sought to show this in my book on *The Truth of the Christian Religion* through a careful analysis of the process of knowledge—a negative undertaking, as will be understood in view of what has been said. It just amounts to this, that the world of our experience is one which has been constructed by our intellect in the service of the will.

But it further follows that we approach more closely to the objective reality in the knowledge of the spiritual-historical world, which is the world of our own inner being. Here the restriction, that we do not perceive the absolute reality, but only reality *for us*, disappears. For this world is our world. It is objective in that it is for us as the subject; it is therefore objective in principle in no other way than as it presents itself to us. This is another department of knowledge, besides the knowledge of the external world, which is objective in a sense already indicated, though it is no doubt subjective, on the other hand, because we only know it in that we interpret it from our own inner being.

Now, in this inner moral world are given the points of attachment for faith. For the weightiest phenomena of the



spiritual-historical world are religion and the moral law. The inward experiences which we have as members of that world constrain us to faith, and to a knowledge which presents itself only as personal conviction, and which comes into existence only as such. No doubt it is subjective in greater measure than all other knowledge, because the certainty of it is wholly inward in connection with our own personal life. But it is more objective than all other knowledge, since it has reference to God, to the reality which sustains and conditions all other reality. It seems to be a law which governs our knowledge, in whatever field, that the weightier its object is, the more it demands the participation of the whole man, of the personal spirit. But the principle of this final and conclusive knowledge can only be the principle of the authority of divine revelation, whose significance in the origination of knowledge is thereby established.

In this way, I think, a unity of knowledge will be attained, in spite of all divisions, in its several departments. Certainly it is Kant's way of reaching unity. For this unity is sought in the subject, not deduced from the objective connection of nature, spirit, and God, as the old system attempted it. Thus, also, is conserved Kant's fundamental idea that in theoretic knowledge we are directed to experience, while its conclusion is found in the knowledge of God which depends on practical conditions. Nevertheless, the method of establishing this which I have set forth seems to me to be simpler and clearer than the complicated theories of Kant's *Critique*. Above all, it is a real unity of knowledge which we hereby gain, a unity whose principle is the practical world-position of man. In the knowledge of nature, and the dominion over the world of things which we thereby acquire, we attain to personal life; from the knowledge of history we learn what gives value and contents to that life; and in the knowledge of God we find the completion of our spiritual personal life, so far as it is attained in this world. I may recall what was brought out at the end of our third section, viz., the thought that all our knowledge depends on the practical will, on which account we could point to the principle of authority, transformed in an analogous way by Protestantism, as to something corresponding to the rest of our knowledge.

One objection certainly remains. It may be said that in this way of formulating the matter we lose just what insured to the old view of the principle of authority its scientific significance, viz., the direct connection between the knowledge of God arising out of revelation and scientific world-knowledge. In the organization of knowledge here proposed there is no doubt lacking a bond of unity for all knowledge as knowledge; what establishes the unity is the relation to the will, as something which does not lie in knowledge itself. But anyone who is not in agreement with the standpoint here represented can still find a point of connection thus: he can ask if, on the ground of revelation and its authority, something is really known which has importance for human knowledge as such.

Now, I do not at all believe that the results yielded by the old combination under this point of view were much to boast of. That conception of God, held by the schoolmen and old dogmatists, which was to form the culmination of the scientific knowledge of the world had extremely little to do with divine revelation and Christianity. Ritschl appears to me to have been thoroughly in the right when he remarked on one occasion that the orthodox dogmatic was Christian in just so far as it made no use whatever of the conception of God which it made the apex of its system. But, apart from this, I would by no means refuse all validity to the consideration we have just referred to. The unity of knowledge is really first established when it is shown that a new all-embracing knowledge of the whole material of science results from the highest and culminating point, which we attain in knowledge, that is, from the knowledge of God. Then only, moreover, is it possible to maintain that the authority of divine revelation to which we owe this knowledge of God is authenticated as a ruling principle of human thought. Hence the question arises whether the new combination we have here proposed is capable of affording something of that kind.

This question is to be answered in the affirmative. We know God only through faith in his revelation, while in the same way we learn to know the end and purpose of the world, the kingdom of God, the kingdom of personal spirits which are all united

to God and through him with one another. Then comes in the problem of understanding the collective reality, of nature and history as the way to this goal, as the realization of this purpose. A problem it certainly is, and there is no likelihood of man ever attaining its full solution. Yet it is not wholly an insoluble problem. In regard to its first half, the understanding of nature, and its development as the pathway up to man and as the presupposition of human history, there are many investigators nowadays who think they find in this idea of a gradual progressive development the key to the understanding of all organic life. And the attempt to interpret the history of the world as the realization of the eternal ideas of God which, as Christians, we learn to know, has always possessed a charm for some who have set themselves to solve the problem in a fragmentary way—more than this is impossible, since history is not yet completed.

But this indication must suffice. It is clear that the naturalistic doctrine of development cannot be inserted summarily into a system of nature-philosophy governed by the Christian idea of God. Even the position that nature can be finally resolved into history, and can thus be fitted into a Christian scheme of the world, must be reconciled with what has already been said as to the limits of our knowledge of nature. There would, therefore, still be very much left for discussion ere we could speak confidently of actual results. All this lies outside the compass of this article. Only I did not wish to close without this glance at the possible perspective of our some time attaining a knowledge which shall embrace all reality, and whose principle would be the Christian ideas which are established through the *authority* of revelation.

## THE PLACE OF EXPIATION IN HUMAN REDEMPTION.

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IN his work on the *Philosophy and Development of Religion* Professor Pfleiderer, speaking of redemption, says :<sup>1</sup>

The truth is this, that it is not a miraculous process external to us, which was accomplished long ago and once for all by the sacrificial death of a god in our favor, but that it is a moral event, happening within the soul, which always repeats itself, the self-sacrifice of the will to God in obedience, love, and patience.

Again, speaking of the crucifixion of Jesus, he says :<sup>2</sup>

This fate of the greatest of the Sons of men is typical of the fate of the whole of mankind. Viewed in its light the whole history of the world appears as a single theodicy, and all the sufferings of peoples and individuals are transfigured into means of salvation.

And still again, recurring to the subject of redemption, he says :<sup>3</sup>

Thus the Pauline doctrine of redemption by the circuitous way of the phariseean legal theory of expiation yet comes again at last to the simple, religious, moral, fundamental truth which forms the basis of the gospel of Jesus. If we can no longer accept the notion of a bloody expiation carried out on an innocent one for the satisfaction of justice and buying off the curse of the law, yet we recognize the abiding truth of the thought, lying under the dogmatic veil, that the holy love of God cannot otherwise redeem and save sinful man than by the judgment upon sin as it executes itself, not indeed outside of us, but within us, in the painful severance of the *ego* from its naturally selfish desires and in humble and obedient self-sacrifice to God's holy will.

It is too often the case that that part of the work of redemption which is external to us is thought of as miraculous in the sense of being in some way unnatural, unintelligible, and beyond reason ; but this is mainly because the prevalent conception of the miraculous is irrational and unreal. In the true sense of the word, the divine side of redemption is truly miraculous, as is

<sup>1</sup> *Philosophy and Development of Religion, Gifford Lectures*, Vol. I, p. 260.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 324.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 173.

everything in the universe when rightly understood. To say, as if that were all, that redemption, as a process external to us, was accomplished long ago, though it is too frequently represented thus, is far from the whole truth. But there never was a time since intelligent beings had need of redemption when the fact of expiation, with its mighty power to redeem, was not a reality external to the sin-burdened soul. To say that this redemptive expiation was accomplished once for all by "the sacrificial death of a god in our favor," though popular representations of the doctrine too frequently seem to amount to this, is a gross misrepresentation of the reality. And yet it is true that, relative to human guilt, there is in the one, true, and living God a real expiation for sin which practically for the sinner was and is accomplished once for all, and without which his redemption would not be possible. It is true that "we can no longer accept the notion of a bloody expiation carried out on an innocent one for the satisfaction of justice and the buying off the curse of the law," as the case is no doubt very commonly represented, particularly by those who reject the doctrine of a vicarious sacrifice; but it is also true that expiation for sin has been made and is continually revealed in the suffering which has its eternal reality in the Divine Being, and of which shed blood is the universally recognized symbol. It is perhaps the crowning excellence of Professor Pfleiderer's treatment of religion that he so sympathetically penetrates the "dogmatic veil" and "reaches the underlying truth." Thus he says: "The truth must be recognized underlying the dogmatic veil that the holy love of God cannot otherwise redeem and save sinful men than by the judgment on sin within us, in the painful severance of the *ego* from its naturally sinful desires, and in humble, obedient self-surrender to God's holy will." But compare with this what he says of the necessity of a "theodicy" as a "means of salvation." This theodicy he finds in the sufferings of Jesus and of all the righteous who in all ages have suffered for righteousness' sake. This is certainly something external to each individual sinner; and as, weighed down with the burden of his personal guilt, the reality of this theodicy becomes clear to his consciousness, it is for him

something accomplished in the past and once for all. If, too, we hold to the doctrine of the divine immanence in all human development, presented with such beauty and force by Professor Pfeiderer, we shall certainly say that it is God himself who has set forth and is setting forth this world-long messianic suffering that he might make propitiation for sin and justify him to whom its righteousness has become eternal life. I find, therefore, upon the basis of Professor Pfeiderer's philosophy of religion, the certainty of that very doctrine of expiation which Paul taught. It is my purpose in this paper to set forth this doctrine of redemption through expiation.

I. PAUL'S DOCTRINE OF EXPIATION.—The statement of Paul in Rom. 3: 19–26 has been regarded as a *locus classicus* for his doctrine of expiation. His language is well fitted to convey his thought to the Hebrew mind, and shows, no doubt, the influence of his training as a Pharisee; but it seems to me equally well fitted to set forth the fact of expiation to thoughtful men of every age.

1. *Summary of Paul's statement.*—The apostle in substance declares that, tried by the divine righteousness revealed in moral precepts, no man can escape condemnation; nor is there any power in law itself as giving knowledge of moral truth to renew our moral nature and make it holy. But now, apart from that moral law which is revealed in precepts and institutions, God has revealed a righteousness to be apprehended through faith, that faith which consists in genuine self-surrender to God as he is revealed in Jesus Christ—a real spiritual fellowship with Christ, transforming the whole nature; so that the believer in Jesus Christ comes to possess a righteousness akin to the divine, not of mere outward conformity to precept, but of inner life—a new spiritual character wrought in him by God out of his gracious, holy love, by the redemptive power which is in Jesus Christ. What that redemptive power is the apostle shows by telling us who Jesus Christ is in his relation to that divine righteousness of which he has spoken. He is the Messiah “whom God hath set forth to be,” not a mere triumphant king after the pattern of pharisaic ambition, a more successful Judas Maccabæus, but “a

propitiation," to be apprehended "through faith," wrought "by his blood," made necessary "because of the passing over of the sins done aforetime, in the forbearance of God; for the showing of his righteousness at this present season; that he might himself be just, and the justifier of him that hath faith in Jesus." It is this profound and comprehensive statement of the nature and history of expiation that, it seems to me, Professor Pfeiderer and the whole school of the purely ethical philosophers fail properly to appreciate.

2. *The setting forth of Jesus Christ.*—"God," says Paul, "set forth Jesus Christ." This he did by the incarnation in Jesus of the eternal Word, the Logos, that is, of himself as the creative reason and the source of the moral development of the human race. The nature of the setting forth is known to us historically, in part at least, in the personal biography of Jesus, so far as it has come down to us, in the messianic history of the human race, and in all which science, physical and metaphysical, teaches us of the nature of God. Every incarnation of God is a "setting forth." God is incarnate in a stone; still more in a plant, an animal, a human being; most of all in the Christs, the anointed prophets whom he has sent into the world for its redemption. The incarnation of the Logos is the exhaustless source of all our knowledge of God and his universe. The incarnation of the Logos in Jesus the Christ is thus far the supreme fact of human history as it is of human redemption. Jesus, the Christ, reveals God only because God is really and truly in him and he in God. Because this is true it is necessary in dealing with the record concerning him to bear in mind that all language used of him that implies a created, finite existence must apply to Jesus, the Christ, the created being; and all language that implies an uncreated, infinite power of thought, feeling, and will must apply to the absolute Spirit, the Logos, who by creating the Christ, by whatever mode, became incarnate in him, thus setting him forth. It is with God, therefore, that we have to do as he has revealed himself in Jesus the Christ. It is of the utmost importance to keep this discrimination in mind. No clear conception of expiation is possible without it.

3. *The Logos incarnate set forth to be a propitiation.*—We need not concern ourselves at much length with the word ἱλαστήριον which Paul uses, translated “propitiation” in our English Bible. It is, as Cremer points out, a *nomen loci*. It is the Greek equivalent for the Hebrew כַּפֹּרֶת = *capporeth*, the cover of the sacred chest in the most holy place, which, with its cherubim and shekinah above and the “ten words” below, was the symbol of the being and presence of Jehovah, the one, true, and living God, imperfect indeed as expressing the divine nature, as are even the “ten words” as a statement of the fundamental law of the moral universe, and yet more significant as a symbol of the divine reality it was intended to declare than any other that the inspired wisdom of holy men has ever devised. This place of the divine presence acquired an added significance by the sprinkling upon it of the blood of the sacrifice appointed for the taking away of guilt. It thus became the place of expiation and of mercy—preëminently for the Israelite in all the earth, God’s mercy-seat. The sacrifice, the offering of the shed blood as the expressive symbol of life surrendered, declared chiefly two things: the death—the cutting off from life, its favor and its bliss—due to transgressing Israel on account of sin; and the surrender to God, the holy and loving author of our being, of Israel’s consecrated life in complete self-denial and at the utmost cost of effort and pain. Thus the blood-sprinkled *capporeth* declared to believing Israel the eternal fact of expiation in the nature of God and in the constitution of the universe. As such it was the type of every instance of accomplished expiation which the sacrificial services of human faith could present. Of human faith I say, for whatever narrowness may have pertained to the common thought of the Hebrews, the range of prophetic vision in that old ritual was world-wide and age-long. What Paul, therefore, declares is that the incarnation of the Logos in Jesus, making him more than any other the Christ of human history, sets him forth to the world as the place of expiation for all human guilt. The mercy-seat for mankind is no longer the material cover of a sacred chest sprinkled with the blood of slain beasts, however significant of



eternal truth the old ritual may have been, but a holy man, the incarnate Son of God, set forth for this very purpose, a symbol still, but more than a symbol, the eternal reality itself. Let this be borne in mind. The tabernacle *capporeth* declared more than the penitence and self-dedication to God of guilty Israel and free forgiveness for the consecrated penitent. It made known the fact of expiation divinely accomplished and the two, God and Israel, brought together, reconciled and made one therein. So in the doctrine of Paul the divinely set forth expiation for the sins of the world declares more than the penitence and self-consecration to God of the believer in Jesus and the free forgiveness of his transgressions by God his heavenly Father. It declares the eternal reality of expiation as an accomplished fact for the believer, by which penitence and forgiveness are made possible, and in which God and man are made spiritually one.

4. *Definition of propitiation in Paul's doctrinal statement.*—I said above that we need concern ourselves little with the historical significance of the term *ἱλαστήριον* which Paul uses, for the reason that in the statement of his doctrine he furnishes a definition of the word which covers the whole ground. "God," he says, "set forth Jesus Christ to be the propitiatory meeting-place," or, in the term I have preferred to use, the expiation for sin, between himself and his transgressing children, for a specific purpose—to show his righteousness. Now, we learn what a thing is by what it does. This is true of all our knowledge of reality. God is the causal efficiency of his universe. We know what he is by what he does. It is in harmony with this universal principle of all knowledge that Paul describes the fact of expiation. *Expiation is that which shows the righteousness of God.* That is expiatory which exhibits righteousness in relation to conduct. God makes expiation for sin by the exhibition of his righteousness in relation to it. *That in which he exhibits his righteousness is the expiation.*

5. *The divine method of exhibiting righteousness.*—Dr. Charles Cuthbert Hall, in his volume, *The Gospel of Divine Sacrifice*, says: "There are only two ways in which it is possible for God to express to man his condemnation of sin—by precept and by

penalty." It seems to me better to say that there are three ways: by precept or moral law, however revealed; by penalty as penalty is commonly conceived; and by propitiation in the limited sense of the term as designating the divine, vice-penal suffering for sin. These three, as it seems to me, are essentially one in purpose and nature. But it will best serve the purpose of this discussion to follow the threefold classification just given.

a) *Righteousness exhibited by moral law.*—God continually makes sin possible and yet forbids it. His moral law is against it. What that law is in its essential principles, and how it is revealed to men, will appear later on in this discussion. It is enough now to note that for man it is a revelation of the divine will concerning his conduct as a free agent. However made, it is a manifestation of the divine righteousness. In it sin is condemned. As an exhibition of righteousness it is therefore expiatory.

b) *Righteousness exhibited by penalty.*—We think of some things as ordained of God to be the penal consequences of sin. By this we mean that they, being related to sin as effects which follow necessarily from it as their cause and by the will of God, express his sense of its evil, its unworthiness, and its ill-desert. They constitute, in the stricter sense of the word, the penalty of sin. God, as said above, makes sin possible, but by his moral law forbids it. Still further, he uses means to prevent it, and when men have fallen into it takes pains to prevent them from continuing in it. Penalty is a part of the means by which he seeks in some measure to accomplish this double purpose. As such, penalty exhibits the righteousness of God. All that is in a strict sense penal is but a part of that divine activity, springing from the changeless nature of God, in all of which he seeks to prevent sin, so far as it can be prevented, to deliver men from it who have fallen into it, and to make it subserve in some higher relation the purpose of his infinite love for the well-being of his moral creatures. Thus penalty, in the stricter and commonly received sense of the word, is expiatory. This it is, not only from the side of the sinner who suffers it, but also from the side of God, who in the constitution of the universe ordains

and administers it. I shall have occasion to recur to this fact in gathering up the consequences of Paul's doctrine. But I now pass to what is the chief thought in his mind.

c) *Jesus, the Christ, a propitiation in his blood.*—"God," says the apostle, "has set forth Jesus Christ to be a propitiation in his blood." In the epistle to the Hebrews we read that "without the shedding of blood there is no remission of sin." This was true under the Mosaic ritual, and it is true throughout the moral universe when this language is properly understood. But what does it mean? At this point no mistake should be made. The blood of the altar, and even more the blood of the cross, regarded as expiatory, has given offense, not alone to the evil-minded, but to many of the most thoughtful among Christian believers. How can it be made to appear rational and necessary? So it must, or it cannot hold a permanent place in Christian thought and feeling. It is necessary, therefore, first of all to point out some things which the language of the apostle cannot mean.

(1) *Blood of itself cannot be expiatory.*—It hardly need be said that, strictly speaking, blood can have no expiatory value. But it has a symbolical significance, not indeed arbitrarily assigned to it, but grounded in its real nature. The shedding of blood is the pouring out of the life of the animal. Besides, in the ritual the shed blood could have no significance for expiation apart from the place where, as a symbol of life surrendered, it is brought into the symbolized presence of God, to whom the sinner is under obligation. Thus at every point it is not blood as mere physical substance that has expiatory value, but always blood by virtue of its relation to life and the use made of it as a symbol of religious thought and feeling. It is always the reality signified by the thing described in the term used that has expiatory value, and never the thing itself apart from its significance. This discrimination may seem too simple to require mention, and yet the failure to make it has been, I am confident, the source of much confusion with respect to the whole subject of expiation.

(2) *Mere suffering is not expiatory.*—The shedding of blood, we well know, involves suffering. But mere suffering, apart from its causes and purposes, can have no expiatory value. It had none in the Mosaic ritual, though, strangely enough, much of the protest against that ritual proceeds apparently from the assumption of such a meaningless literalism therein. Mere blood, blood-shedding, or suffering of any kind has no expiatory value. If anyone finds it difficult to assent to this statement as too sweeping, I think his difficulty will be found in the impossibility of these realities as *mere* blood, *mere* blood-shedding, and *mere* suffering, as if these things could have somehow a material and mechanical existence, without spiritual relations to Him, the absolute Spirit, in whom all things exist and have their real life. It is only by virtue of their significance that they exhibit righteousness.

(3) *These negations applied to Christ crucified.*—If these negations are important in case of material symbols, how much more so must they be when we are studying the eternal reality of expiation as it is revealed in the living person of Jesus the Christ, the Logos of God incarnate for this very purpose! Mere blood in the case of Jesus Christ, apart from its relation to life, can have no more value for expiation than in the case of an animal. The blood of Jesus must signify his life devoted to a holy purpose. The shedding of the blood of Jesus involved suffering. It therefore signifies to us what Jesus suffered for us. Its expiatory value must be found in this fact. But it cannot be found in the suffering, mental and physical, which he endured upon the cross alone. That was, no doubt, the culmination of his suffering, thus giving peculiar significance to the cross as a symbol of what he suffered. But the suffering which he endured on the cross could scarcely have been greater than that which he had before endured in the trial of the wilderness and through Gethsemane to Calvary. It could not have had in it more of the spiritual reality of cross-bearing. Indeed, the suffering of the cross cannot be isolated from the suffering of his whole life. Nor could his entire suffering have had any expiatory value as mere unrelated suffering. Indeed, unrelated suffering is impossible. It

was the suffering of Jesus as the world's Messiah, the incarnate Logos, that could alone be the propitiatory meeting-place for divine mercy and human guilt.

We must, therefore, take a step farther by way of negation and say that the suffering of Jesus Christ as a mere creature of God could have had no expiatory value. Properly speaking, there is no such thing as a mere creature apart from the infinite Spirit immanent in the whole created universe. Preëminently, therefore, it is impossible to conceive of Jesus, the world's Messiah, as a mere creature of God, existing apart from the Logos incarnate in him. We come, therefore, to the statement, somewhat startling no doubt to some persons, that the suffering of Jesus Christ is the suffering of God and is the truthful symbol of his entire expiatory suffering for human sin. In so far as Jesus was the Son of Man, brought into being by the will of God, and having his own created nature and free personality, his suffering was finite, but it was a part of the infinite suffering of God. As then the part, if it be like the whole, is a true and fitting symbol of the whole, so the suffering of Jesus Christ is the one supremely fitting symbol of the suffering of God, eternal in his nature and manifested in his entire universe. Moreover, the two, the part and the whole, essentially one, cannot be dissociated in thought. When we speak of the part we do not forget the infinite whole to which it belongs. When the apostle says that God set forth Jesus Christ to be a propitiatory meeting-place for his mercy and human faith, he does not forget that it is all those in every age in whom his suffering has been manifested, and who make up the full measure of the cross-bearing of Jesus Christ, whom God has set forth for the same holy purpose. Thus, by means of the negations which we are compelled to make, we arrive at the sublime and comprehensive truth of Paul's teaching in the phrase, so often misinterpreted, "the blood of Jesus Christ."

II. THE NATURE AND SIGNIFICANCE FOR REDEMPTION OF THE DIVINE SUFFERING SYMBOLIZED BY THE CROSS OF CHRIST.—Two questions of kindred import now arise: What is the nature of the divine suffering symbolized by the cross of Christ? and, What

is its significance for human redemption? Paul has given us the answers in what we have already been studying. Its essential nature is righteousness and its eternal purpose is expiation. To determine further the nature of the suffering in which God exhibits his righteousness it will be necessary, as already implied, to inquire, first, What is righteousness? second, What is sin? and finally, How does the sin of mankind so stand related to the righteousness of God as to cause him that suffering which necessarily exhibits his righteousness for the purpose of expiation, and so of redemption through expiation?

1. *What, then, is righteousness?*—Strictly speaking, righteousness is regard for that which is right in conduct. But the rule of conduct cannot be its end. The quality and force of righteousness are determined by the end for which a rule of conduct is instituted. These, therefore, must be found in love, for God is love. Out of the divine nature, because it is love, must proceed the rule of conduct for the creature, the same in its essential character as the rule for the Creator. It is the rule by which alone the happiness of the Creator can be reproduced in the creature. It is the rule by which all the conduct of the Creator in bringing the creature into being and in dealing with him is necessarily governed. This rule is the right as known to God and revealed by him to the creature whom he loves. Thus God's righteousness is his love, or regard, for the right in conduct in himself and in his creature, for the sake of his creature whom he loves, and for his own sake in whose image the creature is made. The right, therefore, is the sum total of the wisdom of God in relation to conduct; and righteousness is regard for this wisdom for the sake of the happiness of God and his intelligent creatures. By happiness I mean the conscious well-being of all intelligent beings as conceived by God himself.

Thus the righteousness of God cannot be set over against his love, or his love over against his righteousness. The three elements of the moral nature of God—love, wisdom, and righteousness—are inseparable. Each, therefore, brings to mind the others. What one demands is demanded by all. The feeling caused by one is inseparable from the feeling caused by the

others. The suffering, therefore, caused by the righteousness of God is inseparable from the suffering caused by his love in all its holy activity.

2. *The nature of sin, or moral evil.*—We shall gain further insight into the nature of the divine suffering so abundantly set forth and symbolized in the suffering of Jesus Christ, if we consider the nature of sin, or moral evil.

According to the conception of God and his universe assumed in this discussion there can be no evil in matter itself, for in all its activity it is the expression of the perfect love, wisdom, and will of the absolute Being. What we call physical evil, therefore, consists, not in the action of matter as such, but in its relation to the well-being of God's intelligent creatures. In a word, there is no essential evil but moral evil. Even that also we may find to be relative.

Moral evil is the creation of moral beings. When a self-conscious being possessing the power of self-determination, whether of thought, feeling, or will, chooses that for conduct which he knows to be harmful to his own well-being or to the well-being of a fellow-creature, choosing it malignantly as such, his action is moral evil. As every action injurious to the well-being of God's creatures is painful to God's perfect love, every sin against man is a sin against God and painful to his holiness. As the psalmist says: "Against thee, thee only, have I sinned and done that which is evil in thy sight." Sin is the one essential evil of the universe. But is it absolute and endless evil? It is certainly real and great beyond human thought. But in relation to the purpose for which God has made it possible, has it a sufficient reason, so that, relative to that purpose, though in its nature evil, it is also good, present evil, but eternal good; if great as evil, correspondingly great as good? Sin once committed becomes a habit. The sinner becomes the slave of sin. It utterly destroys the well-being of the sinner for the time, and it is impossible to see how, as such, it can fail, apart from other relations, to impair the well-being of God. Sin by its essential nature tends to become eternal sinning. Will it in fact become so?

Certainly it will do so unless some provision be found for putting an end to it. The sinner must be put out of existence or made permanently holy. Thus for every human being that has fallen into sin there are three possibilities: annihilation, redemption, or eternal sinning with its consequent misery. In the first and third of these possibilities the evil of sin would seem to be absolute and eternal. The question would still remain whether annihilation or eternal misery in eternal sinning might not have such place in the inscrutable purposes of God as to be eternal good. For the purpose of this paper it is not necessary to carry this inquiry farther. Sin is the great evil of the universe. All else that we call evil is but relatively such, and must in a higher relation be good. For every moral being sin must be absolute and eternal evil, except as he is redeemed from it. God has provided in the constitution of our being for its becoming a reality in every man's history, and yet he forbids it, and in ways beyond our complete apprehension provides for our redemption. The great evil of it consists in our persisting in forbidden conduct after we become aware of the law that forbids it. The fact that any conduct is harmful to well-being becomes law as soon as it is known as such. Thus God provides for sin in our personal experience, sustains us in committing it by his own energy, immanent in and constituting our spiritual being, and yet provides for our redemption from its power and curse. If the power of sin were not so terrible, and the teaching of Jesus Christ and his apostles did not seem to so many of the wise and good to require such a conclusion, we should not think it possible for redemption to fail in any case. But, leaving this question between a partial and a universal redemption where it would seem that it must be left as undetermined in dogma, but with a strong trend of hope toward the conception of universal redemption, we may pursue our inquiry as to that divine suffering by which redemption is made possible.

3. *The mode of God's redemptive suffering.*—As redemption thus proceeds from the divine feeling as love, so it must involve all feeling incident to its accomplishment. Two things involving suffering are included in the divine mode of delivering man from



sin. Two words of the utmost significance describe these two realities in the divine experience in the process of redemption. Both are abundantly set forth and symbolized in the suffering of Jesus Christ. These words, so significant, are *endurance* and *endeavor*. It scarcely need be added that they both involve suffering.

a) This is illustrated by all that we know of the universe as energy under law. We are compelled to think of God as the intelligent, self-conscious, causal efficiency of the universe of effects to which we belong. He might be all this and yet lack moral character. But the universe reveals to us that God is love. By virtue of this fact he is a moral being, in the highest sense a rational being, and his universe is a rational cosmos. God is love ruled by wisdom. Moral character is everywhere the same. True blessedness is found in the conscious possession of such character and its manifestation in conduct. From this conception alone is the history of the universe intelligible. In this history, proceeding as it does from infinite love, wisdom, and energy, it would seem that no such thing as evil could have place. That what we call evil is somehow related to well-being as its end we may be certain. But we are no less certain that it is real as evil and for human thought immeasurably great. As such it must be endured for the sake of the eternal good for which it is ordained. Furthermore, it must be endured, not alone by each intelligent creature of God in his own finite measure, but in its boundless sum by God himself, who ordains it and is conscious of it in all its infinite details. It exists for man's redemption, and as such it is a part of that which God endures as suffering for that end.

b) It is also illustrated by the whole process of our spiritual development as intelligent beings. The universe, in the history of its development as objective to divine and human thought, seems to be first physical and then spiritual. When at length in that development intelligence, self-consciousness, and will appear, a kind of life is made possible in which desire and aversion are manifested. The gratification of these kindred feelings we call pleasure, their denial pain. The life which consists in such

gratification and denial is not necessarily evil. For the most part it is good, both immediately and ultimately. It is self-centered, but not necessarily selfish. It becomes selfish when it disregards the true ideal and higher law of spiritual life. The life which goes no farther than the gratification and denial of desire and aversion, *i. e.*, Stoicism, is consistent, under favorable circumstances, with great force of character, refinement of manners, a high order of creative genius, and a severely ordered life, subject to law and admirable for strength and beauty. But it is not yet complete spiritual life. At its best, when from a feeling of necessity, from fear of penal consequences, from perception of the wisdom of obedience to law, or the beauty of the divine order, it reaches its highest attainable completeness, it is never the ideal life for man. It never satisfies the human soul. It springs from impulse and desire which find their satisfaction in indulgence, and necessarily reappear as impulse and desire. The religion of the natural life, so far as it can have a real religion, must be a wise but pessimistic Stoicism, or an ascetic Buddhism; a prudent renunciation of the satisfaction which nature craves, coupled with heroic endurance of all that it imposes upon the hotly pressed soul—a renunciation begotten of an inexorable necessity; or a voluntary abstraction of the soul from all thought and desire—a sinking into the rest of Nirvana. But as the rest of either Stoicism or Buddhism is practically impossible, conceivable indeed only by the illuminated and strong-willed few into whose lives other elements have indirectly entered, the alternatives for the natural man, as said above, are annihilation, redemption, or endless misery. Thanks be to God, there is redemption for him. The love which gives the universe its being has provided it. As soon as man becomes conscious of himself as a free spirit acting in response to impulse, aversion, and desire, he becomes conscious also of a law of well-being, demanding the restraint and direction of these passions. From this law there is no escape. Under it the forces of the universe press upon him from every side, growing more and more severe as the struggle deepens. From its misery there is only one

escape. It is not to be found in Stoicism or Buddhism. It can only be found in spiritual fellowship with Him from whom this universe proceeds and in whom it has its being. God is love, and the entire order of the universe, physical and spiritual, proceeds from love. The natural man, therefore, must find the completeness of his spiritual being in the incoming of love to be the dominant, all-controlling moral force in his life. With immortal spirits this is eternal life. Its incoming is, indeed, a regeneration, a birth from above, both natural and in the profoundest sense supernatural. This, therefore, is the word of God to all men: "Ye must be born again."

Thus apart from any question of sin, and considered merely as life in its most highly disciplined condition, the life of the natural man is immeasurably inferior to that of the renewed and truly spiritual man. But the difference between the two is greater still. In the struggle between the impulses, aversions, and desires natural to man and the higher law of his well-being the human spirit is sure to use its freedom for transgression. The Christian world believes in but one exception. Sin becomes a habit and a terrible bondage. With sin comes a world of evil, of conscious misery — of relative evil, it is true, but tremendously tragic in its power to produce suffering, and of strange persistency and accumulative force in its penal effects. Thus human history, as a record of human development from a state of unconscious but living nature to the divine ideal of true spiritual life, includes a real redemption from sin.

We begin now to see what God's purpose to create a race of free, intelligent spirits and to redeem them from sin compels him to suffer. There can be nothing in the whole history of our race which does not stand related to the divine purpose in redemption. Whatever, therefore, of natural or moral evil that purpose involves, God our redeemer must endure. It belongs to the very idea of God as infinite love that he bears our sins and carries our sorrows. He is tempted — pressed with the reality of things as by his will they exist — in all respects as we are, though without sin. He suffers with us all that we suffer. *His is a perfect sympathy.*

Nor does his suffering extend merely to the *endurance* of all that we call evil in human experience. It covers also, as a second infinity of suffering, all the *endeavor* by which he accomplishes our redemption. What is that uniformity of the natural universe which so excites our admiration, and by which all knowledge and all achievements in science and art are made possible—what but the putting forth of endeavor for the well-being of all his intelligent creatures through a complete redemption? If this thought seems to carry us beyond the number of those who through sin are subjects of moral redemption, this cannot impair its truth. They of the larger company, the principalities and powers that have never been conscious of moral evil, are also ours. Their being, like ours in God, stands necessarily related to his purpose in our redemption. All things are of God, and his love has made all things ours.

Nor is it alone in maintaining the natural order of the universe that the endeavor of God for redemption is to be seen. In the realm of freely acting spirit it is even more wonderfully manifested. It is a part of the moral miracle of the universe that, while in a true and real sense the action of every self-conscious finite spirit is its own, springing from its own nature and giving expression to it, it is also the action of the infinite Spirit in whom the finite spirit exists, of which he is conscious, though he does not immediately will it, which he does truly will in willing the spirit that wills it, and for which he in his own manner as the infinite Creator is responsible. Every endeavor, therefore, put forth by finite spirits in all the ages, prompted by love and put forth for the well-being of the race which God is so gloriously redeeming, is in a true sense the endeavor of God for this holy purpose. No good thing is ever wrought by finite spirits which is not the fruit of the Holy Spirit abiding in them; none in which God and his creatures are not one in nature and purpose, so that, when the finite creature comes through redemption to the fulness of his spiritual unity with God, he can say with Jesus: "My Father worketh hitherto and I work;" "I and my Father are one." Thus the endeavor of all the good through all the ages is the endeavor of God, of which he has been fully

conscious, and its purpose the redemption of the moral universe from evil. In this contemplation of God's self-revelation in all ages we catch glimpses of what is meant by the filling up of the measure of the sufferings of Christ. They are the sufferings of all in whom the holy Christ-spirit has appeared in all the ages, and, as we have seen, are the sufferings of God revealed and symbolized in Jesus Christ.

I have said that such *endurance* and *endeavor* as I have described as inevitable in the redemption of human souls involve suffering beyond measure. But is such suffering consistent with the blessedness of God? We are compelled to say Yes. On the one hand, God is omniscient love, and the universe is inconceivable apart from his love; on the other hand, as God over all, perfect in wisdom and will, he must be blessed forever. We must, therefore, say that his suffering, in which he accomplishes human redemption, is in harmony with his infinite bliss as Father of our spirits and God of all grace. There are two kinds of suffering, the distressful and the blissful. The endurance and endeavor of a holy love, if he who suffers in them is sufficient for them, is pure bliss. There may be pleasure without it, but not true happiness. The former belongs to the natural man, for whom the lack of it is misery, but the latter is the very nature of the new and truly spiritual man. In Jesus Christ we, no doubt, see something of that stress of soul which is possible for the finite spirit in its physical embodiment, but it was not chiefly in suffering of this sort that he was set forth to be a propitiation for sin. Even this was so taken up into his messianic consciousness that we think of him as continually satisfied and blessed in the vision of that for which his soul so mightily travailed. *The suffering of love's endurance and endeavor is bliss.*

III. THE DIVINE SUFFERING FOR MAN'S REDEMPTION EXPIATORY, VICARIOUS, AND VICE-PENAL.—We now come to the question how the use of the word "expiation" is justified, in view of what has been said as descriptive of the divine work of redemption made known in Jesus Christ. The common notion of expiation is of satisfaction rendered to the feeling of one who has been wronged by the suffering of the wrong-doer, or of one who

suffers in his stead for the same purpose. In the case of men as transgressors of God's law, it is satisfaction of the divine feeling toward the sinner in view of his transgression. The feeling to be satisfied is the divine righteousness. The satisfaction is found in the suffering by the guilty of what is justly due to him, or by his representative, who is responsible for him and accepted by God as his substitute and pledge of future obedience. The suffering expiates by satisfying the divine feeling. In all ages and in all the religions of the world essentially this notion of expiation has prevailed. Even where the idea of vicarious satisfaction has been rejected, the suffering of penalty has been thought to satisfy the divine righteousness, and thus make expiation. This idea of expiation is essentially correct. But it must always be remembered that the suffering which satisfies the divine feeling with regard to the sinner is love, not hate. God's anger with the wicked is always a form of his love. His righteousness demands expression because it is the perfect love of a father for his child. Man's vengeance demands that his enemy suffer. God has no enemies in this human sense, and demands that all men should turn to himself and live. Nothing else will satisfy his wrath, for his wrath is holy love. This is the feeling in God which expiation is to satisfy. Everything in it is prompted by love and governed by inexorable law. It cannot be cruel. It can find no pleasure in unrelated suffering. Indeed, in his universe there can be no such suffering. His feeling toward the sinner can demand no suffering whose ultimate purpose, certain to be accomplished, is not the perfection of spiritual life in holy conduct and its resultant happiness. This, it seems to me, is the expiation for human guilt which is made in the divine suffering symbolized, as I have shown, in the blood of Jesus. That suffering is the endurance and endeavor of God in the whole development of the human race through sin to holiness, proceeding from his infinite love and ruled ever by his absolute wisdom. It is the expression, the exhibition of righteousness—love dominated by wisdom—and therefore demands nothing which is not conducive to happiness, the highest well-being of intelligent beings.

To speak more in detail on this most important aspect of our theme, the divine righteousness finds its satisfaction, first, as said above, in the revelation by all proper means of that moral law which is supreme in the divine nature. Beyond this its necessary demands are met in some measure by the infliction of penalty. "Penalty," as the Indian proverb declares, "follows sin as the cartwheel follows the ox." As I have said, penalty must always follow evil conduct according to that order of the physical and moral universe which proceeds from the infinite love and perfect wisdom of God. Penalty, therefore, expiates sin because, so far as it is effective for redemption, for which alone it exists, it satisfies the divine righteousness in relation to sin. But penalty, sufficient as it is within its own limits as an expression of the righteousness of God, and therefore redemptive in its nature, is of very limited capacity for the ultimate purpose of God in respect to his human children. It reveals righteousness as conformity to law, and so makes known its own inexorable necessity. Penalty, therefore, means death, and not salvation. Its purpose is redemptive, but only as it prepares the way for some greater power which shall give life itself. But that greater power must certainly be an exhibition of the righteousness of God. That exhibition, Paul says, we have in the divine suffering symbolized by the blood of Jesus Christ. I have endeavored to show the nature of that suffering and its significance as an exhibition of the divine righteousness. It is plain that, however much it may transcend penalty in scope and efficiency, it is, so far as penalty fails, a perfect substitute for it. It allows that penal suffering to cease which must otherwise be eternal. It does not do this by an arbitrary and irrational withdrawal of penalty, but by such a transformation of the nature and life of the sinner as makes sin no longer possible for him, and penalty, therefore, no longer useful or admissible. The exhibition of the righteousness of God symbolized in the blood of Jesus Christ is, therefore, in the profoundest sense vicarious and vice-penal. It accomplishes fully the purpose of penalty, and far more. It makes such expiation for sin as penalty cannot. Indeed, penalty as a human experience is but a symbol of

the infinite suffering of God in which full expiation is made for sin and the eternal salvation of men made possible.

I have endeavored above to trace the process of regeneration, the incoming of love into the soul as a new spiritual energy overcoming impulse and desire, assigning to the latter their proper subordinate use as stimulants and indications for conduct, but never as supreme motive, giving the latter place to the wisdom and will of God for love's sake, and making conformity to them the joy of life. Two things are certain concerning this upspringing of love as new life in the soul. It appears only when one is brought to see and feel the insufficiency at its best of the natural man for genuine happiness, and when, in this connection, there appears to him a vision of the beauty and blessedness of the true divine life of holy love as it is revealed in Jesus Christ. I say in Jesus Christ, but I do not limit this revelation to the historical Jesus of Nazareth. Wherever the divine Logos has been incarnate, not merely as creative energy dominated by wisdom—the material world—but also as spiritual life ruled by holy love, there has been a true messianic revelation of the righteousness of God. There has appeared the martyr-spirit of Jesus Christ. In Jesus that spirit was revealed as never before, by a transcendent incarnation of God, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, making him *the* Messiah and Savior of the world. But this Christ-spirit has been revealed truly and by essentially the same incarnation in every good man, so that the vision of the divine righteousness has been made possible in him for souls struggling in the toils of sin and striving for true life. Such life cannot be attained without this vision of the divine righteousness revealed in some martyr-spirit. The world needed to see it set forth in such a life as that of the crucified Jesus; and blessed is the man who can know him through the story of his life in the New Testament. But still more blessed is he whose daily contact in life has been with men and women full of this blessed life of love—with someone, a father or mother, a sister or wife, in whom its joyful supremacy has been apparent beyond question—with someone who has been permitted to know the Christ of God as interpreted to him in Christ-like men, and to



read the story of all true martyrdom in the light of the cross on which Jesus, for truth's sake, hung and died. But, however obtained, it is the vision of the righteousness of God as beautiful, blessed life exhibited in that divine suffering, love's endurance and endeavor, of which the blood of Jesus Christ is the symbol. When, therefore, this vice-penal suffering of God thus symbolized has become effective in a believing soul, the righteousness of God has been satisfied, expiation has been made, and he whose suffering for sin has been revealed in Jesus Christ has seen of the travail of his infinite soul and been satisfied.

IV. THE SYMBOLOGY OF PAUL'S DOCTRINE OF EXPIATION RATIONAL AND ACCEPTABLE TO A SOUND MORAL FEELING.—Finally, if this doctrine of expiation is correct, we need not rebel against such expressions as vice-penal suffering, expiation in the blood of Jesus, the suffering of the just for the unjust and of the innocent for the guilty, propitiation made once for all, and others of like nature. It is only necessary to understand their meaning, as used by Paul and John and Jesus, to remove from them all offense. If the language of some of our standard hymns seems to anyone too gross, or too completely identified with the misconceptions and superstitions of popular, hortatory preaching, to be retained in our worship, of this we may be sure: the religious world will never let go the reality of a divine propitiation for sin which underlies this strong language of religious feeling. Jesus did shed his blood for the remission of sin. He did give his life a ransom for many, not merely for our instruction in righteousness, not merely as an example of true life, which is always true martyrdom, but to make propitiation for our sins by a real exhibition of the righteousness of God that he might be just and the justifier of him that believeth in himself. In a word, the doctrine of expiation for sin by the vice-penal suffering of God symbolized for us in the blood of Jesus is the Rock of Ages. It is the miracle of the ages, growing more and more wonderful to our apprehension as we realize that everything in nature and grace is supernatural and miraculous in the true sense of these words, that we have our entire being in God, that he is All in All, that because he lives we live also, and that his suffering

love is the fountain of all our hope, all our joy, and of all true and blessed life. In this faith the kingdom of God will come to possess the whole world, not in name merely, by agreement, by force of the stronger, or by eloquence of the more learned and skilful in debate, but by the life of God springing up in the souls of men and making them one with God, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, through our Lord Jesus Christ.

## THE HISTORICAL AND RELIGIOUS SIGNIFICANCE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT PROPHETS.

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THIS article is strictly constructive in its aim. Based upon a recognition of the right and the obligation to apply the historical method to the investigation of the sacred writings of the Old Testament, and upon the assumption that in revelation as in nature it is possible to trace the progressive unfolding of the divine plan, it seeks to indicate the part played by the prophets of the Old Testament in directing the course of human history toward that "one far-off divine event to which the whole creation moves."

Our general subject is the historical and religious significance of the Old Testament prophets. It is necessary, however, for obvious reasons for us to limit our range of observation, and hence we shall include within our survey only those prophets whose oracles have been preserved for us in that group of writings which in the Hebrew canon bears the title of the "Later Prophets." These books are ascribed by tradition to fifteen different authors, prophets who were active during at least three of the most important centuries of Israelitish and Jewish history, and who by their teaching, both oral and written, undeniably exerted a vast influence upon the development of the Jewish religion.

But before proceeding to consider their positive contributions to this course of development, I must refer briefly to at least two features of their teaching, which are indispensable to a correct estimate of their work and influence. The first of these features is the fact that the prophets distinctly disclaim the authorship of the fundamental religious principles which they enunciated. No amount of interpretation can remove from their oracles the distinct assertions that they were the recipients of communications from a realm outside the world of sense, the

world of spirit. Furthermore, these assertions are of such a nature that the man who denies utterly the possibility of a true revelation can only say that the prophets were deceived, for no honest investigator could possibly maintain that they were deceivers. This is not the time nor the place to enter upon a discussion of the fundamental question as to the possibility and the reality of a divine revelation. The possibility of a revelation cannot be denied by one who believes in a personal God who has given to men immortal souls, while the reality of the revelation upon which the religion of the Old and New Testaments is based may be urged by a great variety of considerations, one of the most striking of which is its own history. For it is undoubtedly true that the very rise and persistence of this religion, which is so eminently fitted to meet the needs of the human race, and which has shown itself capable of almost infinite adaptation to the varying circumstances of all ages and all lands, while yet remaining unchanged in its essential principles, furnishes a cumulative argument for its divine origin which must appeal with almost irresistible force to the impartial student.

Another feature in the teaching of the prophets which must be considered in a comprehensive estimate of their work is the attitude which they take to the early religious history of their people. They come forward, not as bearers of an entirely new revelation, but rather as the exponents and advocates of a religion and of a God whose essential nature and whose ethical demands had been known for centuries. In other words, they claimed to be reformers, interpreters of the old faith in the light of new conditions and present crises, but not in any sense originators of that faith. It is just at this point that one of the most strenuous struggles in the field of criticism and history is making. A powerful wing of the critical school, including not a few earnest and devout scholars, insists that what is called "ethical monotheism" first came into being with the prophets of the eighth century. Now, it is undoubtedly true that these early prophets and their successors gave new direction and significance to this ethical monotheism, but, on the other hand, it

cannot be too strongly urged that their attitude to the past and to the present is inexplicable on the assumption that the ethical monotheism which they preached was a wholly new conception. Professor Rudolf Smend saw this and emphasized it in a discriminating article more than twenty years ago.<sup>1</sup> And in recent years Professor James Robertson, of Glasgow, in an able work on *The Early Religion of Israel*, has, as it seems to me, shown conclusively that the form of the development theory which at present has the strongest following cannot meet the tests of a rigorous logical analysis. We are obliged, therefore, to take our stand with the prophets, and with them seek the root-ideas of their theology in the remote past, in the call of Abraham, the deliverance from Egypt, the conquest of Canaan, and all that subsequent course of divinely guided history. The prophets of the eighth and following centuries were therefore, strictly speaking, the legitimate successors of the great religious teachers of the past, of a Samuel and of an Elijah, who had opposed the constant tendency of their people to give up the worship of their own God for the worship of the gods of their neighbors, and who had succeeded in preserving at least the nominal service of Jehovah.

In view of this unmistakable historical continuity, the question arises as to the ground of our attempt to isolate the authors of the prophetic books. It might seem that the division was purely arbitrary, or at the best fortuitous, based upon the accidental preservation of these writings. But, if I mistake not, there is a logical ground for this distinction. It seems probable that the embodiment of prophetic oracles in permanent literary form was first systematically adopted in the eighth century, and also that the change in method was conditioned by a change in circumstances. In other words, the prophets of the eighth century began to write their oracles, because with them began a new era in the historical and religious development of Israel. The change in political environment becomes more evident day by day, as new discoveries enable us to reconstruct, with increasing exactness, the history of western Asia. During its period of

<sup>1</sup> *Studien und Kritiken*, 1876, pp. 599-664; especially pp. 621 ff. and 662.

consolidation and development the Israelitish state and its successors, the kingdoms of Israel and Judah, down to the eighth century, seem to have been only slightly influenced by the great powers of the Euphrates and the Nile. The rule which both of these powers at different periods had exercised in Palestine had either ceased or was, at the most, only nominal. But in the middle of the eighth century the kingdom of Assyria, whose monarchs had penetrated at different times to the Mediterranean, and with one of whom Ahab had come in contact in the middle of the ninth century, began under Tiglath Pileser III. to assume the proportions of a world-empire. Was it an accident that just at this critical moment, when the growing power of Assyria was looming ominously on the horizon, when Israel and Judah were drifting daily nearer and nearer to the edge of that maelstrom of Asiatic politics in which they were so soon to be engulfed, the prophetic instructors of the people of God should adopt a new and more permanent form for their teachings? Just as the church historian traces in the work of Greek and of Roman history the course of preparation for Christianity, so the devout historian of the kingdom of God must go farther back, and, including Assyria, Babylonia, and Persia in his survey, trace in the growth of these huge empires of the Orient the action of forces working together to usher in that "fulness of the time" when Christ should come.

But our conviction that the simultaneous appearance of the Assyrian and of the first members of the new order of prophets was due to divine causation and not to chance is vastly strengthened when we examine the facts a little more closely. The appearance of the Assyrian, presaging as it did the final destruction of the nations of Israel and Judah, coincided with an unusual development of the nationalistic spirit in both of these kingdoms. It came at a time when they were enjoying a prosperity almost equal to that enjoyed under David and Solomon. And this external prosperity was not without its effect upon the religious life. According to the testimony of the prophets, Jehovah was served with an abundance of sacrifice and a splendor of ritual which gave evidence of the popular zeal and gratitude.

But, with all its pomp, the worship was not acceptable to Jehovah; it was fatally corrupt, and had taken up into itself many of the foul practices of the religion of Canaan. Furthermore; a distinguishing feature of the national religion was a kind of predestinationism, a doctrine of election which held that the religion of Jehovah was inseparably connected with the Israelitish state, and that Jehovah could come into his own as the God of the whole earth only by raising his people to a commanding position in the world. But, as we have seen, the doom of the state was sealed. That the religion survived the fall of the state was due to the work of the prophets. To Amos and his associates God gave the stupendous task of disentangling the elements of true religion from their connection with the state, and of raising that religion to an independent place, and enabling it to thrive more vigorously upon the crumbling ruins of the shattered Jewish monarchy, and to shed abroad a purer and more spiritual light, when the national armies which had hitherto upheld it had fallen helpless and palsied.

In the providence of God the time had come when those foregleams of a universal religion which we find in the promise to Abraham and his successors were to be brought one step nearer to realization, when the religion of Jehovah, breaking loose from its narrow nationalistic bounds, was preparing itself for its mightier sway as the religion for the race. To my mind there is to be found here one of the most striking vindications of the divine origin of this religion. The gods of Assyria, of Babylonia, and of Egypt extended their dominion by force of arms; every Assyrian king gives thanks to his gods for his victories, and ascribes to them majesty and dominion. But when the Assyrian power crumbled, the gods of Babylon and Media assumed control; while in the case of Israel we have the remarkable phenomenon that the God of a people which never ranked higher than a second or third-rate power in international politics, even in its halcyon days, and which was dependent during a considerable portion of its history, was confidently asserted by this people to be the God of the whole earth; and the assertion, was made most vigorously amid the crash of the falling national

edifice, and was adhered to most tenaciously when the hope of national independence had come to be an "iridescent dream." As we view this striking fact of history, we must recognize the working of the hand of God.

But not only does the appearance of the Assyrian coincide with the appearance of a new order of prophetic teachers, but every important historical and religious crisis in the subsequent history is the occasion of a remarkable outburst of prophetic activity. This fact abundantly justifies the modern assignment of the prophetic books to the Assyrian, the Chaldean, and the Persian periods; these names being given, not simply because the one or the other of these powers was for the time being dominant in western Asia, but rather from the fact that the policy of these powers at important crises exerted a decisive influence upon the fate of the Israelitish or the Jewish state, and therefore upon the religion of Jehovah.

It must be admitted that there are many difficulties in the way of the interpreter who seeks to assign the various prophecies and groups of prophecies to their proper places in this system. Many of the books are anonymous, and the question as to the composite character of some of the books is still undecided; but in spite of all this the main divisions are clear and distinct. And while it is as yet impossible to determine the historical background of many single prophecies and to estimate their significance in the historical development of the prophetic religion, it is a striking fact that increasing knowledge of the political and religious crises in the history of western Asia has rendered many a dark and seemingly obscure prophecy luminous with meaning. This alone should serve to give pause to those intensely subjective critics who feel at liberty to disregard utterly the traditional placing of any oracle, and to assign it to such a period as the historical circumstances, the religious and theological ideas, and the language and style, including the rhythm, most naturally suggest. Every sober-minded investigator must, as it seems to me, see in this method only the abandonment of all safe objective criteria, and such a submission to the fancy and vagary of the individual critic as must destroy all hope of final consensus of



critical opinion. Furthermore, the unprejudiced critic must insist that a proper conception of the development of prophecy forbids the adoption of such a rigorous system as to necessitate the excision of all the pictures of a brighter future which form so important a part of the writings which we commonly ascribe to the pre-exilic prophets. The members of this school of criticism are working on an erroneous theory, and hence, without refusing to them our thanks for the new light thrown upon many a problem by their brilliant investigations, we are forced to deny the validity of their conclusions. The messianic element cannot be excluded from the books of Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Micah, and Jeremiah without utterly depriving them of their most distinctive characteristics as prophets, namely: heralds of the eternal validity of Jehovah's laws, and of the ultimate triumph of his kingdom. This, as I take it, is the one continuous, unchanging thought which runs through all prophecy. The methods of representation vary with the individual prophet, and with the changing historical circumstances; sometimes it is Jehovah himself who wins the victory and reigns, at other times the divine purpose is carried out through the agency of the messianic king; but in either case it is the ultimate triumph of the kingdom of God which is described. It is, therefore, not only not uncritical, but is positively demanded by a true historical criticism, to hold that in each of the great crises through which the Israelitish religion passed, side by side with the destructive preaching in which the prophet declared the necessity for the overthrow of the present system and the abrogation of present conditions, there should be found the positive constructive element in which the prophet sets forth the fact that the permanent underlying principles of Jehovah's religion must be perpetuated under new and more adequate forms.

The general principles which have been stated in the foregoing discussion have been drawn from a careful study of the separate prophecies of the various periods, and hence they should be capable of application to these prophecies. A complete survey of the topic before us would, therefore, involve a detailed examination of all the prophecies in all the periods. But at this

time it will be possible only to glance at each one of these great periods of prophetic activity, and to note the action of the various prophets at the different crises of the history.

First, the Assyrian period. To this period belong certainly the prophets Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, and Micah. These prophets have to deal with at least three important crises about which we may group their prophecies. The first crisis to be noticed, while not the first in point of time, was the approaching fall of Samaria, which furnishes the theme for the preaching of Amos and Hosea, and is also included in the work of Isaiah and Micah. All of these prophets predict, without a dissenting note, the inevitable overthrow of the northern kingdom. Samaria must be destroyed because of her sin and her ignorance of Jehovah. Her elaborate ritual, her abundant sacrifices, her worship at Jehovah's shrines, are of no avail; she has despised the instruction of Jehovah, and consequently she must be punished by the loss of her national existence. It was not because she had failed to reach a certain new standard of ethical monotheism, but rather because she had failed to appreciate her own privileges as a part of Jehovah's chosen people, had failed to become an exponent of that justice and righteousness which were the foundation of Jehovah's government, and which she might have known if she had only been willing. Jehovah's righteousness, therefore, demanded the punishment of the guilty and apostate nation. But there was another reason for the destruction of Samaria as an independent nation that is at least hinted at, and that was to secure once more the unity of the people of God. The triumph of Jehovah's kingdom could not be conceived of so long as there were two branches of the house of Jacob, and consequently the remnants which were to escape from Samaria's ruin are described as attaching themselves to the southern kingdom, and sharing in the happiness of the glorious reign of David's house.

About the second crisis, which antedates chronologically the fall of Samaria, the striking Immanuel prophecies of Isaiah group themselves. The historical occasion for these utterances was the combination made by Syria and Samaria against Judah, probably, we may conjecture, to force her into a coalition against the

threatening wave of Assyrian conquest. Disdaining Isaiah's promise of deliverance, the weak Ahaz flung himself into the arms of Tiglath Pileser. His faithlessness was severely denounced by Isaiah, and he was told that the ally whom he had so eagerly sought would, it was true, destroy his Syrian and Israelitish foes, but would also bring his own little kingdom to the verge of ruin, a ruin which should, however, be averted. And, looking on through the gloom, Isaiah foretold the restored prosperity of the realm under that coming king who was to reign in righteousness.

The third crisis was Sennacherib's invasion and the siege of Jerusalem in 701 B. C. This invasion was predicted and described by both Isaiah and Micah, and was declared to be the deserved punishment for the sins of the ruling classes, sins which Micah declares must inevitably result in the destruction of Jerusalem. But the divine purpose as revealed to Isaiah did not include the capture of Jerusalem and the captivity of Judah at that point in her history. As we look back upon and interpret Isaiah's teaching in the light of the events, we can appreciate the significance of that marvelous deliverance of Jerusalem. Humanly speaking, if Jerusalem had been captured, the long course of the development of Jehovah's kingdom among the descendants of Abraham might have been abruptly ended. The time had not yet come when the break between the religion of the true God and its visible outward symbols in the form of a kingdom and of a sanctuary could be safely made. The destruction of Samaria had left Jerusalem the rallying-point for God's faithful remnant; the destruction of Jerusalem would have left no such rallying-point. And one of the most important facts in the work of Isaiah is that he seems to have begun the formation and instruction of that little community within the kingdom; that church, as we might almost call it, distinct from the state; a spiritual community held together simply by the devotion of its members to the revealed will of Jehovah, and able to sustain itself without regard to the fate of the state and the organized political and religious body.

After this invasion Judah seems to have remained submissive to the Assyrian yoke, with the exception of one attempt at revolt

under Manasseh, a revolt which seems to have been punished by the temporary deposition and imprisonment of the rebellious prince by his Assyrian overlord. While no prophecy can be positively ascribed to this period, it is, in my opinion, not unlikely that in the prophecy of Nahum we have preserved a prophetic utterance of comfort for this crisis, which gave the assurance that the fate of the tyrant nation of Assyria was sealed. This suggestion is made with due recognition of the fact that this prophecy is otherwise interpreted by the great majority of modern scholars. This period must be regarded as chiefly a time of quiet, prayerful waiting. The reign of Manasseh was not favorable to the prophetic movement, and many of the disciples of Isaiah, and possibly the great master himself, fell victims to the fierce reactionary policy of that misguided monarch.

But, as has always been the case, these repressive measures failed of their object. The community of faithful souls could not be exterminated, and its members no doubt furnished the leaders for that movement which culminated in the reformation of Josiah.

The last quarter of the seventh century B. C. witnessed a revolution in western Asia. The last great ruler of the house of Sargon died in 626, and the Assyrian empire was already tottering to its fall. Nineveh was captured in 607, the Egyptians were defeated at Carchemish in 604, and the supremacy in western Asia passed into the hands of the Babylonians. These mighty political convulsions are coincident with another remarkable outburst of prophetic activity, centering about the approaching fall of Jerusalem. The prophets of the period regarded the destruction of the city, not only as the necessary and inevitable punishment for the incurable sins of the people, but also as the indispensable prerequisite to the establishment of a new community, in which the ark and the temple should cease to be the necessary elements of religious life and worship, and in which the old covenant upon the tables of stone should be replaced by the new covenant in the hearts of the people. Consequently they foretold, not merely the capture of Jerusalem and the exile of its inhabitants, but also the subsequent reestablishment of the

state upon the ruins of the old monarchy, and Ezekiel in particular, with a wealth of symbol and illustration, outlined the constitution and the law of the new community.

After Ezekiel the voice of prophecy was not raised until the occurrence of a new crisis. But the religious life of the exilic communities was undoubtedly nourished by the writings of the earlier prophets, and their members waited patiently for the dawn of the day of deliverance foretold in those books. The rising power of the Persians in the latter half of the sixth century heralded the approach of that dawn. To this period belongs, in its application at least, that magnificent body of prophetic literature which is now usually known as the "second Isaiah." These oracles have been universally ascribed by tradition to the great prophet of the eighth century, and it cannot be denied that he may have written them beforehand, and that they were preserved as a kind of sealed book until the time came to which they had immediate application. While admitting this possibility, and recognizing the force of the argument from the traditional assignment of these chapters to Isaiah, I am yet constrained to say that, in the light of the analogy of prophecy, it seems most reasonable to conclude that these remarkable words of promise and comfort, outlining as they do the true nature of Jehovah's ransomed people, and their real mission in the world, originated in the time to which they most clearly and unmistakably refer. We are, therefore, justified in finding in these prophecies another instance of that remarkable providential employment of the ordinary course of history to secure the permanence and growth of the true religion. These chapters of Isaiah, then, may be regarded as beginning the Persian period of prophecy. The hour had struck for an onward movement, and Cyrus and the Persians were the instruments chosen to inaugurate it. It was necessary for Jehovah's religion to be cultivated once more on the soil of Palestine, and so, at the bidding of the Persian king, the caravan of faithful consecrated souls began its weary course across the desert.

To the Persian period belong also Haggai and Zechariah, who were called to rouse the people to resume and complete the

building of the temple at the time when the accession of a new king, Darius, made it possible to overcome that hostility in Palestine and at the Persian court which for nearly twenty years had caused a suspension of the work; and Malachi, who seems to have coöperated in the attempt of Ezra and Nehemiah, under the favor of the Persian government, to secure the purity of Jehovah's people by enforcing a proper observance of the law, and by casting out all who refused to comply with its requirements.

With this establishment of the new Jewish community that long course of development which we have seen in its beginning in the work of Amos, Hosea, and Isaiah, culminated. The remnant which was separated from the sinful nation had been preserved and fostered under the protecting care of its prophetic leaders until it was strong enough to maintain itself and secure its own purity. The history of this community, its conflicts with internal and external foes, its remarkable persistency, and its rapid growth, can only be alluded to here. However much we may deprecate the religious intolerance and the scrupulous, almost fanatical, observance of the letter of the law which characterized the later Judaism, it must never be forgotten that, in the providence of God, it was this same fanatical Judaism, with its energy for perpetuating and propagating itself, that prepared the fruitful soil which produced so abundant a harvest when, a few centuries later, the seed of the gospel was sown upon it in the great political and commercial centers of the Roman world.

Space will permit me barely to refer to the attitude of the prophets to foreign nations, to their view of all of them as subject to Jehovah's will, as instruments for the accomplishment of his purposes, and as doomed to destruction, or assured of preservation, according as they do not or do ultimately submit themselves to his rule. One interesting feature in the eschatology of many of the prophets is the fact that the final triumph of Jehovah's kingdom is represented as being preceded by a last supreme rally of earth's hostile forces, their invasion of Judah, and their definite defeat and overthrow by the power of Jehovah. Sometimes the leader of this attack is unnamed, as in the sixty-sixth chapter of Isaiah, or in Joel; in Ezekiel he is described as

Gog of the land of Magog, the prince of Rosh, Meschech, and Tubal; while in the later chapters of Zechariah the Greeks seem to be regarded as the last great world-power with which the forces of Jehovah shall come in conflict.

In the course of this article I have tried to show: (1) that the teaching of the prophets was not primarily the result of shrewd deductions from the facts of history and of conscience, but that it originated in a direct communication of divine truth; (2) that the so-called writing prophets were not the founders and first promulgators of the essential facts of the Old Testament religion, but that, on the basis of their direct testimony and by inference from their assertions and demands, we are obliged to assume that Israel had passed through some such course of history as that outlined in the earlier books of the Old Testament; (3) that all of the prophets are primarily interested in the ultimate triumph of the kingdom of God, and predict that triumph in terms and symbols derived, to a large extent, from their own personal and historical situation; and (4) that each one of the prophets had a distinct part to play in the development of the principles of the Old Testament religion, and that at definite historical crises they labored to secure the perpetuation and triumph of those principles by impressing them upon the lives and consciences of their own contemporaries.

Viewed in this light, the argument from prophecy is, I think, somewhat modified. The fulfilment of specific predictions is still important, but it comes to be a subordinate part of the argument instead of occupying the chief place and, indeed, concentrating attention upon itself. Prophecy ceases to be regarded as the mere mechanical, baldly supernatural foretelling of future events, the occurrence of which furnishes the key which enables us to put together the detached and disjointed fragments, much as the child, from the confused heap of blocks, by the aid of the pattern at his side, can piece out the complete map or picture; and is viewed in its true light as "organically one, constituting a progressive germinant unfolding of the divine plan of salvation."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> PROFESSOR W. A. STEVENS, *Commentary on Thessalonians*, p. 53.

## TATIAN'S REARRANGEMENT OF THE FOURTH GOSPEL.

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THE internal phenomena of the fourth gospel have led of late to a considerable number of attempts to distinguish between an original order required by the connection, and that in which the material now appears divided, whether, as many hold, through accident (Spitta, *Zur Geschichte und Litteratur des Urchristenthums*, 1893, pp. 168-93), or through the carelessness of scribes (Blass, *Philology of the Gospels*, 1898, p. 293), or, as maintained, *e. g.*, by Wendt (*Lehre Jesu*, Vol. I, pp. 228 ff.), and as I have before maintained (*Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1894, pp. 64-76), and hope hereafter to demonstrate, by deliberate editorial adaptation. The work of Wendt, and that of Hugo Delff, entitled *Das vierte Evangelium, ein authentischer Bericht über Jesus von Nazareth, wiederhergestellt, übersetzt und erklärt*, 1890, with its supplement of the same year, entitled *Neue Beiträge u. s. w.*,<sup>1</sup> has, however, a different purpose from that we are now engaged in. It may be possible, in spite of Baur's famous comparison of the seamless coat, to carry through an analysis of the fourth gospel which shall actually resolve it into distinguishable *documents*, or at least a fundamental document, usually assumed to be the autograph of John (apostle or presbyter), and certain superadded material. One of the keenest of American biblical critics informs us privately that he is engaged upon this task. But the general verdict of scholars on such attempts is justly of a discouraging character. The relation of the fourth evangelist to his sources is not a mere matter of scissors and paste, nor is it

<sup>1</sup>See also *Geschichte des Rabbi Jesus von Nazareth* by the same author, where the argument is given for regarding the following verses (in addition to the acknowledged later elements 5:4; 7:53-8:12, and chap. 21) as interpolated, viz.: 2:17, 21, 22; 4:44; 6:44, 54; 7:39; 12:16, 33; 13:20; and in addition the following considerable passages: 1:1-6, 9-19; 2:1-11; 4:46-54; 5:19-30; 6:1-30, 37-40, 59; 12:26-31; 20:11-19; to which 19:35-38 is added in the *Viertes Evangelium*.



to be conceived after the analogy of "redactors" of the historical books of the Old Testament. Even the perplexing question of the sources of Acts is likely to prove less intricate. Certainly the search will not be promoted by ready-made theories as to the personality of the author and his relation to the apostle, nor by artificial devices of separation, whether by sweeping classifications, like Wendt's, into narrative material (secondary) and discourse material (Johannine), or by fine-spun distinctions of style and catchwords of vocabulary. Grant, as we all must, that chap. 21 compels the recognition of more than one hand engaged upon this gospel in its present form, and that the distinction is to a certain extent supported by apparent contrasts in point of view in the preceding chapters, complete documentary analyses will hardly commend themselves to the judgment of the scholarly world until answer has been made to the preliminary question raised now by a sufficient array of competent scholars: Is there evidence in the fourth gospel of a rearrangement of material, accidental or deliberate, producing dislocation of an earlier order? On this we now engage, referring, for a brief summary of what has already been made probable on this point, to the article of Professor E. D. Burton, of Chicago, in the *Biblical World* for January, 1899, which accepts most of the transpositions suggested by Norris, Bertling, Wendt, Spitta, and myself, and proposes certain others, including a rearrangement of chaps. 8-10, of which we must speak hereafter.

The following are typical examples of the discrepancy between the present order of the fourth gospel and that demanded by the material employed:

1. Jesus' justification of his healing on the sabbath, 7:15-24, continues the discourse of chap. 5, as if no interruption had occurred. Jesus is still defending himself against the charge of 5:15-18, appealing as in 5:39-47 to the spirit of Moses' law against those who are condemning him to death for a breach of its letter, although in the meantime the scene has changed to Galilee (chap. 6), and back again to Jerusalem (7:1-13), where the preservation of his *incognito* is a condition of safety he feels bound to maintain (7:1-8).<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> This instance was first pointed out by BERTLING in the article "Eine Transposition im Evangelium Johannis," *Studien und Kritiken*, 1880, pp. 351-3. It was subsequently adopted by WENDT (*Lehre Jesu*, Vol. I, pp. 228 ff.). Both were unaware of

2. The denunciation, 10:26 ff., continues the figure of the sheep which know their shepherd, 10:4 f., and the flock kept and redeemed for the Father, 10:10-18. Yet, in the meantime, situation, date, audience, and provocation are wholly changed (10:22-25).

3. Jesus' answer to the general disbelief, 12:44-50, is spoken *sum Fenster hinaus*. We reach a carefully elaborated ending of the public ministry in 12:36b-41, explaining the rejection of Jesus by his own people as a whole (*cf.* 1:11), as a fulfilment of the prophecy of Isaiah, so constantly appealed to by the synoptists and by Paul (Isa. 6:9, 10; *cf.* Matt. 13:14 f.; Mark 4:12; Luke 8:10; Acts 28:25-28; Rom. 9:27, 33; 10:16-21). Jesus, after announcing the impending withdrawal of his light, has "departed and hid himself from them" (vs. 36b). Yet he resumes again as if still continuing the discourse of 12:20-36, although the changed situation now makes it a "voice crying in the wilderness."

4. Chap. 14 is manifestly a farewell discourse; vss. 25-31 explicitly give the parting benediction and declare that the opportunity for extended speech is over (vs. 30); vs. 31 summons the company to rise ready for departure. In my article, "The Displacement of John xiv," in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1894, I undertook to show, in ignorance of Spitta's substantially identical arguments of slightly earlier date, that the "high-priestly prayer," chap. 17, must have originally followed, while the group is standing (the attitude of prayer, Mark 11:25) in readiness for the departure, 18:1. The interruption of chaps. 15, 16 seriously injures, not only this connection, but its own connection with chap. 13 (*cf.* 15:3 with 13:10; 15:12, 17 with 13:12-15, 34 f.; 15:16-16:3 with 13:20; but contrast 16:5 with 13:36; 14:5 ff.).

5. The story of Peter's denial, 18:14-18, is continued in vss. 25b-27, necessitating the repetition of vs. 18 in vs. 25a. But in the meantime (vs. 24) the situation has changed from the house of Annas to the palace of Caiaphas, with the result that Peter, who was standing among a group of servants gathered at a fire of coals in the court of the former, is now in precisely the same situation, in the same group, and apparently at the same fire, but at the door, not of Annas, but of Caiaphas, before whom the examination of Jesus has been proceeding in vss. 19-23.

Other incongruities of order, perhaps not less serious to the critic, though less easy to describe, have been noted in other parts of the gospel, and are very properly brought by Wendt into relation with the discrepancy in point of view and religious feeling between the evangelist and his material, which

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the demonstration by J. P. NORRIS (*Journal of Philology*, Vol. III, 1871, pp. 107 ff.) that it is chap. 5 which has suffered transposition from before chap. 7, and not *vice versa*. The result of the received order is a complete dislocation of the Johannine chronology through 5:1 and an extraordinary interruption of the account of the Galilean ministry by separating 4:46-54 from its sequel 6:1 ff.

I may illustrate in the following passages : 2:21 f.; 4:43-45; 7:1, 14; 10:7, 8b, 9; 12:20 f., 33; 13:16, 20; 18:9, and chap. 21 as a whole.<sup>3</sup>

We need not wonder that none of the critics who have pointed out these incongruities of order in the fourth gospel, or attempted rearrangements, should have bethought himself to search for external evidence. But the experience which one after the other has gone through is too singular to be esteemed the result of accident. Bertling, Wendt, and Spitta all argued, as we have seen, for the connection of 7:15 ff. with chap. 5, in manifest ignorance of Norris' much earlier argument for the transposition of chap. 5 after chap. 6, on largely identical grounds, but principally because of the chronological difficulties of the present order. I myself, after arguing for the transposition of chap. 14, had the mingled pleasure and mortification of finding myself anticipated in almost every detail by Spitta. Such things must be expected where there is a *prima facie* case. But we have more to relate. Norris himself appends a paragraph to his article expressing his surprise to find himself anticipated by Ludolphus de Saxonia, a fourteenth-century writer, "who seems to take it for granted that John 6 should precede John 5." But how much greater must have been the surprise of Spitta, the supposed discoverer of the disorder of John 18:12-27, when, scarcely a year after the publication of his proposed rearrangement, viz., 18:12 f., 19-24, 14-18, 25b ff., the discovery of the Sinaitic Syriac palimpsest by Mrs. Lewis displayed almost exactly the proposed change of order,<sup>4</sup> Blass pronouncing in regard to this reading that it is "the narrative of a real author; the other one is that of blundering scribes."<sup>5</sup> Unexpected, indeed, must have been the

<sup>3</sup>Since this article was written Professor Wendt has restated his views on the problem in his volume, *Das Johannesevangelium*, 1900. The analytical demonstration of composite origin is clearer and stronger than ever. One cannot say as much of the synthesis. The apostle as author of the epistles and the discourses of the gospel is as improbable a character as ever.

<sup>4</sup>*Sin. Syr.* gives a slightly more complicated order, 13, 24, 14 f., 19-23, 16-18, 25b ff.—which agrees with Spitta's in the essential points of combining the two separated parts of Peter's denial and omitting the duplicate 25a, but improves upon it by avoiding the confusion of applying the title "high-priest" to both Annas and Caiaphas.

<sup>5</sup>*Philology of the Gospels*, p. 59.

discovery ; for the higher critics will be the last to admit that we have here a mere question of text and variant readings, however grateful to Professor Blass for the liberty he would give them in the field of textual criticism. For Blass not only admits the corroboration of Spitta's conjecture, but adds that Wendt's, connecting John 7: 15-24 with chap. 5, is "highly probable," and, as if this were not enough, in the most sweeping terms throws open the whole field of the text of this gospel, whose "special feature" he declares to have been "carelessness in copying and the leaving out of sentences which were afterward supplied in the margin, and from thence came again into the text, but at a wrong place."<sup>6</sup> But such tremendous differences are impossible to account for by mere transcription of texts. Even those who attribute the disarrangement to accident will see clearly how inevitable the assumption will then be that it occurred before the dissemination of the text as we have always known it. Spitta himself will hardly say that the addition of 18: 25a was a *scribal* corruption ; and the evidences of *redaction* which accompany the other disarrangements are conclusive. One may argue with Zahn<sup>7</sup> that the reading of *Sin. Syr.* is a conjectural emendation of the scribe, anticipating the higher criticism of the nineteenth century, but if it be admitted that this is "the real order," the enormous variations made here and throughout the gospel by the entire body of MSS. hitherto known, so far from being "highly probable," would be a phenomenon unparalleled in all the annals of textual criticism. The phenomena belong to the field of the higher critic, before the dissemination, if not before the formation, of the gospel as we have it ; and consequently the appearance of external evidence was as unexpected as it is welcome.

This discovery once made, however, one could not but prolong the search, to see if the second century had not other

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 239 ; also the notes on this and on the passage above cited, p. 59.

<sup>7</sup> *Einleitung*, Vol. II, § 67, n. 12, § 69, n. 5, and *Theologisches Literaturblatt*, 1895, col. 20. Zahn attributes the rearrangement to the influence of Tatian, though it is certainly remarkable that just here, where we might expect an adjustment to the rational order of the synoptists, the Diatessaron, as we have it, follows its ordinary rule of forcing the synoptists into the order of John in the received form.

writers able in like manner with the scribe of *Sin. Syr.* to anticipate the keenness of the trained nineteenth-century expert, whether by the critic's method of conjecture based on internal evidence, or because possessed of unexplained sources of information. With surprising ease a writer of this type was found in the person of Tatian, whose Diatessaron, recently brought to light, affords us a text of the fourth gospel, practically complete, descending from a date as remote as the radical criticism of but a few years ago was willing to admit for the origin of the gospel itself. The changes in the order of the fourth gospel which Tatian permits himself are of the most surprising character, in view of the general principles manifestly adopted in his work, and prove him either to have been a higher critic of preternatural sagacity, or else possessed of unexplained sources of information on this point—in either case a decidedly interesting character.

On the question of the plan adopted by Tatian in arranging the contents of the Diatessaron in their order, which is of vital importance to our investigation, we are glad to have the preëminent authority of Zahn, who in his attempt at reconstruction arrived at substantially the same order for the contents of the Diatessaron as we now find them possessing in the Arabic text. After examining the order with a view to discovering Tatian's method of procedure, he reached the conclusion that "in general Tatian had given a decided preference to the first and fourth gospels over the other two in fixing the order of events mentioned by more than one evangelist, and this for the obvious reason that, being of the number of the Twelve, and actively concerned in the events they were recording, they would be more likely to be correct in their description of them. Where a choice had to be made between the first and fourth, he gave the preference to St. John's order, probably because that evangelist wrote later, and with a knowledge of what St. Matthew had already written."<sup>8</sup>

To this restatement and indorsement of Zahn's general conclusions Mr. Hill appends a very careful discussion of cases of

<sup>8</sup>From *The Diatessaron of Tatian*, by J. HAMLYN HILL, Introduction, p. 26, quoting Zahn.

displacement within the limits of an individual gospel, supplemented by a table (Appendix II) of great value as showing the disposition made of the entire contents of all the gospels. He finds pretty much all the cases of displacement to be attributable to one or more of the following causes: (1) Tatian preferred the order of the event as given by another evangelist; (2) in relating two events which occurred *simultaneously* Tatian considered himself free to put either first, as seemed best to fit with his narrative, since in changing the evangelist's order he was not chronologically wrong; (3) in the case of short comments by the evangelist himself Tatian inserted them anywhere where they would fit in conveniently; (4) he permitted himself to make slight internal transpositions to improve the order of his narrative; (5) where two discourses of a similar nature occur in different gospels Tatian has sometimes blended them together, in spite of the fact that from their respective settings they appear to have been spoken at different dates or places; (6) in one or two instances Tatian has grouped together discourses on kindred subjects—or different aspects of the same subject—as though they had been spoken in immediate succession, which does not appear to have been the case; (7) having identified portions of two gospels, he has inferred that the parts which respectively follow them must have also happened at the same time and place, and has interwoven them accordingly.<sup>9</sup>

With all this as describing the method of Tatian "in fixing the order of *events mentioned by more than one evangelist*" we find ourselves in complete accord, as well as with the inference drawn that, with the possible exception of the identification of the cleansing of the temple in John 2:13-22 with that of the synoptists, Tatian's changes of order of this kind are not due to any lingering oral tradition, but are purely harmonistic. What we have to do with is a totally different class of displacements, distinguished (1) as being limited to the fourth gospel, Tatian's principal standard of order; (2) as not due to adjustment to the synoptists, (*a*) because it is Tatian's principle to do the reverse of this, (*b*) because they occur in passages which for the most

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 31.

part have no synoptic parallel; (3) as not due to any of the enumerated causes, such as might partly cover rearrangements independent of correspondence with other gospels. In fact, they are neither "short comments," nor "slight," nor mere collocations of "discourses on kindred subjects," nor have they been carried over with other transposed material. On the contrary, if we take, *e. g.*, the conversation with the Samaritan woman, we shall find its historical framework, viz., the journey, which might have been brought into harmonistic identification with some synoptic account of Jesus' movements, kept in place; while the incident itself, which is devoid of synoptic parallel, is removed to Part III of the Johannine narrative. More exactly, Tatian leaves John 4 : 1-3a in its connection with 3 : 22-36, but instead of continuing, as we should expect, he takes out all that is told of the ministry in Samaria, 4 : 4-45a, and locates it in the journey of Mark 7 : 31, so that Jesus, after healing the daughter of the Syrophœnician woman, "came unto the sea of Galilee, towards (*sic*) the borders of Decapolis (Mark 7 : 30-37) . . . and as he was passing through the land of Samaria he came to a city of the Samaritans called Sychar (John 4 : 4-42) . . . and after the two days Jesus went forth from thence and departed into Galilee, and . . . the Galileans received him (43-45a)."<sup>10</sup> But the only incident of this stay in Galilee is the healing of the leper, Mark 1 : 41-45.<sup>11</sup> Jesus passes on immediately to a feast at Jerusalem, viz., that of the fifth chapter of John, which here follows. Relatively to the gospel of John the result is to transpose, not only the Samaritan ministry, John 4 : 4-42, but John 5 : 1-47 as well, whose relation we have seen to be, not with the Galilean ministry which it now interrupts, but with a subsequent feast in John, chap. 7, in connection with this very chapter. Is it not possible that we have here an explanation of the

<sup>10</sup> John 4 : 45b is utilized a little farther on as an editorial comment.

<sup>11</sup> Embellished by the substitution of Luke 5 : 12 for Mark 1 : 40, and Luke 5 : 15b, 16 for the last clause of Mark 1 : 45. But, although he thus brings down this healing of the leper of Mark 1 : 40-45 to a date and circumstances so similar to those of the leper healing of Luke 17 : 11-19 that he actually employs the same verse, viz., John 5 : 1a, with which he closes the one, to introduce the other, he makes no identification of the two, for this would of course have involved an alteration of the text.

unexplained transposition which Norris was so surprised to find in Rudolph of Saxony? For Tatian's Diatessaron circulated in an ancient High German and Latin bilingual translation as early as the ninth century.<sup>12</sup>

But neither John 4 : 4-42 nor John 5 : 1-47 has any synoptic parallel, in "subject of discourse" or similarity of incident, to influence Tatian. He could have let either remain precisely where it stood in position relative to the fourth gospel, so far as the rest of his material was concerned. Indeed, he has to make two separate journeys of John 5 : 1 to make room for this chapter. Nor is he influenced by a desire to coördinate the healing of the centurion's son, John 4 : 48-54, with its synoptic parallel (Matt. 8 : 4-13 = Luke 7 : 1-10); for the two are to him entirely independent incidents. Either reflecting on the early particularism of Jesus, Matt. 10 : 5; 15 : 24, he was driven by historico-critical motives to disregard the order of his supposedly dominant authority, or—he had reason to think these incidents came later.

We need only tabulate Tatian's resultant order for the fourth gospel to see how inadequate are the causes thus far suggested to account for the changes. The order is as follows :

(§ i) John 1 : 1-5,<sup>13</sup> 7-28, 29-31, 32-34, 35-51; 2 : 1-11;<sup>14</sup> 3 : 22-4 : 3a ("and he left Judea").

(§ ii) 4 : 46-54; (2 : 23b-25);<sup>15</sup> 6 : 1b,<sup>16</sup> 2b-5a, 5b-9, 10, 12-13, 14-18, 19a, 21b, 22-71.

(§ iii) 4 : 4-45a (to "the Galileans received him"); 5 : 1-47; (4 : 45b).<sup>17</sup>

(§ iv) 7 : 1, 2-10a, 10b-31; (5 : 1a);<sup>18</sup> 2 : 14a, 14b-15, 16, 17-22; 3 : 1-21;

<sup>12</sup> Cf. SIFVERS, *Tatian*, 1872, pp. 1 ff.

<sup>13</sup> John 1 : 6 = Luke 3 : 1-3, omitted as duplicate.

<sup>14</sup> 2 : 12 omitted, probably as = Matt. 4 : 13-16, which follows John 4 : 46-54. 2 : 13 is purely connective and duplicate.

<sup>15</sup> This editorial comment Tatian has adapted to his own uses by omitting vs. 23a. He appends it to the first section of the Galilean ministry before the sending of the Seventy.

<sup>16</sup> 6 : 1a is combined with Matt. 14 : 13a. The interruptions and slight omissions in 6 : 1-21 are, of course, due to the closeness of the parallel here interwoven from the synoptists.

<sup>17</sup> Another editorial comment adapted by Tatian to his own uses, in connection with the feeding of the four thousand.

<sup>18</sup> Utilized a *second time* to introduce Luke 17 : 11 ff.



7:31-52;<sup>19</sup> 8:12-11:57; 12:1 f., 9-11, 3a, 3b-6, 7b, 8a, 16,<sup>20</sup> 12 f., 17 f., 19-36a, 42-50, 36b-41.

(§ v) 13:1-20, 21a, 22, 23-29, 30-32, 33-36, 37b, 38a; 14:1-31a, 31b; 15:1-18:2, 4a, 4b-9, 10 f., 12a, 12b-17, 18a, 18b, 19-25a, 26a, 26b, 28a, 28b, 29 f., 31-38a (to "and went out again unto the Jews"), 39 f.; 19:2, 3b-15, 16a, 16b, 17a, 17c, 23 f., 19-22,<sup>21</sup> 25-27, 28-29a, 30a, 30b, 31-37, 38b, 38d-42; 20:2-17, 18-19, 20b-21:24, 25.

In the above table the divisions clearly marked by the subject-matter of the fourth gospel are indicated by §-marks, separating the content into periods (1) of the ministry of John; (2) of the Galilean ministry of Jesus; (3) of a journey through Samaria and Galilee, and visit to Jerusalem; *cf.* Luke 9:51-56; 10:38; but especially 17:11; (4) between the final departure from Galilee and the night of betrayal; (5) of the passion and resurrection. These are, of course, entirely broken through by Tatian, who multiplies journeys between Jerusalem and Galilee in the interest of harmonization. But the distinction we have drawn between transpositions which can be accounted for on the principles established by Zahn and Hill, and those which are impossible to reduce under them, is unmistakably apparent. Wherever the synoptic account runs closely parallel, Tatian in the main reduces it to the order of John, showing his regard for this gospel not merely thus, but by the reverential care with which he has worked in almost every word of it at the expense of the synoptists, the only omitted portions being mere connective material or editorial comment, and the rare instances where the fuller account of the synoptic writers made it impossible to introduce some word or two of the Johannine story without a degree of tautology so palpable as to be absurd. The omissions all together scarcely amount to a dozen verses,<sup>22</sup> and the transpositions, if we set aside the three great masses of material underscored in §§ iii and iv, are practically non-existent,

<sup>19</sup> This verse (7:31) is repeated. See above.

<sup>20</sup> The changes of order and omissions in 12:1-16, including the omission of 14 f., are to be accounted for as in 6:1-21.

<sup>21</sup> On chaps. 18, 19 see the preceding note.

<sup>22</sup> Of course, we do not include 7:53-8:11, the spurious fragment on the woman taken in adultery, which formed no part of the fourth gospel in Tatian's day.

affecting only the rearrangement of a brief sentence or two, to adapt it to the composite story.<sup>23</sup>

Entirely different motives must have controlled in the transposition of (1) the cleansing of the temple and dialogue with Nicodemus (2:14—3:21), (2) the Samaritan ministry (4:4—45*a*), (3) the feast at Jerusalem (5:1—47), (4) Jesus' self-vindication (12:42—50). Of these five masses of material 2:14—22 and 3:1—21 are transposed from the period of the Johannine ministry to separate occasions of the final stay in Jerusalem and vicinity; 4:4—45*a* and 5:1—47, from the Galilean ministry to the journey through Samaria and Perea after the crisis in Galilee; and 12:42—50, from after to before vss. 36*b*—41. In only one of these instances is there even an approximate synoptic parallel to suggest harmonization as a motive, and in this (2:14—22) it is extremely difficult, considering the ease with which modern harmonists resort to the standard device of *two* temple-cleansings, to imagine that Tatian, who resorts to similar devices to a degree beyond all our conceptions of verisimilitude, should have been actuated by harmonistic motives alone.<sup>24</sup> The question remains: Was Tatian a higher critic, reasoning from internal evidence and the natural probabilities of the case; or had he external evidence, oral or written, independent of our synoptic gospels? The answer is to be found only by careful scrutiny of the transpositions. If the context itself is of a nature easily to suggest the propriety of their removal, while more profound investigation shows a latent suitability to

<sup>23</sup> A complete list of these minor transpositions is as follows: (1) John 12:1—16 (anointing in Bethany and triumphal entry). (*a*) John 12:9—11, which describes the circumstances of the anointing, precedes instead of following it, attaching to the corresponding element of Mark 14:3*a*. This is clearly, as Mr. Hill has noted, "for the sake of neatness in the combined account." (*b*) Vs. 16, the editorial comment on 14 f., is necessarily attached to the substitute, Matt. 21:3*b*—5, and thus loses its relative position. (2) The division of Jesus' garments by the executioners, 19:23 f., precedes instead of following the account of the title on the cross, vss. 20—22, the order of Matthew being here followed (exceptionally) in preference to John, obviously because it purports to be chronological, while that of John does not. (3) In three instances (2:23*b*—25; 4:45*b*; 5:1*a*) Tatian has utilized brief touches of editorial comment for his own purposes.

<sup>24</sup> As we have seen, even Mr. Hill admits this as an exceptional case where tradition might have had an influence.

the connection in which we have been accustomed to read them, they will be due to arbitrary conjecture on Tatian's part; we may be astonished at the boldness and skill of this early precursor of German criticism, but it will be certain that the critic must consent to see himself both anticipated and outdone in his chosen field. We shall not change our ideas on the composition of the fourth gospel, though some positively expressed opinions as to Tatian's respect for its order, as assumed to represent an eyewitness, will be laid up for repairs. If, *per contra*, the context gives no such superficial suggestion of displacement, but on closer scrutiny reveals a deep-seated superiority in the order obtained *after* the transposition, especially if this phenomenon be accompanied by apparent lack of appreciation on Tatian's part of the real nature and effect of the change, it will be certain that he possessed some source of external evidence inaccessible to us.

It will be simpler to consider first the removals, and afterward the new location assigned, and, beginning with the case most favorable to the idea of unsupported conjecture as Tatian's motive, we may look first at the fifth instance, the removal of 12:42-50. Wendt and others, as we know, had pointed out the incongruity of the situation in 12:44 ff.,<sup>25</sup> though even this was disputed by so able a scholar as Holtzmann; but it seems to have needed the superior acumen of Tatian to perceive that the real break is after vs. 41, all that follows serving only to weaken the force of the dramatic conclusion which quotes the prediction of Isaiah.<sup>26</sup> Let us credit Tatian with the eye to perceive this, though we may have more to say regarding his relocation of the passage. We return to the removals from chaps. 1-6.

Let it be granted, further, for the argument's sake, that Tatian removed 2:14-22 to combine it with Matt. 21:12 ff., and omitted vs. 12 as duplicating Matt. 4:13-16; we have still to explain why the Passover visit to Jerusalem, 2:13, 23-25, is canceled, and the dialogue with Nicodemus, 3:1-21, removed,

<sup>25</sup> *Lehre Jesu*, Vol. I, p. 236.

<sup>26</sup> For an independent appreciation of the character of this *locus classicus* of the New Testament writers see the review of JÜLICHER'S *Gleichnissreden*, by SANDAY, in *Journal of Theological Studies*, January, 1900.

in spite of the fact that the journey from Cana of Galilee (2:11) to "the Judean country" (3:22) is retained. Surely we have all read this entire context many times with the mental removal of the incident of the temple-cleansing, 2:14-22, into the connection of its synoptic parallels, Matt. 21:12 ff., etc., and felt no incongruity in the remainder. Yet how extraordinarily felicitous, for a purely accidental result, is the connection which ensues when we pass directly from 2:1-11 to 3:22-4:3, and thence back to Cana and Capernaum in 4:46-54! No longer does the expression "came into the Judean country" sound strangely, when Galilee, not Jerusalem, is the point of departure. Moreover, the entire period of ministry before the imprisonment of John, a unit save for the episode of the wedding at Cana, 2:1-11,<sup>27</sup> becomes natural and intelligible, a prelude to the opening scenes of the synoptic story, which throws a flood of light upon it instead of contradicting it, and removes the tremendous difficulties of the chronology.

But one reader in many millions has observed (*a*) that it is not natural that Nicodemus should speak as in 3:2, when no particular "sign" done in Jerusalem has been mentioned; (*b*) that the dialogue suggests longer and fuller acquaintance with Jesus' teaching than the assumed circumstances admit; (*c*) that Jesus' reference to his impending rejection and death and the judgment to come, 3:11-15, 18 ff., is incongruous with 3:26-30 and the whole period of the early ministry, agreeing better with John 8:15; 12:47 f., and the period when Jesus' life is sought. Similarly it is not difficult to perceive, *when our attention has been called to the fact*, that there are serious obstacles to placing a Samaritan ministry before the very beginning of the ministry in Galilee. John 4:4-42 is really incredible at that time, even in its historical substance. We should expect the Galileans to raise the cry of John 8:48. And what of the

<sup>27</sup> Treated by DELFF as secondary (*Beiträge*, p. 18) on the following grounds: (1) the impossibility of the journey from Bethabara to Cana in the time assigned (2:1); (2) the impossibility that Jesus' disciples, who had only become such a day or two preceding, should have been invited (2:4); (3) Jesus appears in a character (2:5) such as belongs only to the period after 2:12; (4) the character of the σημεῖον in contrast with all the other Johannine σημεῖα.

public, unreserved recognition of Jesus as the Messiah, 4 : 26, 42? The difficulty is surely great enough, even if we place it with Tatian *after* Cæsarea Philippi, and the dealings with the Samaritans *after* the restriction of Matt. 10 : 5 f. had been corrected by the experience of Matt. 15 : 24-28, and Jesus' attitude toward Samaritans had altered (Luke 9 : 51 ff.). An historical critic of the first order might conceivably have been moved by considerations such as these to place the incidents of John 3 : 1-21 and 4 : 4-42 later on in his "Life of Christ." But was this Tatian's idea? Apparently not, since he retained 4 : 43-45 (except vs. 45*b*), which he would surely have treated as he does 2 : 23-25 if he had acted on critical grounds.

Our Matthew, the same that Tatian employs, has no relation to the order of John, chaps. 2-4. But we need only remove the portions known to be derived from Mark, viz., Matt. 4 : 18 ff. and 8 : 1-4, inclosing the Sermon on the mount, which all critics recognize as prematurely placed, to come upon an underlying connection in Matt. 4 : 12 ff.; 8 : 5 ff., which bears a remarkable resemblance to that of John 3 : 22-4 : 3, 46-54. The correspondence becomes all the stronger when the editorial comment of Matt. 4 : 14-17 is removed, and John 2 : 12 brought into the relation with 4 : 46-54 which the handling of its substitute, Matt. 4 : 12 f., by Tatian suggests. Nor does it stop at this point. Take out the next passage borrowed from Mark, viz., 8 : 14-16 (= Mark 1 : 29-34), with the editorial comment, vs. 17, and what follows? The vss. 18-22, which form so curious an exception to the chain of ten miracles common to Mark, in Matt., chaps. 8, 9, and which begin : "Now when Jesus saw great multitudes about him he gave commandment to depart unto the other side." Precisely as *in Tatian's order*, John 6 : 1 ff. follows upon 4 : 46-54!

We need not raise Delff's question whether the marriage in Cana, 2 : 1-11, forms part of the original story, for the "original" story lies farther back than we are now attempting to go. The arguments brought against this episode would lose much of their force if we removed it to the position of 4 : 46*a*, in the interval between the close of the work of baptizing with John and the

opening of that in Capernaum; *cf.* 3:24 (suggesting the omission of a parallel to Matt. 4:12) and 4:54. But for this we have not, of course, the authority of Tatian, who connects 2:1-11 with 3:22 ff. But few competent judges will be disposed to deny that the superiority of connection in John, chaps. 1-4, which results from the removals *made by Tatian* is both extraordinary and profound, by no means easily accounted for as the result of mere critical sagacity or conjecture. It may well raise the query in our minds whether an *earlier* form of the Johannine story of events prior to the Galilean ministry did not have the following connection: (i) introduction; (a) [prologue, 1:1-18],<sup>28</sup> (b) the witness of John, 1:19-34, (c) the call of the six, 1:35-51, (d) [the episode of Cana, 2:1-11], (e) work in aid of the baptism of John, 3:22-4:31 (44, 46a?);<sup>29</sup> and whether it was not followed<sup>30</sup> by a second division on the Galilean ministry, opening after the imprisonment of John, when Jesus, receiving the news in his retirement, comes down from Cana and begins (ii) his Galilean work: (a) the healing of the nobleman's son in Capernaum (2:12\*?), 4:46b-54; (b) the miracles by the sea, 6:1-21; (c) the Galilean crisis, and loyalty and disloyalty among the Twelve, 6:22-71.

We have anticipated in the above the fourth of the great excisions of Tatian, which is made from the material of § ii, viz., John 5:1-47. The transposition of this chapter after chap. 6 we regard as already demonstrated by Norris; its immediate connection with 7:15 ff., by Bertling, Wendt, and Spitta. Is it again pure accident that the removal of it by Tatian from between 4:46-54 and 6:1 ff. not only results in a connection as perfect as between 2:11 and 3:22 ff., but removes at a stroke overwhelming difficulties of both matter and form? What can be more natural than the connection of 4:46-54 with 6:1 ff.? Jesus has done a mighty work of healing in Capernaum. He crosses

<sup>28</sup> Passages apparently *less* primitive than the surrounding sections are inclosed in [ ]. \* indicates a corrupted text.

<sup>29</sup> Or, transposing (d) and (e), the connective material of 2:12; 3:22-24; 4:44, 46, will be treated accordingly.

<sup>30</sup> I venture, however, to bespeak room at about this point for the substance of John 21:1-11. *Cf.* Luke 5:1 ff., and see LOOFS, *Auferstehungsberichte*.

"to the other side of the sea of Galilee . . . and a great multitude followed him, because they beheld the signs which he did on them that were sick." Intercalate chap. 5, and we have Jesus in Jerusalem defending his life against the rabbis in a great dialectic discourse. The occasion, we learn from an editorial note of the stereotyped form (5:1), was "a feast of the Jews," but to this day the dispute is unsettled *what* feast, every possible feast being discordant with what immediately precedes (4:35) and what immediately follows (6:4). And now the discourse against the rabbis in the temple breaks off abruptly, without a hint of how Jesus escapes, or even whether he did escape, and (from *Jerusalem*) he "crossed over to the other side of (*ἀπὸ τῆς ἑτέρας πύλης*) the sea of Galilee," etc. One would almost say in this case Tatian must have seen the incongruity of chap. 5 between 4:46-54 and chap. 6, and removed it for that reason. And yet readers for eighteen centuries did not notice it. Harmonists did not notice it. Critics did not notice it. Bertling, Wendt, and Spitta, searching the gospel for this very matter of dislocations, did not notice it, *when they had actually perceived that the close of chap. 5 must connect with 7:15 ff.* Even Norris' modest suggestion went unheeded till Professor Burton, bringing it together with those of Bertling, Wendt, and Spitta in Germany, gave us at last the true order: 6:1-71; 5:1-47; 7:15-24, 1-14, 25 ff.; with the supplementary transposition of 7:45-52 to a place between vss. 36 and 37, thus avoiding the absurdity that the officers sent to arrest Jesus do not return until several days after. The feast of chap. 5, and its sequel, 7:15-24, is therefore, as Norris perceived, either the Passover alluded to in 6:4, or more probably the ensuing Pentecost.<sup>31</sup> That of 7:1-14, 25 ff. is of course Tabernacles (7:2). It is easy to see what immense gain ensues to the sense, especially in 7:1 and 25, from this final adjustment. We must justify Tatian in making the order of events after the crisis in Galilee as follows: (1) the Samaritan ministry, John 4:4-45

<sup>31</sup> This is also indicated by the subject of the discourse. Pentecost was the Feast of the Giving of the Law. Accordingly in chap. 5 the debate turns upon the "higher law" and Jesus' relation to the Mosaic legislation. Similarly in 7:37 ff. (Tabernacles) the discourse turns on the ritual of water-pouring, and in 8:12 ff. (Feast of Lights) on Christ as the true light.

(see below); (2) a visit of Jesus (apparently unattended, if not *incognito* (John 5:7, 13, 15), to Jerusalem at Pentecost (Passover?), where he heals a paralytic on the sabbath, and thus raises plots against his life, but successfully defends himself, 5:1-47 (add 7:15-24); (3) return to Galilee, where he remains in hiding until Tabernacles (4:45; 7:1-9), followed by a still more dangerous conflict at Tabernacles with the authorities at Jerusalem, in which Jesus is secretly befriended by Nicodemus, 4:45; 7:1-30 (omitting 7:15-24 and vs. 31, the latter improperly repeated by Tatian); 3:1-21; 7:31-52 (but transpose vss. 37-44 and 45-52). Disregarding for the present the location given to all these incidents save that of chap. 5, either our respect for Tatian's skill as a historical critic must be vastly increased by these results, or we must begin to suspect that he had sources of information unknown to us. Somehow he has anticipated Norris in his discovery of the true relation of chap. 5 to the adjoining chapters, and cured the difficulties of the Johannine chronology at a stroke. Whether the fact that the early Fathers in general, and Origen in particular, seem not to have felt the difficulty, nor recognized a Passover or Pentecost at this point, has anything to do with this, may be left unsolved.

But we must turn now to the story of Jesus' visit to Jerusalem at Tabernacles (chap. 7), with Tatian's curious intercalation of the incident of Nicodemus. We know not why he should have removed it from between 2:1-11 and 3:22 ff., why he should insert it here rather than at any other suitable point earlier than the reference in 7:50 ff.; but once insert it here, and the story of chap. 7 and that of 3:1-21 are both flooded with new light. The reference of 3:2 is to the miracle of 5:2 ff., as typical of those referred to in 7:3. Nicodemus comes by night because of the danger involved in openly associating with the sabbath-breaker of 5:1-18; he is already prepared in some degree for Jesus' claims of divine authority (3:1) by the discourse of 5:19-47; 7:15-24. Jesus, on his part, is prepared to take still higher ground, referring to the unbelief and rejection he has met on the part of the teachers of Israel (3:11 f.; cf. 5:38-47), predicting his violent death (3:13-15; cf. 5:18;



7 : 19), and declaring the judgment that will fall on the wilfully unbelieving (3 : 16-21; cf. 5 : 27, 30 ff., 42-47). How strange all this, if as yet he has had nothing but acceptance (2 : 23; 3 : 2)! How incomprehensible the tone of denunciation of the teachers of Israel as a class, and the assumption of rejection and death as a foregone conclusion, if in 3 : 26-30 the joy of Jesus' universal welcome is still as that which surrounds bridegroom and bride! But insert 3 : 1-21 after 7 : 30, and the strange outcome of this first great conflict in Jerusalem is illuminated. After the philippic with which the attempt to kill him for sabbath-breaking had been met, and the pharisaic zealots, though plotting, are cowed for a time (7 : 25-30), we have the night visit of the rabbi, who goes from it prepared to play his part of secret friend (3 : 1-21). The belief of the multitude, wondering at the miracle, provokes a second half-hearted attempt (7 : 31 ff., 45 ff.), but the very boldness of Jesus' appeal (7 : 33-36) gives him a partial acceptance with the multitude, while Nicodemus plays the part of Gamaliel (Acts 5 : 33-42) in the Sanhedrim (7 : 45-52). The section winds up with a clear picture of the divided state of opinion (7 : 37-44).

Are we, then, to suppose that Tatian had the critical acumen to see the incongruity of 3 : 1-21 in its present setting, and its appropriateness after 7 : 30? Hardly; for in that case he would not have introduced the section one verse too far along, viz., after vs. 31, so that, having thus broken the unmistakable connection of vs. 31 with 32, he is obliged to *repeat* it before going on with vss. 32 ff.<sup>32</sup>

But let us scrutinize the disposal made of the Samaritan ministry, John 4 : 4-45a. Mr. Hill's statement regarding it is as follows: "Tatian seems to make this happen on the way from Galilee to Judea, if we connect it with the opening of this chapter; this is the reverse of John's order (John 4 : 3). Yet at the close of this visit (4 : 43) Jesus departs from Sychar to Galilee,

<sup>32</sup> Unless, indeed, this repetition of the context at the point of rupture be a device for calling attention to the change of order, as we remember to have seen maintained under similar circumstances; cf. the repetition of 5 : 1a, and the division of 4 : 45. Perhaps Tatian was influenced by the resemblance of 2 : 23-25 (which he utilizes elsewhere) to this verse.

as in St. John's gospel." In reality, the journey assumed by Tatian, in lieu of that of our John, is that of Mark 7: 31, from Tyre and Sidon, "through (or between) Galilee and Samaria," if we may identify it with that of Luke 17: 11, *i. e.*, along the great road from Ptolemais, across the plain of Esdraelon, "up the midst of Decapolis" (Mark 7: 31), for a last secret visit to Capernaum (Mark 9: 30-33), and thence back through Perea to Jerusalem. Tatian, of course, does not represent that Jesus is now in danger of his life in Galilee, and hence keeps off its territory save for this secret visit across the lake to Capernaum and back (Mark 9: 30, 33); but makes of the escape to Tyre and Sidon (Mark 7: 24), with the return through Samaria and Galilee (Mark 7: 31), followed by the visit to Jerusalem of John, chap. 5, simply one more missionary tour. But the effect in the *relative order of John* is to bring this time of exile and flight, 4: 4-43, exactly where, by the best conception we can form of Jesus' movements, it ought to stand, viz., between chap. 6 and chap. 7. We understand now why Jesus "must needs go through Samaria." We understand his new attitude toward Samaritans (*cf.* Luke 9: 51-56). Since he bade the Twelve enter no village of the Samaritans, but go only to the lost sheep of the house of Israel, Galilee, then so hospitable, has driven him and them into exile (Mark 7: 1-24 and parallels), and there, in heathen Phœnicia, the humble, believing pleading of the Syrophœnician has operated in Jesus' own mind, as once before (Matt. 8: 10), to effect a widened conception of his mission (Matt. 15: 22-28). After this there is related, indeed, the visit of Jesus to Jerusalem at Pentecost. But he is alone, and at first unknown, and when he returns to Galilee, though "the Galileans received him, having seen all the things that he did in Jerusalem at the feast, for they also went to the feast" (*i. e.*, the feast of John 5: 1; *cf.* *Diatessaron*, xxiii, 3), he remains in retirement. We understand, therefore, why his brethren reproach him with *remaining hid*, and urge him to make a *public* appeal in Judea, 7: 1-9. Vs. 1, which makes havoc of the sense after chap. 6, becomes lucid after chap. 5. But is it accident or sagacity which makes Tatian adopt the order 4: 4-45*a*; 5: 1-47 (4: 45*b*); 7: 1, 2-10*a*, 10*b*-31 (5: 1*a*)? The

insertion of 5 : 1-47 between the two halves of 4 : 45, instead of before it, and of chap. 7 before a repetition of 5 : 1, like the similar instance at 7 : 31, looks more like blundering than sagacity; unless, indeed, we adopt some theory of cryptographic hints. At least we may say Tatian's work as a whole gives no such outline of the life of Christ as we derive from the study of his transpositions in the fourth gospel.

Our review of Tatian's resetttings of transposed material is completed; for whether the *removal* of the temple-cleansing, John 2 : 14-22, was primarily for the sake of harmonization with Matt. 21 : 12 ff. and parallels or not, its *relocalizing* would inevitably be so determined. We only wonder that the feast to which it is assigned is distinguished, by the subsequent insertion of John 10 : 22, 40; 11 : 1 ff., 54; Luke 9 : 51 ff.; John 12 : 1 ff., from the final Passover. Perhaps its association in the text with John 3 : 1-21 had some effect. In any event the real temple-cleansing can only have come at the final crisis; for from its nature it was and could be nothing else than a decisive throwing down of the gauntlet to the hierocracy, as it is recognized to be in Mark 11 : 27 f., and as is easily manifest from John 2 : 19; cf. Mark 14 : 58; 15 : 29.<sup>33</sup>

We are willing to admit that the transposition of John 2 : 14-22 might have been purely conjectural. If needful, we may grant the same as to 12 : 42-50, though in the latter case modern critics would then have been, not only anticipated, but outdone. True, we have still an imperfect order when 12 : 42-50 precedes, as it certainly should, vss. 36b-41; for vss. 42 f. do not properly follow vs. 36a, as Tatian himself shows by his change of reading (*καί* for *ὁμῶς μέντοι*). The further transposition of 12 : 1-19 after vss. 20-36a is required by internal evidence; but thereafter the sequence 11 : 47-53, 54-57; 12 : 20-36a, 1-19, 42-50, 36b-41 becomes irreproachable. We then understand (from 11 : 54-57) why the Greeks of 12 : 20 ff. cannot approach Jesus directly; for the public entry of 12 : 1-19 has not yet taken place. Jesus is in seclusion at Ephraim (11 : 54), and can be approached only

<sup>33</sup> Of course, the saying had not been treasured up three or four years in the memory of the false witnesses and people.

through his intimates (12:20 ff.). The scenes of 12:20 ff., 1-19, are prepared for in 11:54-57, precisely as those of the visit at Tabernacles (5:2-47; 7:15-30) are prepared for in 7:11-13. Note also the relation of 11:47 ff., 51, 52 to 12:23-25, 32. Perhaps it is needless to remark how far better 12:36b follows after vs. 19 than after vs. 36a.

The transpositions of Tatian are, therefore, by no means all that are required by the narrative of the fourth gospel. Spitta's in chap. 18 has now the corroboration of *Sin. Syr.* That of chap. 14, advocated by me in 1893 independently of Spitta, I do not deem less probable. Burton's of 7:37-44 after vss. 45-52 is entirely commendable. Finally, in 8:12-10:42, a section which Tatian inserts as it stands, a solid, continuous mass, more complex transpositions are required than anywhere else in the gospel, whether it be for that reason or for some other that Tatian makes no alteration. Here Professor Burton proposes as a possibility the following order, without giving his reasons: 8:21-59; 9:1-41; 10:19-21; 8:12-20; 10:22-29, 1-18, 30-42.

If, then, I may return to the starting-point of an analysis originally undertaken without dreaming of external evidence in its support, till surprised to find myself anticipated by scribes and harmonists of the second century, I may briefly state conclusions as to this section of the gospel also based on internal evidence alone.

Professor Burton has already laid his finger upon one of the difficulties, the separation of the scene of 10:1-18 from that of the connected discourse 10:26-29 by vss. 22-25. Professor Burton would remedy this by intercalating 10:1-18 between vss. 29 and 30. But besides the close connection of vss. 29 and 30, 10:1 ff., as Holtzmann points out,<sup>34</sup> is inseparable from chap. 9. The warning not to follow false leaders, blind guides, usurping shepherds, is addressed to those who submit to the arrogant rule of the Pharisees, who have just excommunicated the restored blind man for his bold challenge of their judgment pronounced on Jesus. He is an example of those who, though unpretending, instinctly know their true Shepherd. This parable on the

<sup>34</sup> *Handkommentar, ad loc.*

instinct of the sheep corresponds to the synoptic saying on the inward light, Luke 11: 34-36 and parallels, likewise uttered in connection with a denunciation of the Pharisees as "blind guides;" *cf.* 9: 40 f. It is greatly confused by the relation into which it has been brought with the (now) ensuing parable of the Good Shepherd, 10: 7, 8a, 10-18, which is indeed related to it, as we shall see, but should not follow it. And the confusion is made worse confounded by the attempt to introduce a *third* comparison in vss. 7b, 9, where Jesus appears as the Door, resulting in the extraordinary mixture of vss. 7-9. To make sense of vs. 8 we are compelled to read in vs. 7 ὁ ποιμήν in place of ἡ θύρα. The change was made to accommodate vs. 9, which in its present place is simply a disturber of the peace. Doubtless this brief parable is precious and authentic, but in the present connection it is inadmissible. It would compel us to reject both parables, on the ground that such confusion and allegorizing are totally foreign to Jesus' teaching. For reasons soon to appear vs. 8b would seem to be from the same readjusting hand.

We are now prepared for the true solution of the difficulty. Its prime cause is found in 10: 22-25, which should be the opening paragraph of this entire section of the gospel, which we are accustomed to open (lamely enough<sup>35</sup>) with 8: 12 ff. At the Feast of Dedication in December, called by Josephus *the Feast of Lights* on account of its salient feature, the grand illumination of Jerusalem, Jesus reappeared in the temple, and was immediately challenged to declare himself in plain terms. If we recognize in 7: 37 f. an allusion to the ceremony of water-pouring at Tabernacles, surely we cannot ignore so conspicuous a parallel as in 8: 12 ff. the allusion to the distinctive ceremony of the Feast of Lights. But this implies that 10: 22-25 should come *before* and not *after* the account of the healing of the blind man, rebuke of the Pharisees who claimed to see but were blind, and the discourse, 8: 12 ff., which begins: "I am the light of the

<sup>35</sup> For how can the series of discourses in the temple (8: 20), debates with the Pharisees, and subsequent miracle on the sabbath (9: 14), with the ensuing events, all take place at Tabernacles, when in 7: 37 it was already "the last day, the great day of the feast," and the whole account of events on that occasion is brought to a formal conclusion in 7: 45-52, 37-44? See below for the true introduction to 8: 12 ff.

world, he that followeth me shall not walk in the darkness, but shall have the light of life."

But one step at a time. What answer does Jesus make to the challenge: "If thou art the Christ, tell us plainly"? From the present context one cannot but admit that it is rather an evasive one, either too much or too little; for even vs. 30 gives no idea of what Jesus means by his messiahship. From Mark 10:45 and Phil. 2:7-9 we know what to him, or at least to our author (*cf.* 1:29, 36; 3:14-16, etc.), was by this time most essential in it—exactly what we have in 10:7\*,<sup>36</sup> 8a, 10-18. The thieves and robbers are not false *teachers*, but worthless *governors* of Israel, kings who sitting on the throne of David have fleeced and slaughtered and destroyed the flock for their own advantage (Zech. 11:4-17). It is because he comes not to be ministered unto but to minister, and to give his life for the flock, that Jesus assumes the title to *govern* Israel, and now he tells them "plainly" that he is the Son of David.

After this we have no further difficulty with the connection of 10:26-39. But instead of passing on to vss. 40-42, which, of course, would close the section, we go back to 9:1 ff., now introduced by an exactly similar escape (*cf.* 10:31, 39 with 8:59). Here occurs the characteristic miracle of the feast, with the resulting controversy with the "blind" Pharisees, 9:35-10:6 (10:9 having perhaps once stood after vs. 5), and its effect, 10:19-21. Last of all the discourse, 8:12-59, to which the closing paragraph 10:40-42 joins on instead of to the almost identical situation of 10:39.

Of external evidence for this complex transposition we have but one infinitesimal trace. It has always been difficult to say why the majority of western texts which interpolate the *pericope adulterae* should insert it at just this point, John 7:53-8:11. Is it barely possible that the scribe who set this example had reason to suspect a gap between 7:37-52 and 8:12 ff.?<sup>37</sup>

<sup>36</sup> For meaning of \* see footnote 28.

<sup>37</sup> Or was he also so sagacious a critic as to observe that after 7:37 ("the *last day* of the feast"), 40-44, and 45-52 there must needs be a new explanation of the situation before the series of discourses and events of 8:12-20, 21 ff., etc., can follow?

The internal evidence occasions only *embarras de richesse*. It is impossible within reasonable limits to do more than make a beginning in noting the references which prove our proposed order the true one, viz.: 10:22-25, 7\*, 8a, 10-18, 26-39; 9:1-10:5 (9?), 6, 19-21; 8:12-59; 10:40-42. But as we follow the page beginning at 8:12 (*cf.* 10:22 f.; 9:5, and 10:4), the presupposition of what the *restored order* makes to precede appears in almost every line. With vs. 14b *cf.* 9:29; with 15, 9:34; with 16, 9:39; with 19, 9:16-30; with 20, 10:22; with 21, 9:41; with 22-24, 9:35-41; with 25 ("that which I have been saying to you from the beginning," viz., "I am the Good Shepherd," etc.), 10:24 f., 7\*, 8a, 10-18. Why does Jesus denounce his interlocutors, apparently without provocation, as "liars" and "murderers," 8:37, 40, 44, 55? Why does he challenge them to "convict him of sin," 8:46, if not because this philippic was once *preceded* by 9:17-34, in which his present pharisaic antagonists had carried their bigotry to the length, not only of threatening Jesus' own life as a sabbath-breaker, but of attempting to pervert one of the little ones which had believed in him (*cf.* 10:28), by telling him (9:24), "We know that this man [Jesus] is a sinner," and again (9:29), "We know that God hath spoken unto Moses,<sup>38</sup> but as for this man, we know not whence he is" (*cf.* 7:28; 8:14 f.). We must remember that in 8:12-59 the Good Shepherd is defending one of the little ones of his flock against the thieves and robbers who have usurped the power they now employ to slander and kill Jesus, to cast his new disciple out of the synagogue (9:34), and to pervert the rest (10:20). *Cf.* Mark 3:22-30 and parallels.

A single objection may be raised—the *πάλιν* in 10:31 (*cf.* 8:59). But the *πάλιν* of this verse is *wanting in both Tatian and the Sinaitic Syriac*, in spite of the fact that both make 8:59 precede, precisely as in the common text.

The transpositions we have proposed in the text of John may safely be left to speak for themselves, even without external evidence. Their very dimensions, to say nothing of the

<sup>38</sup>The Johannine irony is very manifest in 9:29, especially when we note in connection with 10:7\*, 8a, 10-18 that in the Kabbalah Moses is "the faithful shepherd."

evidence of redaction (*e. g.*, in 10:7-9), should at once dispose of any theory of mere accident or textual corruption. Yet the extraordinary coincidence of *Sin. Syr.* in 18:12-27, of Tatian and the peculiar source of Matthew in chaps. 2-6, and of Tatian alone in his major transpositions, is a phenomenon impossible to explain by any assumed critical sagacity on the part of scribe or harmonist. In many cases the assumed sagacity is conspicuously wanting. The alternative remains of extra-canonical sources, a comparison of which by second-century scribes would, under certain circumstances, produce the interpolation of passages such as 5:3<sup>b</sup>, 4, and 7:53-8:11 at points where they were either actually demanded by the context (*cf.* 5:3 and 7), something similar having stood in the source employed by the gospel writer; or else where these sources indicated the existence of a gap (as after 7:52). Under other circumstances second-century writers, knowing these extra-canonical parallels, might derive immeasurable aid in perceiving where the final redactor of the gospel had changed its order, and, if bold enough, like the scribe of *Sin. Syr.*, or if engaged like Tatian in a work of readjustment of the gospel tradition, might partially employ this means.

Such we believe to be the most rational explanation of the facts. If, however, the surprising coincidences show nothing more than a remarkable anticipation of a modern analysis by higher critics of the second century, it will be worth the while of every student to read through the fourth gospel once more in the following order:

- i. The ministry in coöperation with the Baptist. [1:1-18], 19-51; [2:1-11]; 3:22-4:3 (44?).
- ii. The Galilean ministry. (4:46a<sup>f</sup>); 2:12; 4:46b-54; 6:1-71.
- iii. The period of exile and Samaritan ministry; Jesus at the Feast of Pentecost. 4:4-42 (43 ?); 5:1-47; 7:15-24; (4:45 ?).
- iv. The visit to Jerusalem at the Feast of Tabernacles. 7:1-14, 25-30; 3:1-21; 7:31-36, 45-52, 37-44.
- v. The visit at the Feast of Dedication. 10:22-25, 7\*, 8a, [8b\*], 10-18, 26-39; 9:1-10:5, 9\*, 19-21; 8:12-59; 10:40-42.
- vi. The period of retirement in Ephraim. 11:1-57; 12:20-36a, 1-19, 42-50, 36b-41.



vii. The final Passover. 2:13\*, 14-22, [23-25\*]; 13:1-15, [16], 17-19, [20], 21-35, 15:1-16:33; [13:36-38]; 14:1-31; 17:1-18:13, 24, 14, 15, 19-23, 16-18, 25b-40; 19:1-20:31; [21:1-25].

The transpositions underscored with a straight line rest upon internal evidence only; that underscored with a wavy line is supported by the Sinaitic Syriac. The rest, including all the major transpositions, are supported by Tatian.

## CRITICAL NOTE.

### PAPPISCUS AND PHILO.

IN 1889 Professor Arthur C. McGiffert published an early Christian dialogue entitled *Ἀντιβολή Παπίσκου καὶ Φίλωνος Ἰουδαίων πρὸς μοναχόν τινα*. Professor McGiffert reported the dialogue as extant in three manuscripts, and made full use of two of these in the construction of his text. The variants of the third he was able to present only for the first chapter and a half of his edition. In April, 1899, while working in the Royal Public Library at Dresden, I found a fourth manuscript of the dialogue, which seems to merit a brief notice.<sup>1</sup>

The original dialogue lying back of the extant editions seems to have been composed in Egypt in the sixth century.<sup>2</sup> Professor Zahn, following the suggestion of the name Παπίσκος, finds in the dialogue remains of the lost *Dialogue of Jason and Papiscus* of Ariston of Pella;<sup>3</sup> but in this he has not been followed by the other critics. Besides suffering revision at least twice, the material of it was used by Anastasius Abbas, toward the end of the ninth century, in the composition of his *Διάλεξις κατὰ Ἰουδαίων*.

<sup>1</sup> ARTHUR CUSHMAN MCGIFFERT, *Dialogue between a Christian and a Jew*. New York: 1889. As early as 1880 Professor Zahn had read the dialogue in the Venice manuscript. Cf. ZAHN, *Acta Joannis* (1880), p. liv, n. 2; HARNACK, *Texte und Untersuchungen*, Bd. I, Heft 3 (1883), p. 126, n. 123. There is said to be a fifth manuscript of the dialogue in one of the libraries at Athos, but I have no particulars.

<sup>2</sup> Harnack, evidently meaning the original work, refers it, though not positively, to the sixth century; cf. HARNACK, *Altchristliche Litteratur: Die Ueberlieferung und der Bestand*, p. 94, 10; MCGIFFERT, *op. cit.*, p. 42. Bardenhewer assigns it to ca. 700 A. D., evidently meaning the recension represented by V; cf. BARDENHEWER, *Patrologie*, p. 539; MCGIFFERT, *op. cit.*, p. 43. McGiffert regards the recension represented by P as made about 1070 A. D.

<sup>3</sup> Ἰάσονος καὶ Παπίσκου ἀντιλογία περὶ Χριστοῦ. This was written between the destruction of Jerusalem by Hadrian (135 A. D.) and the time of Celsus (170 A. D.), as notices in Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and Eusebius indicate. Cf. HARNACK, *Die Chronologie*, p. 268; THEODOR ZAHN, *Forschungen zur Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons*, IV, pp. 321 ff. (1891). Not knowing of McGiffert's edition, Zahn reports only two manuscripts, V and M.

The two manuscripts used by Professor McGiffert were a Paris manuscript of the twelfth century (P)<sup>4</sup> and a Venice manuscript of the fourteenth (V).<sup>5</sup> These were found to represent different recensions of the dialogue, P containing, *e. g.*, considerable interpolations, and V was made the basis of the published text. The manuscript of which Professor McGiffert made only partial use is at Moscow, and comes from the fifteenth century (M).<sup>6</sup> So little has been done with M that it is doubtful which recension it represents. Its readings, as far as published, show some conspicuous agreements with P, but, on the other hand, it seems hardly long enough to contain the interpolations. Thus of the three manuscripts only one, V, is certainly a witness for the text of the earlier recension. The interest of the Dresden manuscript lies in the fact that it is a second and quite independent witness to the same recension.

The Dresden manuscript (D)<sup>7</sup> is a fifteenth-century folio of six paper leaves, each cm. 28.5 by 21.2. It is written in single columns, with from twenty-nine to thirty-one lines to the page. It begins with the dialogue, the title in red standing at the top of the first *recto*. The dialogue ends on the sixth *recto*, and the rest of the manuscript, forty-one lines, is occupied with three mutually independent paragraphs of kindred material. While the six leaves now stand alone, it is clear that they once formed part of a considerable volume. The number 0 in red at the top of *rectos* 2-6 shows that these leaves belonged to the ninth quire of a book; and traces of the title of another work, printed off on the last *verso* from the top of a now missing page, show that the codex did not end here. The explanation of the manuscript's condition has lately been supplied by Dr. von Gebhardt, who has shown that the manuscript has an interesting history.<sup>8</sup> It belonged to a large collection of manuscripts sold in 1788 to the Electoral Library in Dresden by Christian Friedrich Matthaei. These and other manuscripts now in Leyden, Göttingen, Leipzig, St. Petersburg, and Charkov, Matthaei seems to have obtained by systematic theft, carried on through several years, while he was engaged in cataloguing the manuscripts of the Library of the Most Holy Synod in Moscow. The plundering of this, and probably also of the Library of the Archives of the Ministry

<sup>4</sup> *Par. Cod. Graec.* 1111.

<sup>5</sup> *Ven. Cod. Graec.* 505.

<sup>6</sup> *Bibl. Sanct. Synod., Cod. Graec.*  $\frac{314}{ccci}$ .

<sup>7</sup> Dresden Kgl. Bibl., A 109 (Matthaei no. 39).

<sup>8</sup> Cf. O. VON GEBHARDT, *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, XV (1898), pp. 477, 478.

of Foreign Affairs, was facilitated by the fact that Matthaei was allowed to take numbers of books at a time to his home to work on. Where the appropriation of complete codices was likely to arouse suspicion, Matthaei seems to have abstracted a few leaves, which was the more easily done as many of the books were in very bad condition and greatly in need of binding. Probably in this way the Dresden leaves of the dialogue were separated from the codex to which they belonged. But the manuscript is in no sense fragmentary. The red traces on the sixth *verso* show that a new and independent work began at the top of the following page, and assure us that we have not only all of the dialogue, but all its appendices.

Of the origin of the Dresden manuscript nothing seems to be known. It was clearly part of a larger book from which Matthaei probably took it; but to which of the Moscow libraries it belonged Dr. von Gebhardt found nothing to show. Before the beginning of the seventeenth century the Moscow libraries had hardly any Greek manuscripts. They derived the most of their manuscript wealth from the monasteries of Athos, about 1655, although a few manuscripts came to them from Constantinople, Janina, and Jerusalem.<sup>9</sup> In any case, we have in M and D two manuscripts of the dialogue written in the fifteenth century and traceable to Moscow;<sup>10</sup> and the question of their possible relationship arises. But the collations show that D is not a transcription of M, nor M of D; nor are D and M copies from the same exemplar.

The following collation of D is based upon the published text of Professor McGiffert. It is arranged so as to show the readings of the other manuscripts and Anastasius in all instances where D departs from the published text. Where the witnesses are not particularly cited, they are to be understood as supporting the published reading. But it must be remembered that the readings of M are known for the first two or three pages only of the published text.

Page 51, l. 1 Παπίσκον c. V *pro* Παπίσκον PM 2 ἀναχωρήτην *pro* μοναχόν 3 Ἀναστάσιον *add* c. V *post* τινα 6 Παπίσκος (*corr* ?) c. V *pro* Παπίσκος 10 ἀπεκρίθη *pro* -θην V | ἀναχωρήτης *pro* μοναχός V.

<sup>9</sup> But a more western origin is made probable for D by the evidence of its paper, which bears prevailing a Swiss, or possibly Italian, watermark of the fourteenth century. Cf. E. KIRCHNER, *Die Papiere des XIV. Jahrhunderts*, etc. (1893), p. 22, no. 54 in the plates; also C. M. BRIQUET, *Papiers et Filigranes*, p. 70, pl. nos. 53 and 58.

<sup>10</sup> Both manuscripts were in Moscow in Matthaei's time. On the previous history of M cf. his remark, "fuit antea in monasterio Iberorum," in the catalogue notice of it.

52:3 εἶπεν *c.* M *pro* εἶπε V; *om* P 5 *μόνον suprl marg post* τοῦτο 21 *ὅτι add ante* οὐ 23 τοῦ *add ante* κεραμέως.

53:2 εἰ *om c.* V.

54:8 ρ θ *c.* P An *pro* ἑκατοστῷ ἐννάτῳ V 10 οὖν *om prim man; suprl marg* 22 ἐγένινοντο 23 εἰ *om prim man c.* P An; *suprl marg c.* V 24 τὸν *pro* τὴν<sup>1</sup> | ἐπέισθης ἄρα κἀν ἄρτι, ὅτι περὶ τοῦ χριστοῦ [καὶ θεοῦ *add P*] ἡμῶν λέγει [ἔστιν P] ὁ λόγος οὗτος [οὗτος ὁ λόγος P]; αὐτὸς γάρ ἐστιν ἱερεὺς εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα κατὰ τὴν τάξιν Μελχισεδέκ *post* Μελχισεδέκ *add c.* P.

55:9 τῶν *om c.* P An 11 ὁά *c.* P *pro* ἐβδομηκοστῷ πρώτῳ V.

56:12 ἀληθεὶς *pro* -θῆς 14 οὐ *om prim man; suprl corr* 15 χριστὸν *c.* V *pro* θεὸν P An 17 ἠγάκασεν *c.* V *pro* ἠνέγκασεν 22 τοῦ *om* 24 οὖν *om prim man; suprl marg.*

57:2 μετὰ καλοῦ, μελλητικὸν *pro* καλῶς λέγετε | ἔστι *pro* ἔστιν 8, 14 Ἀμβρακὸν *c.* P *pro* Ἀβρακὸν V.

58:2 πάντα *om c.* P An 4 ἴδωσαν *pro* ἴδωσαν V; P εἶδωσαν 7 ἐβασίλευσε *pro* -σεν 8 τὸν οὐ *corr* 9 λαόν μου *om prim man; suprl marg* 18 προσδωκῶσιν *pro* προσδοκῶσιν: P προσδοκοῦσιν 19 προσδοκοῦσιν *pro* προσδοκῶσιν: P προσκυνοῦσι.

59:1 ἦλθε *c.* An *pro* ἦλθεν 3 ὁ *om prim man; suprl corr* 4 ὑμῖν *pro* ὑμῖν 19 σήμερον *add post* εὐρίσκετε 20 οὐδέν<sup>2</sup> *om.*

60:1 καρπῶσαι *pro* καταπῶσαι 3 *tr* ἔδωκεν ὑμῖν *c.* P An 4 *tr* ἐξ ὑμῶν ἀφειλετο | *tr* καὶ ἡμῖν αὐτὰ δέδωκε [P ἔδωκεν] *c.* P 7 ἐπέρασεν *pro* -σας 12 κἀν *pro* καὶ 16 *tr* Βηθλεὲμ καὶ τὴν Σιών *c.* P; An Βηθλεὲμ καὶ Σιών 17, 18 *tr* ἐκζήτησον τὴν ὑπ' οὐρανὸν ὅλην, παρέλθε δύσιν, ἐπισκόπησον [-σκόπη *prim man om; suprl marg*] ἀνατολὴν *c.* V *qui vero amb lect habet.*

61:9 καὶ *add ante* ἀπόλλυσθαι 10 τοσοῦτον *pro* τούτων.

62:11 *tr* ὁ Δαβὶδ περὶ ὑμῶν *c.* P 13 συνήσουσι *pro* -σιν.

63:2 μὲν *om prim man; suprl marg* 6 ἔστι [ὁ *add An*] Νέρων *c.* An *pro* ἔστιν Ἡρώδης 7 ποῦ, Ἡρώδης *add post* Οὐεσπασιανὸς 9 μὴδὲ νικήσαντες *add post* κλείσαντες (*cf.* P κινήσαντες *pro* κλείσαντες) 10 ὅτι *add post* εἰπὼν 18 προσκυνούμενον *c.* V *pro* προσκυνούμεν P An.

64:5 καὶ *om ante* υἱοῦ 6 ἡμῶν *pro* ὑμῶν 8 *tr* ἐψεύσατο ταῦτα *c.* An | ἐν τοῦτοις *om* 10 Ἰουδαίων *c.* V *pro* Ῥωμαίων P; An *om.*

65:1 προεῖπε *pro* -εν 2 ἡμέραν *corr* 6 ἠρώτησαν *pro* ἐρώτησαν 15 παριστάντες *pro* παριστῶντες 23 ὄξος *pro* ὄξον | ἱμάτια *add prim man ante* τὰ ἱμάτια; *del rubr.*

66:1, 2 *tr* ταῦτα ὅτι ἔπαθεν 2 ἐκεῖνοι *add post* ἐὰν 4 Ὡσιὲ *pro* Ὡσηὲ 5 ἀγιάσει *pro* ὑγιάσει.

66:7—73:32 (*cap* 12) *om c.* V.

74:13 περιτίθησι *pro* -σιν 14 Ἱερεμίον *pro* Ἱεριμίου.

74:15—75:8 ἐγὼ μὲν—ἡρνήσασθε *om*; *v. infra sub.* 76:2.

75:11 ἡμῶν *pro* ὑμῶν 16 μοι *add post* ἐγκαλέσης.

76:1 Ἰεζεκίαν *pro* Ἰεζεκιῇ P; Ἐζεκίαν V; An *om* 2 *post* διδάσκοντάς σε; *add* 74:15—75:8 ἐγὼ μὲν—ἡρνήσασθε.

74:17 ξύλον *om prim man*; *suppl marg* 20 σοι ξύλον *om prim man*; *suppl corr.*

76:5 θεωρήσας *c.* V(?) *pro* θεωρήσαντες 6 Μωσέως *c.* VP *pro* Μωυσέως | *tr* τῇ θαλάσῃ ἐρυθρᾷ: V τῇ ἐρυθρᾷ θαλάσῃ: τῇ θαλάσῃ τῇ ἐρυθρᾷ P 13 ἐπιδεδωκώς *c.* V *pro* ἐπιδοῦς P: An ἐπιδώσας 14 Μωσεία *c.* VP *pro* Μωυσεία 17 Μωσῆς *c.* V *pro* Μωυσῆς 18 ἡμῶν *pro* ὑμῶν.

77:5 Μωσέως *c.* V *pro* Μωυσέως 7 Μωσῆς *pro* Μωυσῆς 8 ἐξεστραμένη *pro* -μμένη.

78:16 τοῦτο *prim man*; *corr* τοῦτω.

79:2 ἰ *c.* P *pro* δέκα 3 ἡρήμωσαν *pro* ἐρήμωσαν 18 ὡς *c.* P An *pro* ὥσπερ.

80:9 τῷ διαβόλῃ *c.* P An *pro* τοῖς δαιμονίοις.

80:20—83:8 (*cap* 17, 18) *om c.* V.

The Dresden manuscript is an additional witness for the text represented by V. Not only does it agree with V in lacking the extensive interpolations of P (chaps. 12, 17, 18), but in the parts common to all three, D and V agree against P in an overwhelming majority of readings. D is not a mere copy of V, however; in one conspicuous case it enables us to correct V. In this D has the support of P, but not of An. The passage, which Professor McGiffert rejected as one of P's interpolations, consists of two short sentences following the words *ιερεὺς εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα κατὰ τὴν τάξιν Μελχισεδέκ.*<sup>12</sup> But the passage itself ends in these very words, which at once suggests that it fell out of the text through an error of the eye—a case of homoioteleuton. Internal evidence seems to favor the passage,<sup>13</sup> and the generally rigid fidelity of D to the text of V,<sup>14</sup> together with P's attestation of the passage, makes

<sup>12</sup> MCGIFFERT, *op. cit.*, p. 54, l. 24; chap. 5.

<sup>13</sup> The alternative view would be that D comes from an ancestor representing a recension intermediate between V and P, the reviser having inserted this passage. But it is hardly conceivable that a reviser would have stopped with this addition, and not at least have smoothed out some of V's obscurities and abruptnesses, practically all of which are preserved in D.

<sup>14</sup> The agreement of D and V in a number of difficult and obscure readings is very noticeable, *e. g.*, 52:3; 53:2. In 57:2 D seems to preserve a more original text than V. D agrees with V in reading *Παπρίσκος*, *Παπρίσκου*, spellings rejected by Professor McGiffert, but advocated by Professor Zahn; *cf. Forschungen*, IV (1891), p. 321, footnote 1).

the external evidence very strong. It is certainly easier to see how the words could have fallen out of the text than to see how they could have crept in.

D's only other striking departure from V is in the transposition of two sections on image-worship. In Anastasius the material relating to image-worship is presented together. This brings into a single paragraph,<sup>14</sup> first the substance of chap. 1, then chap. 15, ll. 2-6, and then the latter half of chap. 13. D agrees with An in the latter particular, placing chap. 13<sup>b</sup> after the opening lines of chap. 15. Whether this argues any historical connection between D and An may be questioned; in any case, it illustrates the same tendency to rearrange topically the materials of the edition represented by V. That D and An here preserve the order of the true text as against V and P seems very unlikely. Professor McGiffert regards these three passages as contributions of the seventh-century redactor, to whom V owes its essential form; and their partial dislocation in D may go back to the period when their position in the text was not firmly established.<sup>15</sup>

The evident conclusion as to the textual relations of D and V is that they represent the same recension and type of text. From this V has departed most seriously in the omission of *ἐπίσθης* — *Μελχισεδέκ* of chap. 5, and D, in the dislocation of the image-worship section belonging to chap. 15. Finally the manuscript of the D-V recension, on which the eleventh-century revision represented by P was based, must have been free from both these imperfections.

The Dresden manuscript further contains three paragraphs of kindred material by way of appendices. It is clear that these are not intended to form part of the dialogue; the latter ends with a doxology, and the paragraphs are set off from each other and from it by large marginal capitals in red, such as occur nowhere in the body of the dialogue. The first and longest of these appendices proves to be substantially identical with the opening paragraph of Anastasius' *Διάλεξις κατὰ Ἰουδαίων* already mentioned. The differences between them suggest that in Anastasius the paragraph has been revised throughout, and a new item is added to the already long list of Anastasius' literary obligations. There are appended to the *Διάλεξις* several anti-Jewish pieces like the two remaining paragraphs of the Dresden manuscript, but these particular paragraphs do not appear among them.

<sup>14</sup> MIGNE, *Patr. Graec.*, 89, col. 1233 CD, 1236 A.

<sup>15</sup> Part of the material of the first of these sections Professor Zahn has found in ST. JOHN OF DAMASCUS, *De imaginibus, oratio* III, ed. Lequien, p. 385; MIGNE, *Patr. Graec.*, 94, col. 1409.

The following collation of the first paragraph is with the edition of Migne—which, however, agrees entirely with that of Mai—*Patr. Graec.*, 89, coll. 1204-5:

1204 A Ὅτε μέλλεις Ἰουδαῖον ὦ Χριστιανὲ ἀπαντῆσαι εἰς διάλεξιν, πρὸ ταύτης πρό γε παντὸς, ὀφείλεις τὸν Ἰουδαῖον ἐρωτῆσαι· εἰπέ μοι διατί Ἑβραῖος ἀκούεις, Ἰουδαῖος καὶ Ἰσραηλῆτης· τίς ἐστιν ἡ ἑρμηνεία τῶν τριῶν ὀνομάτων τούτων; καὶ ὅτε εἶπη ὁ Ἰουδαῖος *pro* Ὁ Χριστιανὸς—ὁ Ἰουδαῖος | καλεῖσθαι *pro* κληθῆναι | *tr* Ἰσραὴλ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ | καὶ συ *add post* αὐτῷ | *tr* εἶπης μοι | Ἑβραῖος Ἰουδαῖος *pro* Ἰουδαῖος καὶ Ἑβραῖος καὶ | καὶ *add ante* εἰ μὲν | εὖρη *pro* εὔροι | ἰδοὺ οἶδας τὸ ὄνομα σου *pro* διὰ τοῦτο Ἰουδαῖός ἐστι τὸ ὄνομά σου | καὶ εἰθ'—προφητῶν *om* | εὖρη *pro* εὔροι | ἄλλο *add post* ῥῆμα | μάθε τέως *pro* μαθητεύου | καλῇ *pro* καλεῖ σε | πιστεῶς *pro* τῆς πιστεῶς σου. B διαβατὸς *pro* διαβάτης | ὅτι *pro* διότι | τὴν ἐρυθρὰν καὶ τὸν Ἰορδάνην *pro* τὸν Ἰορδάνην καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν | Ἰσραὴλ *pro* Ἰσραηλῆτης | ἐρμηνεύεται *om* | αὐτὸς γὰρ *pro* ἐπειδὴ αὐτοὶ | τὸν *om ante* θεὸν | ἐγνώρισε *pro* ἐγνώρισαν | πέρατα *pro* περάτης | ὅτι *pro* ἐπειδὴ | εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν *pro* τὸν Ἰορδάνην | Ἰσραὴλ *pro* Ἱερουσαλὴμ | κύριος *pro* καὶ *ante* Σαβαῶθ | ἐρμηνεύτης *pro* ἐρμηνεύεται εἰρηνευτής | ὡσαννὰ ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις *add post* στρατιῶν | ὅρος—βάτος *om* | Μωσῆς ἐρμηνεύεται ἐν πίστει *pro* Μωυσῆς δὲ Αἰγυπτιακῇ θιβη | ξυλίην θήκη *pro* ξιλίην θίβη | Σαμουὴλ *pro* Σελὴμ | ἐρμηνεύεται *om* | Ῥαθούμ κατὰρα ἐρμηνεύεται *pro* Ῥαιθού—αὐτόν. C ὁ πρόδρομος, κυρίου *pro* Ἰωάννης—Κυρίψ | λέγεται *add post* Βηθλεὲμ | ἐν αὐτῇ *pro* ἐκεῖ | ἐγεννήθη *pro* ἐγενήθη | θεὸς *pro* κύριος *ante* ἡμῶν | ὁ *add ante* Ἰορδάνης | λέγεται κατάβασις *pro* συγκατάβασις αὐτοῦ | ἐκεῖ *add post* ἐπειδὴ | ὁ Κύριος, καὶ ἐβαπτίσθη αὐτὸς *om*.

1205 A ζῶντος *om* | ὁ σωτὴρ *pro* σωτηρία | ἡ ἀπώλεια *add post* Ἰουδαίων· τε καὶ *om* | αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα ᾧμα τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ παναγίῳ καὶ ἀγαθῷ καὶ ζωοποιῷ αὐτοῦ πνεύματι, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν *add post* καθαίρεσις.

Appendices II and III are as follows:

Περὶ τῆς ἀναίρεσεως τοῦ χριστοῦ φησὶ Ἡσαίας, ὡς πρόβατον ἐπὶ σφαγὴν ἦχθη. ἵνα δὲ γνῶς ὅτι σωτήριος τοῖς ἀνθρώποις γεγέννηται, φησὶ πάλιν ὁ αὐτὸς· τῷ μῶλωπι αὐτοῦ ἡμεῖς πάντες ἰάθημεν. καὶ ἵνα μάθης ὅτι διὰ τὴν σφαγὴν αὐτοῦ παρεδόθη τὸ γένος τῶν Ἰουδαίων εἰς ἐξολόθρευσιν, προσέθηκε· καὶ δώσω τοὺς πονηροὺς ἀντὶ τῆς ταφῆς αὐτοῦ. τί γὰρ αὐτῶν πονηρότερον, μετὰ τούστας εὐεργεσίας τὸν εὐεργέτην αὐτῶν ἀνελόντων;

Ὅταν εἶπη πρὸς σε ὁ Ἰ(ου)δαῖος, πῶς ἔτεκεν ἡ παρθένος; εἰπέ σὺ πρὸς αὐτόν, πῶς ἔτεκεν ἡ στείρα καὶ γεγηρακυῖα Σάρρα; ἐνταῦθα μὲν γὰρ, ἐν κώλυμα, τὸ μὴ γάμου μετασχεῖν· ἐκέισε δὲ ἐμπόδων, δύο· οὐ μόνον ἡ στειρώσις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ γῆρας. ἐγέννησαν οὖν αἱ στείραι, ἵνα πιστευθῇ καὶ ἡ παρθένος γεννήσασα, καὶ τῷ κατ' ἐκείνην μυστήριον, τῷ μυστηρίῳ τούτῳ προωδοποιεῖ.

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## RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

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MYTHOLOGIE UND METAPHYSIK. Die Entstehung der Weltanschauungen im griechischen Altertum. Von WILHELM BENDER. Stuttgart: Fr. Frommanns Verlag (E. Hauff), 1899. Pp. 288. M. 4.

THIS volume, which is the introductory volume of a general history of the relations between mythology and metaphysics, is an illustration of the wider range which writers on the history of philosophy are taking in their attempts to interpret the history of human thought. The work of Erwin Rohde, *Psyche, Seelenkult und Unsterblichkeitsglaube der Griechen*, 1894, formed a notable contribution to a better understanding of the relations between primitive religious cults and beliefs on the one hand, and Greek philosophy on the other. The present work, while not so original or so exhaustive an investigation as that of Rohde, is very useful to the student and to the general reader, as covering in a brief and yet fairly comprehensive manner the leading conceptions and modes of thought which passed over from the primitive religious faiths of the Greeks into their philosophy.

Among the religious conceptions to which special philosophical significance is attached is, in the first place, that of the twofold series of the primitive Greek gods. On the one hand, there were gods derived from the naïve view of natural forces which, to the primitive mind, are conceived in more or less animistic fashion, and, on the other hand, there were the ancestral or hero gods which had more definitely personal characteristics. Uranos and Gaia are illustrations of the first class, Zeus and Demeter of the second. At a somewhat later stage came the theogonic speculation in which the question as to the origin of these gods, and, by implication, an explanation of the origin of the world and of the processes of nature, was given a methodical statement. With this the way was prepared for the work of the early philosophers, so-called, who, as has been frequently recognized, gave statements as to the origin and development of nature which lie quite close to the mythical concepts of Father Oceanos and Chaos; and even when, as with Empedocles, we have a much more advanced type of speculation, we still have such principles as those of love and hate,

which remind us of the more primitive anthropomorphic conceptions.

The most important conception, however, of the primitive mythology which passed over into philosophy was that connected with the primitive belief in a "double," or soul which could be separated from the body. To this, in the first place, is to be traced the theory of perception adopted by Empedocles and Democritus, according to which εἰδωλα, or images, come off from bodies and enter into the body of another through the eye or ear in vision or hearing. This apparently fantastic doctrine is simply and easily explicable when we put it into connection with the theory of the "double."

It is in connection with the idealism of Plato that the significance of the distinction between soul and body becomes of fundamental importance. The older conception was that the mental life was a function of the whole body, especially of the breath, and could not exist without it; but in certain of the cults, notably the worship of Dionysus, the conception was introduced that the soul could lead a life by itself, and that this was a life better than the life joined with the body. It was held in this cult that the soul could be separated or freed temporarily from the body by intoxication. Among the Pythagoreans and the Orphic societies the same result of freeing the soul from the body was attained by ascetic principles. In all these ways the distinction between the life of the body and that of the soul was brought to clear recognition, and a higher value was attached to the life of the soul, a value which was tremendously increased by the belief in immortality.

Now, when one takes up Plato's theory from this point of view, it is easy to see how much is due to this ethical and spiritual dualism established by the religious cults. The doctrine of ideas implies a fundamental separation between the world of real being and this present world of change; the former is the world of the soul, the latter of the body. The former world has been seen by the soul in its previous existence, and though in this life processes of reflection may lead us to discover the transitory character of what is about us, it is after all only to remind us of the ideas which the soul itself has seen in previous existence. The immortality of the soul is a topic to which Plato returns again and again in the *Phædrus*, the *Republic*, and especially the *Phædo*. In the *Phædo* stress is laid upon the principle that the philosopher would desire above all things to get away from the bodily senses in order that he might perceive more clearly, and

gain true knowledge. The ascetic tendencies which are found here and there are easily explained when we take into account the Pythagorean and Orphic doctrines on this point.

In Aristotle there is not so much that is directly due to the religious and mythical conceptions. A more scientific tendency is everywhere manifest, and yet in his conception of the pure form outside the universe there is a reminder of the Platonic and religious dualism just noted.

The chief criticism that would naturally present itself upon Bender's work is that it needs to be read as a somewhat one-sided account of the progress of Greek thought. His statements with regard to Plato, for example, leave out of account entirely the æsthetic and artistic sides of Plato's nature which appear as a frequent counterpart to the ascetic ideas, and in such dialogues as the *Philebus* make their claim for full recognition in the ideal of a perfect life. But making allowance for its inadequacy, if considered as a representation of Greek thought in its entirety, the work of Bender is a useful and suggestive outline.

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HISTORY OF ANCIENT PHILOSOPHY. By DR. W. WINDELBAND, Professor of Philosophy in the University of Strassburg. Authorized Translation by Herbert Cushman, Ph.D., Instructor in Philosophy in Tufts College. From the second German edition. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1899. Pp. xv + 393. \$2.

GERMAN philosophical readers are familiar with this work as one of the famous Müller series of handbooks. It has made important innovations, which have been generally commended by technical scholars of Greek philosophy. It is a work of great erudition and scholarship. Unlike most former treatises of this kind, the history of thought is not here separated from the history of affairs. Professor Windelband has gone far to lead the general reader to the history of thought *through* the history of affairs in the Greek nation. This work occupies a unique position in this respect, and may mark the beginning of an epoch in the rewriting of the history of philosophy.

The deviations from previous conceptions and treatment are in regard to the following points: the separation of Pythagoras from the Pythagoreans and the discussion of the latter under "Efforts toward

Reconciliation between Heracleitanism and the Theory of Parmenides," the separation of the two phases of atomism by the Protagorean Sophistic, the juxtaposition of Democritus and Plato, the conception of the Hellenic-Roman philosophy as a progressive application—first ethical and then religious—of science, with which patristics is also organically connected.

Windelband's treatise has an important mission: "to solicit friends appreciative of a noble cause, to preserve alive the consciousness of the imperishable worth which the creations of Greek thought possess for all human culture."

Gratitude is due the translator for his excellent piece of work. A full bibliography is appended.

GEORGE B. FOSTER.

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EVOLUTION AND OTHER ESSAYS. By OTTO PFLEIDERER, D.D., Professor of Theology at the University of Berlin. Edited by Orello Cone. London: Adam & Charles Black, 1900; New York: Imported by The Macmillan Co. Pp. 306. \$2.

FIVE of these ten essays, viz., "Evolution and Theology," "The Essence of Christianity," "Jesus' Foreknowledge of His Sufferings and Death," "The National Traits of the Germans as Seen in Their Religion," "Is Morality without Religion Possible?" have previously appeared in American journals. The last-mentioned was published in the *Philosophical Review* for September, 1896.<sup>1</sup> The other five essays, viz., "Theology as Historical Science," "Luther as the Founder of Protestant Civilization," "The Notion and Problem of the Philosophy of Religion," "The Task of Scientific Theology for the Church of the Present," "Free from Rome!" have been translated by Dr. Cone, and now appear in English for the first time. The English reader is under obligation to the translator for his placing in a convenient form some of the occasional writings of one of the foremost theologians and scholars of this century. While Pfeiderer seeks to safeguard the religious interest, he yet attempts to give it a form which will not be an embarrassment to free scientific investigation. Indeed,

<sup>1</sup> An article dealing with the same general subject appeared in the April, 1899, number of the AMERICAN JOURNAL OF THEOLOGY under the title, "Religionless Morality." It was contributed by Professor Pfeiderer at the request of the editors of this JOURNAL, and is the latest utterance of the author on the subject.—[THE EDITORS.]

it would seem that the problem of the theology of the present was to effect a harmonization between scientific philosophy in its enjoyment of free play and the religious interest which yet must suffer no essential abbreviation in the new synthesis.

Among the workers at this task Dr. Pfeiderer holds a conspicuous place, and this latest volume is to be welcomed as one of his best.

GEORGE B. FOSTER.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

THEISM IN THE LIGHT OF PRESENT SCIENCE AND PHILOSOPHY.

By JAMES IVERACH, M.A., D.D., author of *Is God Knowable? Evolution and Christianity*, etc. New York: Published for the New York University by The Macmillan Co., 1899. Pp. x + 330. \$1.50.

THIS is the inaugural course of ten lectures on the Charles F. Deems foundation in New York University. The lectureship was founded by Mr. Deems for the discussion of "the most important questions of science and philosophy, with special reference to their relation to the revealed truths of Holy Scripture and to the fundamental principles of theistic philosophy." The subject of this course and its treatment fit well the founder's purpose. The author is well read in the science of the day, and at home in current philosophies. His grasp of genuine Christian theology is also firm, adequate, and experimental. To him Christian truth is the rational expression of Christian reality, as scientific truth is the rational expression of reality in nature. He does not hold that religious faith, including Christian faith, is necessarily blind; that its object is non-existent, or, if existent, unknowable; that philosophy has a monopoly of reason; and that apart from philosophy and natural science intellect has no function. It is our duty to recognize all facts, and to find and hold a view of universal being that will leave every fact unimpaired and give to it its due place and explanation. This has made it necessary for scientists to recognize the fact of life as something other than mechanical or chemical force, and to recognize animal life as other than vegetable life. So also personal life is a new fact coming into the world after vegetable and animal life. In explaining the course of evolution up to the present time personal life in men has had a large part. And the study of this personal life shows that among its characteristics, and of supreme value as a force in development, is the religious nature.

This has come to be recognized by thinkers of all schools, and the necessity is felt to understand the religious element and to find what are its implications. A view of reality as a whole—a view of the universe—that either ignores man's religious nature or that gives to it a wrong or inadequate interpretation in the sum total of things is thereby discredited. As our author says: "Religion is highest and most central, and has, or ought to have, the controlling position in life. Religion is the sanction of morality; yes, but it is more than the sanction of morality. When it becomes a mere sanction of morality, it fares ill with religion and morality. Philosophy may be satisfied with such a conception of God as will help her to solve the problems of thought and life which are confessedly philosophical; science may be satisfied with such a conception of God as will help her to conceive the order of the universe and help her to think of the realm of law as real; and ethics may be contented with the recognition of moral law as issuing forth from a sovereign of infinite power and wisdom, who has imposed an ethical law on all intelligent agents as the condition of their existence in a realm of rational beings. But a God who is only the cause of order, the presupposition of knowledge, the source of moral order, is utterly insufficient to satisfy the religious demands of man." The first demand of the religious nature is fellowship with God. For this, God must be, not an abstraction, but "a real, living power," "an object to our devotion, our affection." Still further, God must be such a one as is implied in the consciousness of sin and guilt. To meet demands like these requires something other than that which is furnished by any and every form of monism. The consciousness of personality, especially when it includes the consciousness of sin, excludes the monistic conception of being. It asserts of the self a reality and independence not compatible with such a conception. It also implies a God who is not to be identified with the universe, or to whom the universe is simply the other, or who is only the principle of unity in all things. If we take the religious consciousness in its highest reach, as given in the New Testament, we shall no longer speak of God as absolute, and so on, but we shall borrow the grand words, "God is spirit, God is life, God is love." We shall recognize him as a person with an infinite fulness of ideal personal determination, adequate to himself and creating the world, not in natural necessity, but in the full freedom of rational, self-communicating love. He is the principle of unity in the universe, not as identical with it, but as its Author, at once immanent in it and transcendent over it, and as both

immanent and transcendent distinct from it, independent and self-sufficient. In coming to this conclusion the author traces the process of evolution, so far as it has yet been disclosed. He begins with the inorganic world as a preparation for life, and in successive lectures advances through irrational to personal life. He discusses the question whether a rational religion is possible, and gives a searching criticism of the negative answer given by both Kidd and Balfour. He then shows the function of human personality in the process of evolution, and emphasizes its distinction from the function of non-personal life. He thus reaches the great fact of religion, universal among men and a constitutional characteristic of man, and in his treatment of its implications reaches the conclusion given above. The discussion is everywhere clear, calm, judicial. He recognizes the merits and points out the defects of theories inconsistent with the author's own view. It is a wholesome, helpful discussion of a great subject.

GEO. D. B. PEPPER.

WATERVILLE, ME.

**THE PSYCHOLOGY OF RELIGION: An Empirical Study of the Growth of Religious Consciousness.** By EDWIN DILLER STARBUCK, PH.D., Assistant Professor of Education at Leland Stanford Jr. University; with a Preface by WILLIAM JAMES, Professor of Philosophy at Harvard University. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1899. Pp. xx + 423. \$1.50.

THIS is the third and most extended of Dr. Starbuck's published studies in the science of religion. The second of these has already been noticed, and the first referred to, in this JOURNAL (Vol. II, No. 4, p. 853). The three form a unique body of literature of the highest religious, educational, and psychological value. The author's purpose, in this volume, is declared in his opening paragraph: "to carry the well-established methods of science into the analysis and organization of the facts of the religious consciousness, and to ascertain the laws which determine its growth and character." The method of study is purely inductive. Accordingly, all conclusions are based upon a careful analysis and comparison of individual cases of religious experience. Out of a vast number of such cases, 192 were selected for study. Of these, 120 were females and seventy-two males. Part I of the volume is devoted to the study of these cases, the results being

exhibited in graphic charts and tables. The successive chapters are inductive studies upon the great central aspects of religious experience, *e. g.*, "The Age of Conversion" (chap. iii), leading to the conclusion that "conversion is distinctly an adolescent phenomenon;" "Experiences preceding Conversion" (v), the conclusion being that, in the pre-conversion state, "the central fact in it is the sense of sin," and that "we have to look for the cause underlying the sense of sin, in part, in certain temperamental and organic conditions, and not to consider it simply as a spiritual fact;" "In what Conversion consists" (vii), where the induction is reached that "self-surrender is important, whether one's effort is *against* the new life, as in resistance to conviction, or *toward* it, as in prayer and personal effort." The "conscious and sub-conscious elements" of mental life work together in conversion, and the function of the will is seen to be to give point and direction to the latter. Chap. x, on "The Character of the New Life," includes a wholly fresh and valuable study of the neural changes that are held to be the correlates and conditions of the results attained in conversion: "What shall we say of this awakening of new powers and activities? In former years it was said that the person had been 'born of the Spirit,' or 'endued with power from on high,' a point of view which, from our present standpoint, seems entirely accurate. It is as if brain areas which had lain dormant had now suddenly come into activity—as if their stored-up energy had been liberated and now begun to function. The growth of consciousness is, in the rough, parallel with the increase of associational fibers in the cerebrum, which condition the different ideational centers in the brain. At conversion the conditions are as they would be if the various areas were suddenly struck into harmony," etc. (pp. 132, 133). "The great awakening of conversion into a world of spiritual insight is so inclusive that we fitly call it a second birth" (p. 144).

Part II, of the book, is devoted to the study of "Lines of religious Growth not involving Conversion," for the purpose of gaining an insight into the nature of religious growth of the gradual and relatively uneventful kind, where "there are no sudden crises, which mark the disappearance of an old life and the beginning of a new." The method of study is the same as before, conclusions being drawn from first-hand study of cases reported in answer to printed lists of questions. Two hundred and thirty-seven cases were studied, ninety-five of them being males. From these cases conclusions are drawn as to "The Religion of Childhood," "Adolescence," "Adult Life," and



"The Line of Growth following Conversion," compared with that of the cases especially considered in Part II. In general, it is found that the lines of growth run precisely parallel for the two groups. In both cases there is "the birth of consciousness on a higher spiritual level," "the adolescent struggle due to a sense of incompleteness," the experiences of "storm and stress," and a period of reconstruction in which the subject arrives at "a positive and constructive attitude toward life." Some rather marked contrasts are encountered when we follow the investigation as to whether the two types of cases, having passed through the same general line of growth, merge into mature life with the same general religious conceptions and attitudes.

Dr. Starbuck's investigations are directed only to Protestants and modern Americans. His method of accumulating, sifting, and analyzing evidence and exhibiting conclusions is satisfying and illuminating. The results of this first-hand study are in general accord with "evangelical" views of conversion, but they exhibit the phenomena in a new and strong light—a light in which it is seen that conversion is normal and as truly natural as it is supernatural; and that nature and the supernatural are, indeed, one realm of well-ordered law which is only the mode whereby God works. Dr. Starbuck has been consistent and has rendered a service of the highest value in following out his conception of "the business of the psychology of religion to bring together a systematized body of evidence, which shall make it possible to comprehend new regions in the spiritual life of man, and to read old dogmas in larger and fresher terms," the end being "the possibility of becoming nature's helper toward wiser and better ways of religious education."

NATHANIEL BUTLER.

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TENNYSON, RUSKIN, MILL, AND OTHER LITERARY ESTIMATES. By  
FREDERIC HARRISON. New York: The Macmillan Co.,  
1900. Pp. 302. \$2.

MR. FREDERIC HARRISON has gathered in this volume fourteen essays on literary subjects. They are written in the style which their author, during many years of industrious productiveness, has made familiar to the reading public by numerous papers contributed to English and American, but chiefly English, periodicals. They are all of them highly readable. They are full of good sense and good feeling. The author is a disciple of Comte, but his positivism does not make him incapable of

appreciating generously writers the most antipodal to himself in fundamental belief. One cannot but be won upon by the ingenuous kindness of tone that prevails throughout Mr. Harrison's pages. He treats literature like a man well-informed on the subjects he touches, and at the same time like a man not in the least inclined to break with the best-bred current traditions and conventions of criticism. That is to say, Mr. Harrison is not an independent critic. His critical expressions have the value belonging to fairly good new statements of generally received views and not the illuminating or stimulating value belonging to well-considered individual opinions, differing at points, as probably such opinions would, from prevalent notions.

We say "fairly good" statements; for notwithstanding the readable quality that we have attributed to these papers of Mr. Harrison, it needs to be said that the style is careless to a degree that makes it not unjust to call it newspaperish. This charge is not loosely made, but restriction of space forbids the citation of illustrative instances.

Adherence to convention on the part of a literary critic will make him safe only as he expresses himself in general, and in fairly moderated, terms. When Mr. Harrison, falling in with the current mistaken notion that Tennyson's technical achievement in the *In Memoriam* is very nearly beyond criticism, extravagantly says (p. 5), "There is not a poor rhyme, not a forced phrase, not a loose or harsh line in the whole series" (that is, in the whole production, *In Memoriam*), one feels like confuting him with, for example, this stanza, in which there is neither rhyme nor poetry:

If one should bring me this report,  
That thou hadst touched the land to-day,  
And I went down unto the quay,  
And found thee lying in the port.

"Quay" rhymes, indeed, to the eye, but, properly pronounced, to the ear not. And as for "forced phrase," really what does Mr. Harrison think of

Or where the kneeling hamlet drains  
The chalice of the grapes of God,

for expressing the idea of a rural congregation's kneeling at the altar to partake of the communion? Mr. Harrison's sentence of praise here commented on is not a chance escape of momentary exaggeration. It occurs in a whole paragraph of similar hyperbole.

On the whole, however, and notwithstanding these necessary abatements of praise, we recommend Mr. Harrison's book as one well worth reading.

WILLIAM C. WILKINSON.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

THE CLIFF DWELLERS AND PUEBLOS. By STEPHEN DENISON PEET, PH.D. Chicago: The American Antiquarian, 1899. Pp. xviii + 398. \$4.

THIS volume by the accomplished editor of the *American Antiquarian* meets a demand which has long existed. It gathers together from all accessible sources first-hand testimony concerning the interesting races which at the time of the Spanish invasion occupied so large a portion of that great plateau which lies within the limits of Utah, Colorado, New Mexico, and Arizona. In no other single volume can one obtain such trustworthy information in reference to these partially civilized peoples. The reports of explorers who have visited these regions from early in the sixteenth century till the present time, and have made a personal, if not always an accurate, study of the ruins scattered over them, though given nearly always exactly as they were written, have been subjected to the criticism of a man who has no theories to defend, and whose knowledge of the matters to which they relate is minute and thorough. The value of the volume is greatly enhanced by numerous appropriate and instructive illustrations. They make the text easy reading, and for most people are as satisfactory as would be a visit to the ruins they set before us.

In the space at command we cannot undertake to give a summary of the contents of the volume. It must be read to be appreciated. It makes clear that within our own borders are antiquities as worthy of careful study as any found in Europe or Asia, and, furthermore, that only a few of the problems they present to the archæologist have been satisfactorily solved. The homes of the cliff-dwellers, their situation, their architecture, their mode of life, their social customs, their religious belief, their forms of worship, their traditions, their relation to the wild tribes around them, are fascinating subjects for research. A large amount of the material necessary for this research is furnished in this volume.

Dr. Peet identifies the pueblos with the cliff-dwellers. The houses of the latter were built on well-nigh inaccessible heights, to be out of reach of the hostile tribes which came from the north and sought not only to obtain their property, but to annihilate its possessors. Both pueblos and cliff-dwellers were very religious. They had traditions concerning the creation of the world and of man whose origin one would be very glad to discover. The same is true of their forms of worship. In the construction of their homes provision was made within their walls for the performance of sacred ceremonies. To the

many questions arising in connection with these peoples Dr. Peet's book gives as intelligent and satisfactory answers as can be found. We trust that it will be patiently studied, and that it will contribute not a little to further explorations in a region which is destined to play a great part in the history of our nation, as well as to a more thorough and discriminating study of ruins which, in the very nature of the case, will soon pass away.

EDWARD F. WILLIAMS.

CHICAGO.

DIE TEXTBIBEL. VON KAUTZSCH UND WEIZSÄCKER. Freiburg i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr, 1900. In den folgenden Ausgaben: Altes Testament mit den Apokryphen des Alten Testaments und Neues Testament; geheftet M. 10.50, in Bibeleinband gebunden M. 12. Altes Testament ohne die Apokryphen des Alten Testaments und Neues Testament; geheftet M. 9, in Bibeleinband gebunden M. 10.50. Altes Testament mit den Apokryphen des Alten Testaments; geheftet M. 8.80, gebunden M. 10.20. Altes Testament ohne die Apokryphen des Alten Testaments; geheftet M. 7.60, gebunden M. 9. Neues Testament; in Ganzleinen gebunden M. 3, in Ganzleder gebunden M. 4.80.

LUTHER'S translation of the Bible has become for us Germans in a peculiar sense a national book. The reason for this lies, not merely in the fact that through the use of this book in the church all our religious life, from childhood on, is interwoven with it, nor simply in the ever-living contents of the book, but largely in the character of Luther's translation. Through its forcible, poetic language, its simple popular style, its hearty piety, the book of the great men of God was born again for us Germans; Luther created, not a "translation," but a "German Bible."

It is true, however, of this priceless gem, as of many others, that the stones and the gold do not become antiquated, but the polish and the setting gradually grow out of style. And so, up to the present time, *revised* editions of Luther's Bible have been published, which are intended to keep pace with the changes in the usages of the German language and with the progress of science, and still preserve, as faithfully as possible, the original language of Luther.

. But such revisions suffice only for public worship and other practical purposes; they do not answer for those readers who wish to gain

*historical* insight into the writings of the Old and New Testaments, and scientific understanding of the temporal limitations and the personal style of the individual writers. Numerous scholars, ever since the last century, have attempted to produce editions of the Bible which, through their translations, are intended and adapted to instill into the popular mind that understanding of the Bible attained by scientific study. The most widely used of these translations is that of W. M. L. de Wette (1809-14, 4th ed. 1858, latest revision 1838), distinguished by its concise and elegant diction. In addition to this we have the great work of Bunsen (1858-69), in which he had the assistance of several scholars, especially A. Kamphausen and H. T. Holtzmann. Besides the text, this contains brief explanations of words and matters of fact, text-critical notes, and parallel passages. With fine æsthetic feeling, with sympathy with the life of a remote age resembling that of Herder, E. Reuss translated the Old Testament, first into French (1874-81), and then into German (1892-4, published after his death), accompanied by introductions and explanations.

Of this series of modern translations the most recent and scientifically perfect are the three which are brought together in the *Text-bibel*.

The translation of the New Testament, by Weizsäcker, which has appeared in nine editions since 1875, has been unanimously pronounced by all German critics a masterly effort. The ninth edition is found in the *Textbibel*.

An equally important advance, as compared with former works, is shown in the translation of the Old Testament. For the purpose of this translation, a number of the ablest scholars of the Old Testament—Professors Baethgen, Guthe, Kamphausen, Kautzsch, Kittel, Marti, Rothstein, Ruetschi, Ryssel, Siegfried, and the now deceased orientalist Socin—united, and the self-sacrificing and careful editorship of Kautzsch has given to it a uniform style, notwithstanding the numerous co-laborers. It is based on the revised text, which has been made with all the assistance offered by modern study of the Old Testament, and contains, in addition to the text, "supplements," in which, besides textual notes, among other things there are a synchronous chart of the history of Israel and an outline of the history of the writings of the Old Testament. For the designation of the original documents from which the books of the Old Testament are compiled, letters have been placed at the margin of the text (P = Priest-Code, J = Jahvist, etc.). A notable feature of the translation is that passages in which

the text is corrupt and still waits restoration are not translated, but are marked by dots, the probable text and its translation being given in the notes, wherever possible.

On the same principles, and also under the supervision of Kautzsch, a translation of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha has been published by the same firm. From this edition the Apocrypha, translated by Guthe, Kamphausen, Kautzsch, Löhr, Ruetschi, Ryssel, and Siegfried, have been included in the *Textbibel*.

The *Textbibel* is a popular edition of the three works named above (with the exception of the Pseudepigrapha); it is "called *Textbibel* because all annotations, explanations, and supplements" are omitted. It is intended, and admirably adapted, to bring to the people — as far as a translation can convey them — the results of modern study of the Bible, together with the contents of the eternal book. For this purpose, the editor has aimed to give an unambiguous translation, and accordingly in almost every instance the probable translation has been inserted and critical remarks omitted. This is perhaps to be regretted; for it certainly would be a good means for the training of the people to a proper valuation of the letter of the Bible to show plainly the imperfect state of the text of the Old Testament. It is perhaps also to be regretted that the work has a strongly learned stamp, and that justice is not done to the poetic power, boldness, and beauty of the prophets and the songs. But the translation aims principally at clearness of expression rather than at poetic beauty of form. Such a scientific work rightly makes unity, clearness, and transparency its principal object. A happy combination of scholarship and poetic feeling, as well as abundant leisure, are necessary to make old poetic productions of such high rank as Prophecies and Psalms live again in a new garb and new language. This cannot be done by machine methods. Already, however, forces are at work in Germany whose aim is such a *re-creation* of the Bible in the best sense of the word. Our *Textbibel* has a different object, and what German thoroughness, untiring industry, and conscientious effort can accomplish in our times is accomplished here.

The printing is clear and correct, in the Apocrypha at times rather small, but very distinct. The verses are not separated, as in Luther's Bible, but the whole text is printed consecutively, as in other books; this makes a very pleasing impression. Larger paragraphs have headings in the Old Testament; in the New Testament they are marked by heavier printing of the keywords. This is very convenient, but on the large pages of the *Textbibel* it appears rather unsightly, and is not

as neat as in the small edition of the original Weizsäcker translation. It is especially praiseworthy that all poetry is printed with clear indication of the lines; the verse of Lamentations is especially easily distinguished.

This edition can be recommended to all who read German and wish to gain a historical knowledge of the Bible in a simple and easy way; for every good translation, as also this one—and this especially, with its emphasis on exactness, clearness, and distinctness—is the best short explanation of the text that it reproduces.

HEINRICH WEINEL.

THE UNIVERSITY OF BONN.

**BIBLICAL INTRODUCTION: Old Testament.** By W. H. BENNETT, M.A., Professor of Old Testament Exegesis, Hackney and New Colleges, London. **New Testament.** By WALTER F. ADENEY, M.A., Professor of New Testament History, Introduction and Exegesis, New College, London. London: Methuen & Co., 1899. Pp. xii + 487. 7s. 6d.

PROFESSOR BENNETT's admirable *Primer of the Bible* is already widely known. The present work, which is a little more than double the size of the former, is sure of a still more favorable reception and a much wider use. It has struck the happy mean between the meagerness of a primer and the confusing fulness of detail and technical obscurity of such works as Dr. Hastings' *Dictionary*. It is intended for a handbook of biblical introduction—dealing with such questions as the dates, authorship, composition, analysis, and contents of the several books—for those who are unacquainted, or only slightly acquainted, with the original languages of the Bible and the technicalities of criticism. The authors have been anxious to include all matters of importance, to state the prevailing views concerning them, and to do so at sufficient length to make them intelligible. In the appendix eleven pages are given to a judiciously selected list of books, to which the student is referred for further information. This list will prove of great service to librarians and theological students.

The critical position of the Old Testament portion is, speaking roughly, that identified in England with Professors Cheyne, Driver, Ryle, G. A. Smith, etc.; and generally assumed by the writers on Old Testament subjects in Dr. Hastings' *Bible Dictionary*.

Professor Adeney's attitude upon New Testament questions is as follows: The earliest source of the synoptic gospels is Matthew's

Logia, which was known both in the original Hebrew or Aramaic and in a Greek translation. Mark probably made use of the Logia in writing his gospel, which is the earliest (65, or at the latest 66, A. D.). Probably Matthew and Luke were quite independent of one another. Matthew comes first (a little before 70 A. D.) and takes a large slice of Mark. Luke follows (about 75 A. D.) and takes his large slice. Thus Mark is almost completely absorbed in the other two gospels. Matthew and Luke had each some independent special sources. We seemed to the conclusion that there was more than one collection of logia of Christ in the early church. The weighty evidence for the antiquity and Johannine authorship of the fourth gospel still stands, and it cannot be lightly set aside. Still it may be conceded that John reproduced his memories after long meditation and frequent use of them in his teaching, as they shaped themselves in the forms of his own thought, and possibly we should go farther and allow that John may have written the work through one of his disciples, who would be responsible for the signs of Greek culture it contains, while the substance of the incidents and the teaching was contributed by the apostle himself. There is a growing agreement among scholars that the Revelation is a composite work. Still, that does not preclude the apostolic authorship, because the apostle may have used the work of previous apocalyptic writers; neither does it exclude the idea that the John of Revelation is the presbyter John. The historicity of Acts is maintained, and none of the difficulties is allowed to be insuperable. Thirteen epistles are assigned to Paul. Although we cannot positively assert the genuineness of the pastorals, the spirit and power of the New Testament are in them, and they are Pauline in spirit, too. There is more reason for referring Hebrews to Barnabas than to any other of the proposed authors. First Peter is one of the choicest gems in the New Testament, and is worthy of the great apostle whose name it bears, but there are serious reasons for doubting its Petrine authorship, and it is wise not to assume a very positive attitude. The balance is against the genuineness of 2 Peter.

It is impossible to draw a plain line between New Testament introduction and New Testament theology; hence it is not always obvious why Professor Adeney has admitted certain materials while excluding others. His least valuable pages are those devoted to the tables of contents of the several books. These are neither synopses nor outlines. Moreover, they show lack of sympathetic insight into the plans of the authors. Thus Matthew's gospel is divided into sections



according to a geographical scheme, and John's gospel is divided according to a chronological one, in each case missing the author's point of view. But where the main purpose of a difficult work has been so successfully accomplished small defects are of little account.

SPRINGFIELD, MASS.

W. G. BALLANTINE.

A CRITICAL HISTORY OF THE DOCTRINE OF A FUTURE LIFE IN ISRAEL, IN JUDAISM, AND IN CHRISTIANITY: or, Hebrew, Jewish, and Christian Eschatology from Pre-Prophetic Times till the Close of the New Testament Canon. Being the Jowett Lectures for 1898-9. By R. H. CHARLES, D.D., Professor of Biblical Greek, Trinity College, Dublin. London: Adam & Charles Black, 1899. Pp. x + 428. \$5.

THE author of this volume has a well-earned reputation in the field of pseudepigraphic literature, and any new contribution to religious thought coming from his pen is sure to command the attention of scholars. The scope of the present treatise is fairly indicated on its title-page. It passes sometimes even beyond the limits of "Hebrew, Jewish, and Christian eschatology," and devotes considerable attention to the doctrine of the future life among the Greeks. A fundamental position touching religion and revelation maintained in the discussion is thus stated: "All true growth in religion, whether in the past or the present, springs from the communion of man with the immediate living God, wherein man learns the will of God and becomes thereby an organ of God, a personalized conscience, a revealer of divine truth for men less inspired than himself. The truth thus revealed through a man possesses a divine authority for men. In the Old Testament we have a catena of such revelations" (p. 3).

Professor Charles accepts the results generally of the most advanced biblical criticism, makes free use of the labors of distinguished scholars, and supplies ample references to the best literature bearing on the various points brought under discussion. The first four chapters are devoted mainly to the eschatology of the Old Testament. It is argued that the views of the Israelites in pre-Mosaic times were not so much the outcome of divine revelation as the survivals of Semitic heathenism, and belonged to a widely prevalent ancestor-worship. This is seen particularly in the use of teraphim and in customs connected with burial and with mourning for the dead. Even down to the times of the exile, and later, there prevailed in Israel a non-ethical idea of Sheol

as a region quite outside the dominion of Yahweh (Ps. 88:5; Isa. 38:18). Later the doctrine of individual immortality obtained currency, rooted itself in the monotheism of the prophets, and so gradually displaced the older heathen concepts of monolatry. The doctrine of personal communion with God, of his power over Sheol (Ps. 139:7, 8), and of his ability to deliver therefrom the souls of his servants (Pss. 30:3; 49:15) led on to a belief in a blessed immortality and resurrection for the righteous. In its older form the concept of the resurrection, "stripped of its accidents and conceived in its essence, marks the entrance of the individual after death into the divine life of the community, the synthesis of the individual and the common good. Thus the faithful in Palestine looked forward to a blessed future only as members of the holy people, as citizens of the righteous kingdom that should embrace their brethren." The author thinks that a considerable time must have passed between the rise of the doctrine of resurrection in Isa. 26:1-19 and of that in Dan. 12:2, 3, for the former is "a spiritual conception," the latter "a mechanical conception" and "a somewhat lifeless dogma."

Chaps. v-viii treat the eschatology of the apocryphal and pseud-epigraphic books, and constitute perhaps the most valuable portion of the whole. The author here appropriates largely from his own previous works, but furnishes a comprehensive outline of the subject not easily obtained elsewhere. The last three chapters, on the eschatology of the New Testament, are less satisfactory, but the treatment of the Pauline eschatology (chap. xi) is comprehensive and admirably presented. Four stages are traced in the development of the apostle's views: (1) in the Thessalonian epistles, where he seems to be yet compassed by narrow concepts derived from intolerant Judaism; (2) in 1 Corinthians, where the Antichrist falls out of view and the apostle sets forth a peculiar doctrine of the resurrection; (3) in 2 Corinthians and Romans, where there appears an obvious change of opinion as to the time of the resurrection and the future of the kingdom of God; (4) in Philippians, Colossians, and Ephesians, where "we have the final stage in the development of the Pauline eschatology, which deals with the cosmic significance of Christ."

There is large room for differences of opinion in the details of a work so comprehensive as this. The dates assigned to different books and sections of books are in not a few cases open to question. In many instances we think the author draws inferences and conclusions which are not fairly warranted by the sources referred to. The analysis

of certain parts of the New Testament, and the removal of important texts out of their connection, will be regarded by many as arbitrary and fanciful. But the work as a whole is one of the most important and valuable extant contributions to the subject of eschatology.

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO THE OLD TESTAMENT. The Text.  
By WILLIAM HENRY GREEN, D.D., LL.D. New York:  
Charles Scribner's Sons, 1899. Pp. xv + 190. \$1.50.

THE first part of Dr. Green's *Introduction*, which treated of the canon, has been reviewed in a previous issue of this JOURNAL.<sup>1</sup> Since that review was published the distinguished author has ceased from his labors, and has left a vacancy that cannot easily be filled. For more than a generation universal consent has accorded to him a foremost place in the ranks of American Hebraists. To say that he was the ablest and most conspicuous champion of those views of the Old Testament which are sometimes characterized as traditional rather than critical, is only repeating what everybody knows. Able defenders of these conservative views still survive, but the man is not living who can don his armor or wield his sword.

In this second and concluding part of his *General Introduction* Dr. Green deals with *the text* of the Old Testament. In eight chapters he discusses its external form; the Semitic family of languages; Hebrew letters and vowels; Hebrew manuscripts; versions, such as the Septuagint, the Targums, the Syriac Peshito, the Latin Vulgate, and the Samaritan Pentateuch; then the history of the text; and, finally, the criticism of the text. The discussion of the language and its relation to other forms of human speech leads to the conclusion that the unchangeable, pictorial, and indefinite character of a Semitic language adapted it in a very remarkable way to become the vehicle of that preliminary revelation of the Old Testament "which was so largely figurative and symbolic in its character, which dealt in outlines and shadows." The history of Hebrew as a living tongue gives Dr. Green an opportunity to show, not merely how the language varied in different periods, and how it was affected by different styles of

<sup>1</sup> October, 1899, pp. 764-7.

composition, but also that the priestly document P, which the Graf-Wellhausen school claims to be of exilic origin or later, cannot post-date the other pentateuchal documents J, E, and D, which, by universal consent, are placed before the exile. The author opposes strenuously the common critical tendency to subject obscure passages to hypothetical emendations, and contends that the current Massoretic text presents the Old Testament Scriptures in a form so free from corruptions that changes are to be tolerated only in case of rare and palpable errors. The refusal of the Massorites to correct such errors is a proof of the fidelity with which the text has been transmitted. In comparison with the Massoretic text, that of the Septuagint has little critical value, and that of the Samaritan Pentateuch none at all.

Such, in brief, are the main positions of the book. That those who hold extremely conservative views concerning the text will welcome it as an able and convincing contribution to their side of the controversy is as certain as that those who hold opposite views will not be convinced by it. And naturally so, since it offers no new material for the solution of the problems under discussion, but contents itself with reaffirming what has already been said scores of times. To treat these positions disdainfully because they are traditional is absurd, but no more absurd than to reject all critical results because some of them conflict with older opinions.

Is it less reprehensible for a theologian to interpret facts in conformity with dogmatic postulates than for a critic to interpret them in conformity with philosophical prepossessions? When, for example, one biblical writer quotes another with verbal variations, is it worse for the critic, in conformity with literary analogies elsewhere, to suggest that these variations may be due to misquotation or transcriptional errors, than for Dr. Green to shut us up to the conclusion that "one inspired writer, in adopting the language of another, did not feel bound to repeat it verbatim, but, in the confidence of his equal inspiration, modified the form at pleasure to suit his immediate purpose" (p. 175)? It is conceivable that a modern theologian has no such personal experience of the psychology of inspiration as to pronounce oracularly on what an ancient prophet would or would not do.

One is justified in using the concessions and arguments of opponents in fortifying one's own positions; but not in such way as to convey the impression that these opponents are contending for the

same position, when they are not. Dr. Green, of course, holds that the pentateuchal document P is of Mosaic origin. Some modern critics have argued, however, that it betrays its late (that is, exilic or post-exilic) date by the presence of words of Aramaic form and meaning. When, now, Dr. Driver is quoted as demolishing this particular evidence, it does not follow that he also favors the Mosaic date. Yet, again and again, the reader is allowed to get this impression, until one who knows Dr. Driver's position is almost forced to ask: "What is this that is come unto the son of Kish? Is Saul also among the prophets?"

Here and there discussions are introduced that seem foreign to the purpose of the book. Such is the long quotation, pp. 47-54, wherein Dr. Driver shows that the late date of P cannot be proved from the preponderance in that document of **אני** over **אנכי**. This is really a problem in historical, and not in textual, criticism. On the other hand, it is surprising, in a book of this character, to find no reference to the remarkable differences between the Massoretic and Septuagint texts in their respective accounts of the introduction of David to the court of Saul. Speaking of the Septuagint, one may venture the opinion that few modern scholars can be found who, for critical purposes, place so low a value on this version and on the Samaritan Pentateuch as Dr. Green does, especially when the two happen to agree against the Massoretic text, which, as everyone knows, has attained its present fixedness by the rigorous suppression of variant manuscripts.

The fanciful derivation of "sincere" from *sine* + *cera*, "honey without wax," is given by Dr. Green, though this derivation is regarded as untenable by modern etymologists. A little more careful proof-reading would have noted the frequent omission of the point that distinguishes **ח** from **ה**, as well as many broken or omitted vowel-points.

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**DAS BUCH KOHELETH UND DIE INTERPOLATIONSHYPOTHESE SIEGFRIEDS.** Eine exegetische Studie. Von PROFESSOR LAUE, Lic. theol. Wittenberg: P. Wunschmann's Verlag, 1900. Pp. 28. M. 0.60.

THE book of Ecclesiastes is unique in its difficulties among the books of the Old Testament. Kleinert, Delitzsch, Volck, and other

commentators have recognized that the material that composes the chapters in the middle of the book is disconnected and loosely strung together. Some manifest contradictions also have been discovered. Wildeboer (*Lit. d. A. T.*) emphasizes the dualism of the book as seen in the vacillation between "theism" and pessimism. Still other theories have been advanced to explain its seeming contradictions. This little brochure was written to examine the theory of Siegfried (*Handkommentar zum A. T.*; II: "Die poetischen Bücher," 3, 1898), who finds it impossible to accept the unity of the book. It bears the marks of many hands. It was not compiled from several sources as the Penta-teuch, but a basal text has been worked over by several successive writers, who from their individual points of view have attempted to correct the ideas of their predecessors. The author of the basal text was Q I, a philosophical pessimist, the beginning, middle, and end of whose discourse were: "All is vanity." Neither wisdom nor pleasure, neither wealth nor work, brings profit. The next redactor, Q II, was not a radical opponent of Q I, but belonged to that Sadducean circle which did homage to Epicureanism. Mere pleasure to him was an illusion, but life was beautiful and sweet, and genuine satisfaction was found in pleasurable thought. Q III was the wise man to whom may be attributed the wisdom section of the book. Q IV was the pious (*chasidh*) redactor who discussed the *Theodiceeproblem*. The combined result of the above writers has been interpolated by the whole school of the wise; these scattered glosses are designated by Q V. Laue carefully examines the grounds for Siegfried's analyses and announces, mainly on sound principles, that Q I and Q II cannot be entirely separated, that Q III as defined cannot be entirely separated from Q I, nor can Q V be everywhere distinguished from Q I. Q IV, however, seems to correct Q I, and to furnish a solution of the problems of Q I. Laue sees in Q IV the real editor of the book who furnished the conclusion of the whole matter. But in literary and exegetical character Koheleth, though the early chapters are carefully worked out, must be regarded as a torso. It presents only a fragmentary conclusion of the many questions suggested, leaving an impression of incompleteness and non-satisfaction. Laue's examination presents at least the danger of over-analysis and of magnifying minor difficulties into elaborate hypotheses.

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A CRITICAL AND EXEGETICAL COMMENTARY ON THE BOOK OF PROVERBS. By CRAWFORD H. TOY, Professor of Hebrew in Harvard University. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1899. Pp. xxxvi + 554. \$3.

THE CAMBRIDGE BIBLE FOR SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES: THE PROVERBS. With Introduction and Notes by VEN. T. T. PEROWNE, B.D., Archdeacon of Norwich. Cambridge: At the University Press, 1899. Pp. 196. \$0.75.

THE former of these two volumes is a part of the "International Critical Commentary," edited by Professors Briggs, Driver, and Plummer. The latter belongs to the *Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges*.

Archdeacon Perowne represents the old-fashioned school. In his introduction he ascribes not only the various collections of Proverbs, but even the introductory prologue on Wisdom (chaps. 1-9), to Solomon. The whole tone of the writer accords with this position, and one might well fancy, as he reads the introduction and the comments, that he is reading a book written fifty years ago. It has the peculiarities of the religious literature of an earlier period, and will affect most persons of the present generation with a singular sense of unreality and remoteness.

At the very opposite pole stands Professor Toy's *Commentary*. Thirteen years ago, in his *Job and Solomon*, Professor Cheyne wrote: "There are two extreme views on the date of the book of Proverbs, between which are the theories of the mass of moderate critics. The one is that represented by Keil in his *Introduction*, and Bishop Ellicott's *Commentary*, that the whole book, except chaps. 30, 31, and perhaps the heading, 1: 1-6, is in substance of Solomonic origin; the other is that of Vatke and Reuss (the precursors of Kuenen and Wellhausen), that our Proverbs as a collection come from the post-exilic period" (p. 165). In that work Cheyne reaches the conclusion that the book of Proverbs is pre-exilic. His argument is based on the "Praise of Wisdom," contained in the first nine chapters. He says: "Before the time of Sirach, I cannot find a period in the post-exile history in which the life of Jerusalem can have much resembled the picture given of it in Proverbs, chaps. 1-9. But Sirach's evident imitation of the 'Praise of Wisdom' . . . seems of itself to suggest that Proverbs, chaps. 1-9, is the monument of an earlier age, and this is confirmed by Sirach's different attitude toward ceremonial religion."

Since then there has been a great change in the views of the more radical critics with regard to the date of Proverbs, and even many conservative critics today hold a more radical position than did Cheyne thirteen years ago. Cheyne, in 1887, regarded Vatke's view that the book of Proverbs was composed in the fifth century B. C. as beyond the limits of possibility. Today the comparatively conservative Kautzsch assigns it to the fourth century B. C. Toy assigns the completion of the book to the second century B. C., and the formation of the two great collections of Proverbs, chaps. 10 : 1—16 : 22, and chaps. 25—29, to a date between 350 and 300 B. C. It does not seem to me that his argument on the question of date is altogether satisfactory. He throws aside tradition as absolutely worthless and argues from internal characteristics, whether of thought or style. He notes, as pointing to a post-exilic origin, the absence of any mention of idolatry. "Astral worship is referred to in Job 31 : 26, 27, and it is hardly likely that in a book of so wide a range as that of *Proverbs* there should be no hint of a usage that would have been the destruction of the 'fear of Yahweh'" (p. xxi). Similarly he finds it "difficult to understand how an Israelitish ethical and religious writer of the pre-exilic time, whatever the literary form of his work, could refrain from mentioning" such terms as "Israel, Israel's covenant with Yahweh, temple, priest, prophet." On the other hand, he has nothing to say regarding the lack of references in the book of Proverbs to the legal and scribal conceptions of law and religion, which dominated the Jewish life of the period to which he would refer the book of Proverbs. Why is the silence more difficult to explain in one case than in the other? At least Professor Toy should have treated the subject. The impression made upon the reader is that the difficulties of the situation have not been fully faced, and that the author gives us only one side of the matter.

Difficulties there certainly are in dating the book of Proverbs. It belongs to a line of humanistic literature quite aside from the Prophets, the Law, or the Psalms. I do not think that Professor Toy is right in ascribing this humanistic literature, the wisdom literature of the Hebrews, only to the period beginning in the fourth century B. C. It certainly had its roots very much deeper, and the composite character of Proverbs, which is better brought out in Professor Toy's *Commentary* than in any heretofore published, seems to be evidence of a long-continued working-over and re-forming of proverbial material, similar to the working-over and re-forming of legal and historical material



which we find in the Pentateuch, or of poetical and liturgical material which we find in the Psalter. I think that most critics of today will agree, as a general proposition, that Proverbs assumed its present form in the post-exilic period, although I doubt if many will accept the extremely late date of the second century B. C. which Professor Toy gives for the final collection. I believe that a final study of the book of Proverbs will in so far rehabilitate the older, conservative, traditional view as to admit the formation and collection of proverbs in the pre-exilic period, even if it be not able to assert that any proverbs in their present form go back to Solomon.

Professor Toy's comments and translations are full of suggestiveness. I do not think, however, that in the thirtieth chapter he has brought out clearly the peculiar character of the collection vss. 15-33. We have here a series of riddles with peculiar numerical characteristics. Passing over the first, because any consideration of the difficulties of the text and its interpretation would require more space than we have at our disposal, we find in the second riddle the question: "There are three things that are never satisfied, four that say not, Enough?" to which the answer is: "The grave; the barren womb; the earth that is not satisfied with water, and fire that never says, Enough." This riddle is characteristic of the series in its composition, with its "three things" and "four things." These riddles were apparently drawn from one or more previously existing collections of riddles. In editing there has been combined with them other material, such as the two verses 17 and 20, which are not riddles. The former of these belongs with vss. 11-14; the latter aphorism was inserted because of its appositeness to the conclusion of the preceding riddle. Similar is the relation of vss. 32 and 33 to the last clause of the riddle vss. 29-31. Professor Toy does not call attention to these riddles, and does not even note that they appear to form a collection by themselves. He includes them, without further analysis, in a collection, vss. 11-33, which he describes as "a collection of aphorisms citing certain things arranged in groups of fours."

In the concluding chapter, 31, as a mere matter of convenience, we could wish that Professor Toy had followed the method, pursued by Archdeacon Perowne in the *Cambridge Bible*, of printing the Hebrew letters with the verses to which they belong in the alphabetical acrostic, or that he had made an effort so to translate that acrostic as to bring out its alphabetical character. For a commentary probably the former is the better method.

All the work that Professor Toy does is valuable and instructive, and, if we cannot altogether agree with his results, we can at least cordially commend the *Commentary* as a valuable addition to our material for the study of the book of Proverbs.

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ISRAEL'S MESSIANIC HOPE TO THE TIME OF JESUS. A Study in the Historical Development of the Foreshadowings of the Christ in the Old Testament and Beyond. By GEORGE STEPHEN GOODSPEED, Professor in the University of Chicago. New York: The Macmillan Co.; London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1900. Pp. x + 314. \$1.50.

MESSIANIC prophecy is the most important subject of Old Testament study. Thereby one is introduced into the heart of these Scriptures and realizes most fully the unique and inspired character of the Hebrew religion. We welcome, then, especially this volume of Professor Goodspeed. Elementary in character and furnishing little for the advanced student, it is yet a fine piece of scholarly work, revealing throughout a true pedagogical instinct. The messianic hope is considered in the large aspect of the foreshadowings not simply pertaining to a future personal Messiah, but to the future of the kingdom of God. The leading messianic passages furnished with introductions are quoted in full and then expounded in reference to their main ideas. (These passages themselves take up about one-third of the volume.) The work thus resembles somewhat closely the similar ones of Professors Briggs and von Orelli, but is an improvement upon these, not only in being written in reference to more recent scholarship, but also in giving, in addition to the messianic hope of the canonical books, that of other pre-Christian Jewish literature. The needs also of working biblical students have been closely kept in mind. Each chapter is furnished with a list of collateral topics and their literature. A selected bibliography of messianic prophecy is also given.

Professor Goodspeed's critical point of view is modern. Driver's *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament* furnishes the standard. The historical method is also strictly applied in the introductions and expositions of the messianic passages. The historical growth or development of the messianic ideas, however, has not been made very apparent. This is due to the arrangement of the material in the order of events in history, instead of that of the appearance of the

literature interpreting these events. Such an arrangement blurs the impression of the real historical origin of the messianic ideas given in connection with the early ages, and yet has a practical value in rendering the volume acceptable to many who otherwise might be repelled in its perusal. Critical distinctions and conclusions, however, are stated clearly and definitely. The prophetic writers in their references to the past are properly called the interpreters of legend, story, and institution, and not recorders of history. Yet much is allowed for the early periods of Israel's history. In the gospel of Moses is found Jehovah, a God of righteousness and love requiring obedience to his just and holy law. The personal messianic ideal, we infer (since it is stated that Solomon did not become the Messiah expected, p. 72), is granted to have historically existed at the time of David. It is said also that the experiences of Daniel and his companions "may be employed in a general way to elucidate and confirm the undoubted utterances and experiences of the exiled people" (p. 157). Thus, happily for practical effect, a mediating position is taken between the old and new views of the Old Testament. This work, then, is safe and delightful to place in the hands of every lover of God's Word.

In one point, however, Professor Goodspeed falls into line with extreme critical opinion where we cannot follow him. "Amos," he says, "sees not one ray of hope or light for sinful Israel." This view we cannot accept. The sifting of 9 : 9, we hold, is for the purpose of saving a remnant, and, although vss. 11-15 may be late, something similar in tone may have formed the conclusion of the original Amos. A prophet of Jehovah preaching a hopeless message is to us a contradiction.

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DIE ORIGINALITÄT DES NEULICH ENTDECKTEN HEBRÄISCHEN SIRACHTEXTES . . . . UNTERSUCHT. Von ED. KÖNIG. Freiburg i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr, 1899. Pp. vii + 113. M. 2.50.

PROFESSOR KÖNIG's reply to Professor Margoliouth's attack on the Hebrew Ecclesiasticus originally appeared in a series of articles in the *Expository Times* (August, 1899—January, 1900), and is now republished in German with additions. The argument is mainly devoted (1) to showing that the passages found in the H[ebrew], but not in the G[reek] or S[yriac], are, as a rule, in favor of the originality of H, while those

found in G and S, but not in H, may on internal grounds be due to a subsequent elaboration either of the text or of the versions; (2) to a detailed examination of the passages criticised by Professor Margoliouth, with a view to proving that the charges brought against H (viz., that the Hebrew is bad or absurd where the versions give sense) are not established. Professor König considers that there is no evidence of an intermediate Persian translation as a basis for H, and further adduces some positive reasons against the view that H is a retranslation at all: (a) it is unlikely that such a work should have been undertaken so early as the eleventh century; (b) in many cases H could not have been derived from G or S, though the reverse is possible; (c) H frequently makes sense where G and S have missed the point; (d) as some of the corruptions in H presuppose a copy in which there were no "final" letters, that copy cannot have been written so late as the eleventh century; (e) the grammar of H, both in accordance and syntax, shows an early stage of the language.

How, then, are we to account for the undeniable difficulties in H and its relation to G S? Professor Margoliouth regards MS. *B* (to which the Oxford fragment belongs and the latter part of the Cambridge text) as the supposed retranslator's first draft, and the marginal readings as suggestions made by him in the course of his work. It may be wise not to press the Persian notes quite as far as Professor König does, for neither their reading nor their meaning is always certain, but the note on 45, 8 ("*this copy went thus far*": S has a lacuna after verse 8) can only refer to another copy which the scribe was collating. The marginal readings, therefore, he contends, represent different recensions of H, varying in vocalization, orthography, and amount. Since his work appeared, a leaf of a third MS. (*C*) has been published by M. Lévi (*Revue des Études juives*, January-March, 1900), in which marginal variants of *B* appear in the text. Similarly the doublets represent the readings of different MSS., if in some cases they were not in the author's autograph. But there is another reason for the differences between H and G S. It seems clear that G is itself corrupt, that it embodies glosses, that there were varying recensions of it, and that, even if we could get back to the form in which it left the translator's hands, we have no guarantee that he in every case understood his original. G cannot therefore be implicitly trusted, and it is both difficult and unsafe to restore H from G (or S).

To sum up Professor König's conclusions: While rejecting the charges brought against H and refusing to accept reconstructions

based on G S, he holds that H is not an absolute authority. Even with the marginal corrections it is not free from obvious errors. But though corrupt, and though some passages "einen sekundären Charakter tragen," H nevertheless does represent the original. The above is the barest sketch of a most interesting pamphlet, which, quite apart from its special object, forms a valuable commentary on many passages by an acknowledged master of Hebrew grammar.

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A. COWLEY.

DE VETERIS LATINAE ECCLESIASTICI CAPITIBUS I–XLVI. Dissertatio, quam comitantur notae ex eiusdem libri translationibus aethiopica, armeniaca, copticis, Latina altera, syro-hexaplari depromptae. Pars I, quae continet Prolegomena. Quam commentationem . . . in alma literarum academia regia Monasteriensi . . . die XXI Mensis Decembris anni MDCCCXCVII hora XI publice defendet HENRICUS HERKENNE, Presb. Archidioce. Colon. Lipsiae: typis expressit Drugulin, MDCCCXCVII. Pp. vii + 40.

DE VETERIS LATINAE ECCLESIASTICI CAPITIBUS I–XLII. Una cum notis ex eiusdem . . . depromptis scripsit DR. THEOL. HENRICUS HERKENNE repetens in Collegio Albertino Bonnensi. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1899. Pp. vii + 268. M. 7.

THE introduction to these studies on the Latin Sirach served, as is shown by the title placed first, as a dissertation for the degree of doctor of divinity at the Roman Catholic Academy at Münster.

The dissertation itself is altogether suitable for such a purpose, and it is, at the same time, a matter of congratulation that the theological public receives these studies on the Latin Sirach just at the moment when parts of the Hebrew Sirach have been discovered. For the Latin Sirach is of great importance. The question has even been raised whether it does not go back to a Hebrew original, with comparison of our Greek text. This our author denies, but he declares: "*Nitiur V. L. textu vulgari Graeco ad textum Hebraicum alius recensionis Graece castigato.*" He is able, moreover, to show that the Latin text very frequently agrees with lessons which were known hitherto only through Clement of Alexandria. One of the most notable examples is 4:11. All our Greek MSS. read, with scarcely any variation: ἡ σοφία υἱὸς ἐαυτῇ (or better ἐαυτῆς, αὐτῆς) ἀνέψωσεν, "Wisdom exalteth her children (or sons)." Nobody took offense at this reading (Edersheim, Ball, Revised

Version, Ryssel-Kautzsch). The Latin has: *Sapientia filiis suis vitam inspirat* (or *inspiravit*). This agrees with Clement of Alexandria (Strom. 7, 16, ed. Dindorf 3,344, 3, where the quotation is not recognized and therefore missing in the index, p. 618): “Ἡ σοφία” φησὶν ὁ Σολομῶν “ἐνεφυσίωσεν τὰ αὐτῆς τέκνα.” Hatch (*Essays in Biblical Greek*, p. 260) says, “The Latin seems to show that the Greek verb was originally ἐψύχωσε or ἐνεψύχωσε,” and asks whether in Clement we ought not to read ἐνεφύσῃσιν. Ryssel repeats from Hatch this ἐνεψύχωσε. But now compare Herkenne, *ad loc.*, who quotes 3 Esr. (1 Esdr.) 9:48, 55, ἐμφυσιοῦντες τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν and ἐνεφυσιώθησαν ἐν τοῖς ῥήμασιν, which passages correspond to 2 Esr. 8:8, 12 (2 Esdr. 18:8, 12) συνῆκεν ὁ λαὸς ἐν τῇ ἀναγνώσει and συνῆκαν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις = Hebrew הִבְיִינוּ and הִבְיִינוּ. From this Herkenne concluded that ἐμφυσιοῦν must mean *to teach*, and presupposed as Hebrew original לְמַדָּה בְּיָהָבָה. And now compare with this the Hebrew text, published in the meantime by Schechter-Taylor, where the passage really runs: חֲכָמוֹת לְמַדָּה בְּיָהָבָה. When Herkenne for ἀνέψωσεν of the received text presupposes הִרְיָמָה, and Schechter (p. 41) has רִוּמָמָה, it will be clear, I think, that ἀνέψωσεν is nothing but an emendation of ἐνεφυσίωσεν, which a Greek reader could not understand, especially in its construction with the accusative of a personal object.

One of the correspondences between the Latin and Clement not recognized by Herkenne is 15:10, where the Greek has ἐν γὰρ σοφίᾳ ῥηθήσεται αἶνος, the Hebrew of Schechter-Taylor בָּפֶה חֶסֶד חֲמִיר חֶלֶלָה; but the Latin: *Sapientiae enim astabit laus et in ore fideli abundabit*, Clement (Strom. 2, 6 = Dind. 2, p. 160): Εἰκότως οὖν εἶρηται παρὰ τῷ Σολομῶντι· σοφία ἐν στόματι πιστῶν. There are also other passages where the intricate relations of the different texts of Sirach have not been dealt with quite adequately, for instance 6:29, where *in protectionem fortitudinis et bases virtutis* is a double rendering for σκέπην ἰσχύος = σκεύη; or 34:20, where *precatio* must be *praecautio* = φυλακή; but, on the whole, it must be said that this book is a very useful contribution to the textual criticism of Sirach. That it stops short at chap. 43 is due to the great cost of printing a book in which Latin, Greek, Syriac, Hebrew, Armenian, Coptic, and Ethiopic type is to be met with on almost every page. That Herkenne was able to publish it is due to the liberality of Dr. Seb. Euringer, of the diocese of Augsburg, to whom the book is dedicated. It is greatly to be desired that the author may extend his studies to the rest of the book.

EB. NESTLE.

MAULBRONN, GERMANY.

**A HISTORY OF THE TEXTUAL CRITICISM OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.**

By MARVIN R. VINCENT, D.D., Professor of New Testament Exegesis and Literature in Union Theological Seminary. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1899. Pp. xii + 185. \$0.75.

THIS volume by Professor Vincent in his own chosen field is precisely what it purports to be—a handbook for the general reader as well as for the special student. It has long been needed, as nothing published in America has heretofore been produced which gave the neophyte a clear, scientific, and historic introduction to this important subject.

Part I deals, in four brief chapters, with such fundamentals as the need and office of "Textual Criticism," the "Manuscripts of the New Testament," "Versions," and "Patristic Quotations." In the classification of manuscripts the older terms "uncial" and "cursive" are still used to designate the two prevailing kinds. This is peculiarly faulty, both because the terms themselves are in no sense coördinate, and because there exists from the earliest times a script which may be described as a cursive-uncial on the one hand, and an archaic, carefully executed minuscule script, by no means cursive in character, on the other. The minuscule is the most nearly perfect book-hand that has ever been invented, combining the elements of legibility and dignity inherent in the literary uncial with those of grace and more rapid execution characteristic of the non-literary cursive.

In Part II the author begins with a very concise statement of the tendency to textual criticism in the earliest Christian age, but since the science of text-criticism is entirely modern, he makes its real point of departure identical with that of the printed text in the beginning of the sixteenth century.

Its history falls into three periods: (1) that of the reign of the Textus Receptus, 1516–1770; (2) that of transition from the Textus Receptus to the older uncial text, 1770–1830; (3) that of the dethronement of the Textus Receptus, 1830 to the present time.

How the hasty edition of Erasmus and the tardy edition of Ximenes, neither of which was based on many or valuable Greek manuscripts, were made a compound basis for all influential texts until the middle of the present century, is graphically told, showing the origin of the so-called Textus Receptus of England and of the continent, at once most widely received and scientifically most unacceptable.

The gradual collection and collation of numerous uncial and minuscule manuscripts and their classification by genealogies, families, and groups; the evolution of critical methods and fundamental canons of procedure—all this is traced in fresh and attractive fashion, and the triumph of the newer school is proclaimed. Lachmann and Tregelles are justly dealt with, Tischendorf is given his due, Burgon and Scrivener are freely criticised, while Westcott and Hort are not praised without discrimination.

The final chapter is given to a brief estimation of Dr. B. Weiss' new text, and a more extended review of the recent studies in Codex Bezae, the latter by Rev. J. E. Frame.

A specimen of the breadth, alertness, and care which mark the spirit of Dr. Vincent's book is seen in its last sentence: "Whether the theory of the double editions of Acts and Luke be vindicated or not, whatever may be the final decision concerning the documents represented in Acts, enough has been developed to make it evident that different forms of a New Testament document may be due to the author himself, and that editorship may have enlarged, modified, or changed the form in which the document originally came from the author's pen."

CHAS. F. SITTERLY.

MADISON, N. J.

THE LIFE OF JESUS OF NAZARETH. A Study. By RUSH RHEES, Professor of New Testament Interpretation in the Newton Theological Institution. With map. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1900. Pp. xvii + 320. \$1.25.

THIS book is Vol. VII in "The Historical Series for Bible Students." It is, therefore, as we should expect, historical in character and designed especially for students, that term being taken broadly enough to include all "thoughtful readers" of the gospels. It is divided into three parts. The first, called "Preparatory," begins with the "Historical Situation" and comes down to the "Messianic Call of Jesus," and to the "First Disciples." The second covers "The Ministry," in nine chapters; and the third, in four chapters, is entitled "The Minister." These are followed by an appendix on "Books of Reference on the Life of Jesus," an "Index of Names and Subjects," and an "Index of Biblical References." Part III treats of the "Friend of Men," the "Teacher with Authority," "Jesus' Knowledge of Truth," and "Jesus' Conception of Himself." In this part, therefore, the



author discusses some of the leading subjects of the *teaching* of Jesus, in distinction from the material which is more strictly biographical.

In regard to the point of view the author says: "The church has inherited a rich treasure of doctrine concerning its Lord, the result of patient study and, frequently, of heated controversy. It is customary to approach the gospels with this interpretation of Christ as a premise, and such a study has some unquestionable advantages. . . . It is with no lack of reverence for the importance and truth of the divinity of Christ that this book essays to bring the Man Jesus before the mind in the reading of the gospels."

The aim of the book leads it to pass rapidly over such questions as those of the origin and interrelation of the gospels, and the chronology of the life of Jesus. Yet the author indicates his own position on these questions, and in the appendix gives references to fuller discussions.

The critical attitude of the book may be suggested by such points as the following: the fourth gospel is essentially the work of John, the son of Zebedee; Mark and John are our two authorities for the general course of the ministry of Jesus; Jesus was born in the summer of B. C. 6, baptized in A. D. 26, and crucified in the spring of 29 or 30; "it may not be said that the incarnation required a miraculous conception, yet it may be acknowledged that a miraculous conception is a most suitable method for a divine incarnation;" and, finally, the messianic call came to Jesus at his baptism, and "came to him unexpectedly."

In conclusion, the spirit of this book, from an intellectual point of view, is, in the main, sympathetic with modern criticism, and progressive; and the work is a very welcome addition to our practical literature of the subject.

GEORGE H. GILBERT.

THE CHICAGO THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

**THE APOCALYPSE.** An Introductory Study of the Revelation of St. John the Divine. By EDWARD WHITE BENSON. London: Macmillan & Co., 1900. Pp. xx + 177. \$3.50.

FROM the preface of the editor—Miss Margaret Benson, daughter of the late archbishop of Canterbury—we learn two or three things of interest regarding the origin of this book and the author's judgment of his own work. First, it is the fruit of "many years" of labor. Second, the author left this pencil-note regarding one chapter of his

book: "There should be a final list of things which I cannot explain." This modest judgment concerning a part of the work is characteristic of the author's attitude toward the whole subject. He does not belong to the number of scholars who have solved all the problems of the book—to their own satisfaction. And yet, third, he was confident that he had not wholly failed, as appears from what he wrote in 1896: "Have now practically finished a big book, unless I add a few of the Greek comments. If it ever sees the light, many will think it a very odd book. Folks are edified in such different ways. But it has edified me, which was what I began it for."

It will, I think, edify others, and that chiefly for the same reason that has made Professor Moulton's edition of the Bible edifying. The central third of the book consists of a translation of the Apocalypse, arranged so as to convey through the eye the author's analysis, giving on one margin condensed summaries of the thought, on the other numerous references to the Old Testament, and having at the bottom of the page occasional explanatory notes. This arrangement of the text, that brings out its dramatic character, makes the Apocalypse much more intelligible than it is in our Bibles. It is of far greater value to the reader than the new translation itself, although this is careful, and in the main acceptable. It is doubtful whether the translation of the unique designation of Jehovah will be found preferable to the old one. For the words, "He who is and who was and who is to come," we have, "The Being and the Was and the Coming One." Also the substitution of "wood of life" for "tree of life," in the last chapter of the Apocalypse, will scarcely find acceptance. John probably thought of more than *one* tree, as the author says. We may gather from the context of our English Bible that he takes "tree of life" as the name of a species, and not as designating a single individual tree. Hence there is a loss rather than a gain, if we substitute for the word "tree" the ambiguous word "wood." These are the most striking departures from the rendering of the Revised Version.

The literary arrangement of the text, which constitutes the chief value of the central third of the book, goes far to support the author's dictum that the Apocalypse is "the orderly workmanship of a great and beautiful soul seeing more and farther than other men."

In the first third of the book the author treats "Of the Persons," "Of the Framework," and the "Four Cardinals of Introduction," in addition to "Aphorisms from Auberlen," and a "Breviate." In the essay on framework he seeks to vindicate for the angel-guide, who

showed John the things that he describes, a very wide function. In the third essay, "Four Cardinals of Introduction," he holds that John in 1:5-8 gives the cardinal points of the theology of the Apocalypse. In the last third of the book we have two essays and an appendix. The first essay is on "Apocalypse and the Apocalypse;" the second, unfinished, is entitled "A Grammar of Ungrammar," and the appendix deals with the Nero legend.

There is no space for a critical estimate of these essays. However, the chief worth of the volume lies, not in these, but in its literary arrangement of the text.

GEORGE H. GILBERT.

THE CHICAGO THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

DIE ALTTESTAMENTLICHEN CITATE UND REMINISCENZEN IM NEUEN TESTAMENTE. VON DR. PHIL. EUGEN HÜHN, Pfarrer in Heilingen bei Orlamünde. Tübingen, Freiburg i. B. und Leipzig: Verlag von J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1900. Pp. xi + 300. M. 6 (unbound).

WORKS on quotations in the New Testament have hitherto confined themselves more or less strictly to cases of obvious adoption or modification. The present volume, which forms Part II of the author's *Die messianischen Weissagungen*, has a wider scope—it is an attempt to collect all Old Testament passages that illustrate New Testament expressions and ideas. Messianic citations (with and without formula of quotation) and reminiscences are printed at the top of the page, non-messianic below. The principal parallels in the Apocrypha are added, and occasionally extra-biblical sources. Completeness of Old Testament citations, but not of reminiscences, is attempted. The Greek texts of Westcott and Hort and of Swete are used, but passages are rarely written out—the reader is supposed to have his texts before him. There is no systematic criticism of the Hebrew and Greek texts, though there are many excellent remarks. The general results are as follows: There is an estimate of the number of citations and reminiscences from the Old Testament and from extra-canonical works, Jewish and non-Jewish, together with a full list of formulas of quotation; it is reckoned that messianic citations are taken most frequently from Psalms and Isaiah, then from the Pentateuch and the prophets, non-messianic from Deuteronomy and Exodus; it is held that both the Hebrew and the Greek of the Old Testament are followed, but that it cannot be maintained that any New Testament author knew

only the Hebrew original; the meaning of the Hebrew is frequently not given correctly (the Greek having been relied on), and there is allegorizing; Jesus, according to the evangelists, refers, at most, six Old Testament passages to himself; the New Testament citations, though not always exegetically correct, are none the less religiously valuable.

Dr. Hühn has collected a vast amount of interesting and useful material, much of it raw material, not interpreted by him, but ready for the interpreter. As he uses the term "messianic" in a very wide sense, taking it to include all references to Jesus and his time, and to the Christian community or the final dispensation, many of his citations are of doubtful relevancy. Nor is it surprising that his "reminiscences" are often vague. On the other hand, some of his omissions are strange—one would expect a remark on the difference between Matt. 12 : 39 f. and Luke 11 : 29 f., and, in the note on John 1 : 1, a reference to Philo. But Dr. Hühn's purpose is to give not so much a criticism as a compilation, and this he has done so well that his volume will be of great service to biblical students.

C. H. Toy.

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ANCIENNES LITTÉRATURES CHRÉTIENNES. II : LA LITTÉRATURE SYRIAQUE. Par RUBENS DUVAL. Paris: Librairie Victor Lecoffre, 1899. Pp. xv + 426. Fr. 3.50. Corrections et additions à la première édition, 1900. Pp. 34. Fr. 0.30. Deuxième édition, 1900. Pp. xvi + 444. Fr. 3.50.

THE rapid sale of this book, of which a second edition was called for in the year following the appearance of the first, and forestalled our review of the first edition, is one of the gratifying signs that Syriac literature is winning, little by little, the more prominent place which it deserves wherever theology is studied in a scientific way. There is scarcely a branch of theological studies which will not be the gainer by a knowledge of Syriac and the Syriac literature: the Bible (Old and New Testaments), patristics, church history, liturgics, and so on. The Syriac literature is so exclusively Christian that perhaps only one piece of pagan origin has come down to us in this language; but this is a very interesting one—the letter of Mara bar Serapion to his son. It was published by Cureton forty-five years ago; yet it has only lately been thoroughly studied, viz., by Friedrich Schulthess, in the *Zeitschrift der Deutsch-Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* (1897, Bd. 51, p. 249).

One most interesting passage, quoted by Duval at length, is worth transcribing here also:

What profit had the Athenians from the murder of Socrates, which was requited to them by famine and pest; or the Samians from the burning of Pythagoras, as their whole country in one moment was covered with sand; or the Jews from the putting to death of their wise king, as from that time the kingdom was taken from them? With justice God took vengeance for these three wise men: the Athenians died of hunger; the Samians were covered by the sea; the Jews were murdered and driven from their kingdom, and live everywhere in dispersion. Socrates is not dead, because of Plato; nor Pythagoras, because of the statue of Hera; nor that wise king, because of the new laws which he has given. [Duval is wrong in translating the first sentence about Jesus: *leur sage roi, qui les avait gouvernés pendant quelque temps.*]

There is plenty of opportunity for original and fruitful research in this field of studies; and this survey of what has been done already is very convenient. May it stimulate work on the American side of the Atlantic, where scholars like Perkins and Isaac H. Hall—to mention only those who are dead—have done so good work.

EB. NESTLE.

MAULBRONN, GERMANY.

DIE GRIECHISCHEN CHRISTLICHEN SCHRIFTSTELLER DER ERSTEN DREI JAHRHUNDERTE, herausgegeben von der Kirchenväter-Commission der königl. Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften. *Origenes' Werke*, I. Band: Die Schrift vom Martyrium; Buch I–IV Gegen Celsus; II. Band: Buch V–VIII Gegen Celsus; Die Schrift vom Gebet. Herausg. von DR. PAUL KOETSCHAU. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1899. Pp. xcii + 374; viii + 545. M. 28.

THE Berlin edition of the Greek Fathers of the first three centuries, so auspiciously inaugurated by Bonwetsch and Achelis with their edition of the works of Hippolytus,<sup>1</sup> is worthily continued by the present edition of three treatises of Origen in two volumes.

The contents of these two volumes are as follows: (1) introduction (pp. i–xcii), and (2) the Greek text of the three writings of Origen: the "Exhortation to Martyrdom" (pp. 1–47), the "Eight Books against Celsus" (pp. 49–344; and Vol. II, pp. 1–293), and the "Treatise on Prayer" (Vol. II, pp. 295–403); followed by copious indices (pp. 407–538), additions and corrections (pp. 539–45).

<sup>1</sup> See the AMERICAN JOURNAL OF THEOLOGY, Vol. II, No. 4, pp. 901–4.

The editor, a professor in the Grossherzogliche Gymnasium at Jena, has been known for years as a close student of Origen by his contributions to the *Texte und Untersuchungen*, and other periodicals.\* The two volumes before us are the fruits of fifteen years of work and may be called the first critical edition of these three treatises.

The introduction, of ninety-two pages, discusses for each of the three works all the historical, literary, and doctrinal questions, as well as those of textual tradition and criticism.

The "Exhortation to Martyrdom" was written 235 A. D.,<sup>3</sup> at Cæsarea, and is written for the purpose of encouraging, not so much the two men to whom it is addressed,<sup>4</sup> as the whole body of faithful Christian believers suffering under the persecutions begun by Emperor Maximin. Many had become lax; many had considered the names of the gods nothing but empty titles, to whom to sacrifice was not a heinous crime. But these Origen does not address. The exhortation is written in the form of a homily.

The *editio princeps* of the *Exhortatio*, by Wetstein (1674), and the later one by Delarue (1733) are both based upon a single, incomplete, sixteenth-century MS. (Basiliensis, 31). Koetschau bases his edition upon the Codex Venetus Marcianus 45 (fourteenth century, = *M*) and the Parisinus suppl. graec. 616 (1339 A. D., = *P*); the former containing also annotations by Cardinal Bessarion. The two MSS. belong to the same family, the former presenting a complete and more correct text, the other being rather fragmentary, but yet by far superior to Cod. Basiliensis; both go back to the same Vatican codex (386, thirteenth century), which is the basis of all the Celsus MSS. If so, this latter must have been mutilated before the end of the fourteenth century, for the *Exhortatio* is not found in that codex as we know it.

\*"Die Textüberlieferung der Bücher des Origenes gegen Celsus in den Handschriften dieses Werkes und der Philokalia." Prolegomena zu einer kritischen Ausgabe. *Texte und Untersuchungen*, Vol. VI, No. 1 (1889), pp. vi + 156. See J. A. ROBINSON, in *Journal of Philology*, Vol. XVIII (1890), pp. 288-96.—"Die Gliederung des ἀληθῆς λόγος des Celsus," in *Jahrb. für Protest. Theologie*, Vol. XVIII (1892), pp. 604-32.—*Des Gregorios Thaumaturgos Dankrede an Origenes*; als Anhang: Der Brief des Origenes an Gregorios Thaumaturgos (Heft 9 of G. KRÜGER's "Sammlung ausgewählter kirchen- und dogmengeschichtlicher Quellenschriften").—Also many reviews of books dealing with Origen's works.

<sup>3</sup>The editor follows here his friend, Professor K. J. Neumann, the well-known author of *Der römische Staat und die allgemeine Kirche bis auf Diocletian* (Leipzig).

<sup>4</sup>The presbyter Protocletus and the deacon Ambrose, both members of the church at Cæsarea.

The "Eight Books against Celsus" were written, at Cæsarea, during the reign of Philip the Arabian (Eusebius, *Ch. Hist.*, VI, 36, 2); more precisely, in 248 A. D.,<sup>5</sup> when Origen was sixty years of age. In this same year the millennium of the Roman empire was celebrated, and this fact contributed much toward strengthening the feeling of self-sufficiency among the pagan nations, thus endangering the progress of Christianity. To strengthen the wavering believers Origen acceded to the long and often expressed wish of his friend Ambrose and wrote this apology as an answer to the attack made by Celsus. It is by far the largest and most influential apology and was read very widely. Koetschau describes on pp. xxiv–xlvi Origen's intimate knowledge of Greek literature and Greek antiquities;<sup>6</sup> follows this up with a chapter on the church father's familiarity with the Bible and with Christian literature; states his attitude toward Greek philosophy; defines his theological system; and gives an analysis of the eight books, and a short presentation of the contents of Celsus' *'Αληθὴς Λόγος*.<sup>7</sup>

Of great interest is the chapter on the text-transmission of the "Contra Celsum" (pp. lvii–lxxv). In *Texte und Untersuchungen* (*loc. cit.*; see footnote 2), pp. 63 f., Koetschau maintained the coördinate authority of the two MSS., viz., Cod. Vatic. graec. 386 (= *A*) and Cod. Parisinus suppl. graec. 616 (= *P*); but J. Armitage Robinson, the editor of the "Philocalia" (1893), and Neumann soon convinced him that Cod. *P* was only a copy of *A*, just as the Venetus 45 (sixteenth century) and Venetus 44 (fifteenth century). In addition to these there is the text of the "Philocalia" (*Φ*), which reproduces about one-seventh of "Contra Celsum." We have thus two sources for our text, *A* (direct) and *Φ* (secondary). The former is given the preference by Koetschau in the establishment of the text.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Also here following the suggestion of Neumann, who, taking into account an allusion of Origen (iii, 15) to an actual revolution, refers this to that of the three counter-emperors Iotapianus, Pacatianus, and Uranius Antoninus.

<sup>6</sup> A. knowledge equaled only by his great teacher, Clement of Alexandria, as shown in the latter's *Στροματεῖς*.

<sup>7</sup> As constituted by Koetschau in his review of PATRICK, *The Apology of Origen in Reply to Celsus*, in the *Theolog. Literaturzeitung*, 1893, No. 18.—Concerning pp. xxiv–xlvi of Koetschau's preface we agree with van Manen, Jülicher, and others, that they belong not here, but into a general introduction to a complete edition of Origen's works.

<sup>8</sup> The "Philocalia," as is well known, was compiled in the fourth century by Basil and Gregory Nazianzen, reëdited in the sixth century with a new prologue, and has undergone undoubtedly many changes, intentional as well as accidental.—For the further study of the text of "Contra Celsum," Jülicher's remarks, *Theolog. Literaturzeitung*, 1899, No. 20 (especially cols. 559, 560), are very instructive and welcome:

The edition of "Contra Celsum" has called forth a very unpleasant controversy between the present editor and Paul Wendland, the well-known editor of the works of Philo. In a review, written in the most exasperating and provoking tone and manner, and published in the *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1899, No. 4, pp. 276-304, Wendland denies to the present edition all merit and condemns it *in toto*. He finds that Koetschau undervalues  $\Phi$  and gives undue preference to *A*; he quotes a number of passages in proof of his assertion; maintains, in other cases, the editor's inaptness for sound philological criticism; gives a third list in which emendations almost self-evident have been omitted out of sheer ignorance; and continues to find fault with every feature of Koetschau's edition. Wendland's language is very severe, and, in many cases, unjustified and uncalled for. As was to be expected, Koetschau answered Wendland's attack<sup>9</sup> and endeavored to answer every objection raised by his critic against his own method and position. It must be deplored that Koetschau assumes against his critic the same tone and manner which have been so unanimously condemned in Wendland. It cannot be denied that, in a good many instances, Wendland's emendations are more acceptable than Koetschau admits, and we look forward with great expectations to the book promised by Wendland, in which he will take up all the passages in Origen's work believed by him to be corrupted and faulty. Whatever Wendland may have proved in his review, or may show in his forthcoming book, it cannot be said that Koetschau has been derelict in his work or that he has given us an edition full of errors and mistakes. Many of the objections of Wendland's concern only small minutiae, and by no means detract from the value of the edition. Wendland's rejoinder in "Koetschau's Bemerkungen zu meiner Ausgabe von Origenes' Exhortatio" in the *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1899, No. 8 (August), is not likely to end the feud between the two scholars.<sup>10</sup>

"Bei der Textconstitution hat Koetschau am seltensten zu einer unnöthigen Conjectur gegriffen, meistens leuchten seine Emendationsvorschläge ohne Weiteres ein." — In the present edition every word attributed to Celsus is printed in larger type, thus making it easy to recognize at once Celsus' own words.

<sup>9</sup> *Kritische Bemerkungen zu meiner Ausgabe von Origenes' Exhortatio, Contra Celsum, de oratione*. Entgegnung auf die von Paul Wendland veröffentlichte Kritik. Von PAUL KOETSCHAU. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1889. Pp. 82. M. 1.60.

<sup>10</sup> It is interesting to note that almost all the reviewers warmly defend Koetschau against the attack of Wendland; so, *e. g.*, G. Krüger in *Liter. Centralblatt*, 1899, No. 39; Jülicher in *Theolog. Literaturzeitung*, 1899, No. 20; Erwin Preuschen in *Berliner*



The present edition marks a long and notable advance upon the *editio princeps* of Hoeschel (Augsburg, 1605), based on two copies from Cod. Venetus 45 (= *M*) and one from Cod. Venetus 44 (fifteenth century, = *V*); and upon the Benedictine edition of Delarue (Paris, 1733), based on two copies from *P* and one from *M*. Delarue's text was copied by Migne and Lommatzsch.

The treatise "On Prayer" is based upon a MS. of Trinity College, Cambridge (*B* 8, 10, of fourteenth century), which Mr. Charles J. B. Gaskoin had collated for this purpose. The archetype of the codex must have been very close to the original draft of the work, which was made in Cæsarea (in Palestine) some time during the years 233 and 234 A. D.<sup>11</sup> Koetschau, of course, consulted the *editio princeps* (Cambridge, 1686), which was copied by Wetstein (Basle, 1694), and this again by Delarue. Due regard is paid also throughout to the edition of William Reading (London, 1728).

In the "Contra Celsum" we admire Origen's learning; the two other tracts reveal unto us his innermost religious life and fervor. It is evident to every reader of the three treatises that they were written rapidly for specific purposes at the request of his friend Ambrose. Pp. xci f. of the present edition contain a list of the abbreviations for MSS. and editions used by the editor. Special attention should be called here to the careful indices, which make the use of the two volumes quite easy. The "index of passages"—covering thirty pages—contains references to every Old Testament book except Ezra, Nehemiah, and Obadiah, and to every New Testament book except 2 and 3 John, and Philemon. Of classical literature, we find references to some eighty Greek and Latin authors; and more than forty early Christian writers (including Josephus, Philo, and Enoch) are registered. The only objection against this copious index is that the editor has massed together references to text and to his commentary. The second index, containing proper names, covers twelve pages (439–50). This is followed by a *Sachregister*, of eighty-seven pages, presenting an almost complete lexicon to these three works of Origen.<sup>12</sup> It includes many words which should be treated in an *index verborum*, sadly missed in this edition of Origen's works.

*philologische Wochenschrift*, 1899, Nos. 39, 40 (though agreeing with Wendland on the preference of  $\Phi$  to *A*); Bratke in *Theol. Literaturblatt*, 1899, Nos. 48, 49; and Paul Legay in *Revue critique*, 1899, November 13.

<sup>11</sup> See, however, PIERRE BATIFFOL in *Revue biblique*, January, 1900, pp. 123, 124.

<sup>12</sup> Some omissions are mentioned by Jülicher and others.

Seven pages of "Additions and Corrections" (pp. 539-45) are a new proof of the tireless industry and care of the editor.

The two volumes, as a whole, register a distinct advance on all that has preceded them in the presentation of Origen's works. Students now possess an edition which, without being perfect, is critical in the best sense of the word. The typography is all that could be expected; paper and press-work might be much better. The whole enterprise, however, is an honor to German scholarship and erudition.

W. MUSS-ARNOLT.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

TESTAMENTUM DOMINI NOSTRI JESU CHRISTI nunc primum edidit, latine reddidit et illustravit IGNATIUS EPHRAEM II. RAHMANI, Patriarcha Antiochenus Syrorum. Moguntiae sumptibus Francisci Kirchheim 1899. Pp. lii + 231. M. 25.

• THE publication of this volume has already given rise to a whole library of articles. Compare Achelis in *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 1899, No. 26; Batiffol in *Bulletin de Littérature ecclésiastique*, February 20, 1900; *Revue biblique*, April, 1900, pp. 253-60; Baumstark in *Römische Quartalschrift*, 1900, pp. 1-45; Funk in *Der Katholik*, January, 1900; *Theologische Quartalschrift*, 1900, p. 2; Harnack in *Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie*, 1899; Kent in *Dublin Review*, April, 1900; G. Morin in *Revue bénédictine*, January and July, 1900; Wordsworth in *Revue internationale de Théologie*, July-September; Zahn in *Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift*, 11, pp. 438-50. The publication was announced by the German publisher in a way which is, I am glad to say, not common for learned publications, and our daily papers have taken up the matter, as if there were to be found in it a new revelation of Christ himself. The oriental editor, too, was not mindful of the golden rule, given by one of our great philological critics to all scholars who have the good fortune to find a codex or are engaged with such a thing: "*Do not overrate your codex.*" Nevertheless this codex and the matter contained in it are of great interest. It already appears that the codex, though it is very late, having been written A. D. 1154, is unique in two respects. Its writer aimed to give a complete Bible of the Old and New Testaments,<sup>1</sup> counting the books from 1 to 76, a numbering which does not seem to be found anywhere else, and it is a

<sup>1</sup> *Continet codex ab initio ad folium 338 versum . . . omnes V. et N. T. tum proto-canonicos tum deutero-canonicos libros, qui attingunt summam septuaginta sex . . .*

pity that Rahmani does not state which books are contained in this Bible, and how this number of seventy-six books came about. Then he added to this Bible, what is not uncommon in Ethiopic MSS., but does not seem to occur elsewhere, seven, or rather eight, books more, continuing his numbering from 77 to 83. The first two of these books, numbered in the MS. as one (77), are the two books of the so-called *Διαθήκη τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*, here published; the rest are the so-called "Doctrine of the Twelve Apostles" (78), and extracts from the Apostolic Constitutions (79-82), with the "Canons of the Apostles" (83). This "testament" was translated from the Greek, as we are informed at the end, "by the poor Jacob" in the year 687 A. D. — probably James of Edessa. But the place and time of its origin have not yet been decided with certainty. Parts of it were published by Lagarde as early as 1856 and translated into Greek by him in the same year (*Reliquiae*, Syriace, pp. 1 ff.; Graece, pp. 80 ff.). Rahmani gives a comparison of Lagarde's edition, but not complete and not without faults (*cf.* p. 6, note 7; p. 8, note 5; p. 12, note 3; p. 14, note 3; p. 80, note 6); neither is his Latin translation as literal as is desirable in publications of such a kind. In the introduction and in the dissertations at the end of the volume he tries to prove the great age of his text (second century, oldest liturgy). But it is generally acknowledged that in this he fails. One of the chief questions is the relation of this text to the so-called Canons of Hippolytus. In this direction all has been changed since Morin published his brilliant suggestion (*Revue bénédictine*, July, 1900) that the so-called Canons of Hippolytus are to be identified with the *Ἐπιστολὴ τοῖς ἐν Ῥώμῃ διακονικῇ διὰ Ἰππολύτου* mentioned by Eusebius (*H. E.*, vi, 46, 5) as among the extant works of St. Dionysius of Alexandria. In that case we have in that work, not a Roman manual, but an Egyptian. Then it becomes likely that this piece, too, may belong to Egypt, and not, as others have thought, to some obscure Christian sect in Syria. It is, perhaps, well to suspend judgment till another Syriac text appears, which is even now passing through the press at Cambridge. Attention may be called, also, to the catalogue of MSS. in possession of the Jacobite church at Edessa, published recently by Ed. Sachau (*Mitteilungen des Seminars für orientalische Sprachen*, Jahrgang III, Abteilung II, Westasiatische Studien, Berlin, 1900, p. 44), which mentions (under No. 21) a book of Clemens, *Vision*; again (No. 22), Clemens, *Church Order*; [Di]dascalia, minor matters (No. 27); book of Canons (No. 29). In what building these books have been kept, or are still kept, at Arfa,

Sachau does not know; the minister, Hagop Hajathian, who prepared for him this catalogue, was murdered in the great persecution of 1896. One of the tasks allotted in this text to the deacon is, in a town near the seashore, to go along the coast to see whether there might not be lying there someone who had perished in the sea, and then to clothe and to bury him. So, too, he is admonished to go about in the inns to see whether there is not someone there sick or poor or dead, and to tell it to the church, that it might provide what is necessary. There are other instructions in it of great interest, but we must refrain from entering upon them.

EB. NESTLE.

MAULBRONN, GERMANY.

CAMBRIDGE PATRISTIC TEXTS. *The Five Theological Orations of Gregory of Nazianzus.* Edited by ARTHUR JAMES MASON, D.D., Lady Margaret's Reader in Divinity and Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge. Cambridge: At the University Press; New York: The Macmillan Co., 1899. Pp. xxiv+212. \$1.50.

THIS attractive little volume is the first of a series of patristic texts, designed chiefly for the use of theological students, to be edited by Dr. Mason for the Syndics of the University Press. The general editor aims to do in the ecclesiastical field what has been done so well in the classical, viz., to place in the student's hands good, annotated texts from the principal authors at a moderate cost. There are obvious reasons why this effort should be made in England, and why it is likely to succeed there better than anywhere else.

The volume before us contains an introduction, text, notes, and indices. The introduction gives a clear account of the occasion, character, and contents of the five Theological Discourses. Delivered in Constantinople, in the year 380, they furnish one of the best expositions we have of the new orthodoxy of the three famous Cappadocians. There is also a concise discussion of the text. And here it should be remarked that, while the book makes no claim to be a critical edition, Dr. Mason has employed new manuscripts and re-collated several old ones, so that he is able to present "what is practically a fresh text." It is entitled to much more serious consideration than the editor modestly asks for it. The notes are brief, but sufficient, and include a summary of the contents of each chapter. Three indices ("Subjects," "Scripture Texts," "Greek Words") conclude this well-made, scholarly,

and valuable work. The series should do much in this country to promote the study of an interesting but neglected literature.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

J. WINTHROP PLATNER.

DAS SOGENANNTRE RELIGIONSGESPRÄCH AM HOF DER SASANIDEN. VON EDUARD BRATKE. DREI WENIG BEACHTETE CYPRIANISCHE SCHRIFTEN UND DIE *Acta Pauli*. VON ADOLPH HARNACK. (*Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*, herausgegeben von O. von Gebhardt u. A. Harnack; N. F., IV, 3.) Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1899. Pp. vi + 305 + 34. M. 9.

THIS so-called "religious conference (of Greeks, Jews, and Christians) at the court of the Sassanidæ" or "narrative of events in Persia," although known and quoted before and published in part in 1804, was not published in full until 1893, and then quite inadequately on the basis of two MSS. This edition of Bratke is founded on a large number of MSS. thoroughly studied, and if, as he concludes, they lead in as many as six independent lines to the archetype, the text should be well-nigh immaculate. A superficial study of the variants gives good general grounds for believing that the textual principles laid down by the editor are sound and the resulting text highly reliable. At all events, the textual apparatus is adequate and the evidence clearly displayed, so that anyone may form his own judgment if he chooses.

The discussions, by the editor, of previous editions (pp. 46-61) and manuscript material (pp. 62-127) are extensive and thorough; the account of translations (p. 128) less so. Though this is perhaps a matter of small importance in the absence of ancient Latin translations, yet both Armenian and Slavic versions seem at least possible text sources of which one would like to hear more.

The literary sources (pp. 129-229), "Greek prophecies," Jewish apocrypha, Bible, etc., are discussed with much fulness, acumen, and wealth of literary learning, and the matter of the employment of the *Religionsgespräch* by later writers is treated in scholarly and adequate fashion, although leaving a tempting impression that the field is not exhausted. Bratke reaches the conclusion that the first sure evidence of use was in the eighth century, although there are possible traces even in the fifth and sixth centuries.

The "author and his work" (pp. 240-71) is treated with equal convincingness, and the conclusion reached is that he is not Anastasius of Antioch, not "Aphroditianus," and of course not Africanus, but an

anonymous writer of the fifth century, probably from Asia Minor or Syria, certainly not from Persia or Byzantium, orthodox in his tendencies, who undoubtedly wrote in the ecclesiastical Greek, though with many peculiarities. The analysis of the psychological, linguistic, and historical elements of the work is acute and extremely interesting to the scholastic.

The form of the whole body of the work and of its descriptive table of contents is clear and satisfactory, the indexes to literary parallels, names, passages, etc., are useful, and that to abbreviations a comfort and delight to those who have suffered where there are none. The grammatical and lexical indexes (albeit the editor apologizes for them, p. 127, as "wanting in completeness in the philological sense") are extremely valuable contributions to apparatus, the lexical being almost of the nature of a complete concordance.

Harnack's contribution to this volume of the *Texte u. Untersuchungen* is an extremely interesting example of the "putting two and two together to make four" for which Harnack through his wide knowledge of his literature and brilliant power of association has become famous. The result of this essay is to show that the author of the pseudocyprianic *Caena*, *Oratio I*, and *Oratio II*, after 380 and not later than the sixth century, used the "Acts of Paul" as a source coördinate in value with the New Testament books. Also, incidentally, it confirms C. Schmid's identification of the Heidelberg papyrus collection of Pauline apocryphal writings with the long-lost "Acts of Paul."

It is a small piece of work (thirty-two pages, including reprints of the *Caena* and *Oratio II*), but is as pretty an example as can be imagined of what may be hoped for from minute scholarship—a real stimulus to those who are trying to tread this painful path to a far-off and elusive goal.

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.

ERNEST C. RICHARDSON.

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GESTORUM PONTIFICUM ROMANORUM Vol. I: Liber Pontificalis Pars Prior. Edidit THEODORUS MOMMSEN. Berolini: Apud Weidmannos, 1898. Pp. cxxxix + 295. 4 facs. tab. 4to. ("Monumenta Germaniae Historica.")

THIS noteworthy contribution to a famous series by the veteran and distinguished Mommsen deserved an earlier and fuller review in these pages. It is a remarkable thing to have had within a few years two such monumental editions of a work as the editions of the *Liber pontificalis* by Duchesne and Mommsen, and more remarkable that they should

both be by men of such high international reputation that their mere names should guarantee in each case the value of the work. Really only Duchesne can review Mommsen, and only Mommsen, Duchesne; all that the layman may venture to do is to describe and mention the relation of the latter to the former.

In the matter of text, Mommsen himself says that his edition establishes and confirms that of Duchesne, rather than corrects it. He uses fewer MSS. than Duchesne, but these few have been carefully selected and examined with great pains, and include two hitherto neglected. Nevertheless, it is true, as Duchesne himself confesses in the *Mélanges*, that both in text and apparatus the edition is on the whole some advance even over that of Duchesne.

The volume contains not only the text of the *Liber*, with very full, careful, and most ingeniously indicated apparatus, but texts of the so-called Felician and Cononian epitomes, which are themselves prime authorities for the text. In the Prolegomena also the MS. authorities for these epitomes are discussed, as well as the general MSS., and in both cases with great fulness and clearness. In the Prolegomena, too, there are important discussions of the origin and age of the *Liber*, of its sources, of the order of the Roman bishops and the lengths of their episcopates, etc., etc., some of the conclusions being more or less sharply in contradiction to those of Duchesne, who has since reaffirmed his own conclusions in the *Mélanges*. The most interesting of these points of difference is in the matter of date: Mommsen assigns one edition to the first decade of the seventh century and the other to about 650, while Duchesne holds them to be a century older, with, however, the addition of several lives after the year 536.

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ERNEST C. RICHARDSON.

THE ŒCUMENICAL DOCUMENTS OF THE FAITH. Edited, with Introduction and Notes. By T. HERBERT BINDLEY, B.D., Merton College, Oxford, etc. London: Methuen & Co., 1899. Pp. x+311. 6s.

By *The Œcumenical Documents of the Faith* Mr. Bindley means the Nicene Creed, three Epistles of Cyril, the Tome of Leo, and the Chalcedonian Definition. He gives the original texts of these documents, and elucidates them with historical and dogmatic annotations. We have thus a handy volume, containing material of the first importance to the student of early church history.

As already suggested the author's position is that all documents must be approached through two avenues. There is, first, the historical avenue, through which the causes leading to the formulary are to be investigated. There is, secondly, the dogmatic avenue, in which we deal with finished results and technical statements of the truth.

If we are to understand a document at all, we must know the history that lies imbedded in its phrases. A phrase or a proposition is usually formulated to rectify some counter-phrase or proposition that is conceived to be wrong. Sometimes the counter-phrase or proposition is a protest against a wrong tendency working out of an orthodox proposition. This is seen, for example, in the rise of Sabellianism and its opposing conception, Arianism. Thus it becomes evident that to know any important document we must know its entire historical environment.

The author, accordingly, begins his consideration of each document with a short historical introduction, in which he indicates the principal historical events that contributed to the production of the document. Then follow a clear and concise analysis, the text, and critical notes.

Mr. Bindley's method is, accordingly, to be commended. When followed closely it will always yield good results.

His conservatism shows itself all through his book. The more radical or even progressive reader will incline here and there to limit the extent of his inferences, and sometimes even to deny that he has any basis for his tacit assumptions.

However, the emphasis which he puts on history is an excellent safeguard. His scholarship is keen, his style is clear, and his book is a valuable contribution to the "œcumenical documents of the faith."

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

J. W. MONCRIEF.

THE LUTHERAN CYCLOPEDIA. Edited by HENRY EYSTER JACOBS, D.D., Dean of the Lutheran Theological Seminary, Philadelphia, Pa., and REV. JOHN A. W. HAAS, B.D., with the Coöperation of Professor O. ZÖCKLER, University of Greifswald, and other European scholars, and representative scholars from the various synods. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1899. Pp. vii + 572. \$4.

THIS work does much to supply a long-felt want of many who do not read German, or who cannot afford to purchase the ponderous



German cyclopedias. It compresses within the limits of a single volume a vast amount of material. More than 150 writers have contributed to it. Of the most important of the topics controverted in the Lutheran church both sides are represented in able articles. The biographical sketches are gratifying for their concise presentation of the exact facts which one wishes to have at command. In a few of its features the work might be improved. Perhaps a certain number of German-American names unknown to general fame are to be expected in a cyclopedia designed exclusively for American Lutherans; but one could wish that the space given to a long list of minor professors and clergymen of the fatherland had been devoted to other persons wholly omitted or passed over with a few lines. There is no article on Schleiermacher, who, though not a Lutheran, has affected the Lutheran church profoundly. One looks in vain for such names as Wolf, Kant, Fichte, Hegel, F. H. Jacobi, Bahrdt, Basedow, Jacob Böhme, F. C. Baur, and Wellhausen. One would expect that more than a third of a column would be accorded to such a man as Bucer or as Hans Egede. But, while *The Lutheran Cyclopedia* is not perfect, it is a work for which we may be very grateful to the learned men to whose labors we owe it.

FRANKLIN JOHNSON.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

A MANUAL OF CHURCH HISTORY. By ALBERT HENRY NEWMAN, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Church History in MacMaster University. Vol. I, *Ancient and Mediæval Church History* (to A. D. 1517). Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1900. Pp. 637. \$2.25.

FOR many years Professor Newman has been known as a careful and accurate scholar. While his studies have taken him over many departments of learning, he has been concerned chiefly with the history of the Christian church. The book before us is the result of twenty years of patient and thorough investigation. In this way he has come into living connection with all the most important sources of information and made them completely his own. The result is a well-arranged manual closely packed with the essential facts of church history expressed in lucid English. And this fact of clear and simple expression cannot be too highly commended. It may be seriously questioned whether the ability to express one's self clearly and simply in one's mother-speech is not one of the essential marks of a great mind.

The reader of Professor Newman's book will soon come to believe that church history is really a very easy subject that may be understood by all people of average intelligence.

The author is very firm in his conviction that church history is a subject of interest, not only to the minister and the church member, but to all people who would have a general education, whether they accept Christianity or not. For certainly church history is an organic part of general history, and especially in the mediæval period it was the principal part. To him it is therefore evident, as it should be to everyone, that church history should be incorporated into the historical courses in all our schools and colleges.

Dr. Newman has not written in the especial interests of any religious denomination, but in the interests of truth. He is perhaps to be classified as a moderate conservative, and denominationally he is a Baptist; and if here and there his personal views appear, he is never offensive, and great care has always been taken to give the views opposed to his own with abundant citations to the best authorities on all sides of the subject. He fully appreciates the happy situation in which we find ourselves at the close of our century—a situation in which all true scholars desire above all things to know the truth, and in which they are willing to admit that the truth is not monopolized by any one denomination.

Of course, in a short notice like this it would not be possible to go into details, but we think that the characteristics we have mentioned will be prominent on every page.

The introduction contains observations on the study of church history, and an excellent treatment of the preparation for Christ and Christianity. The body of the work follows the usual divisions: from the birth of Christ to the end of the apostolic age, *ca.* 100 A. D.; from the end of the apostolic age to the conversion of Constantine, 312 A. D.; from the conversion of Constantine to the founding of the Holy Roman Empire, 800 A. D.; and from the coronation of Charlemagne to the outbreak of the Protestant revolution, 1517 A. D.

The reader of church history will soon learn to go to this book as to a dictionary in which he can find condensed statements on any subject in which he may be interested.

We have no doubt but that the work will at once take a front rank among the many excellent manuals of church history, and hold it.

We shall look forward with much interest to the coming of the second volume, which we expect will in the same thoroughgoing way bring the subject down to the present time.

J. W. MONCRIEF.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

ST. PETER IN ROME AND HIS TOMB ON THE VATICAN HILL. By ARTHUR STAPYLTON BARNES, M.A. Thirty-one full-page plates. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1900. Pp. 406. 21s.

THIS book is dedicated to the reigning pope, bears the *imprimatur* of Cardinal Vaughn, and is written by a priest of the diocese of Westminster. Its conclusions and, to a large extent, its method are what might naturally be expected of a work on this subject produced under such auspices. Had it been called "St. Peter's in Rome," it would have received a title designating the only important portions of the treatise.

The first six chapters are occupied with what purports to be a history of St. Peter in Rome, his banishment, his return and martyrdom, the wanderings of his body, and the final burial on the Vatican hill. The author assumes that there is no longer any controversy about St. Peter's residence and episcopate in Rome, although he admits doubt as to the dates and exact length of that residence, coming out, however, at the end with the familiar twenty-five years. The subjects covered in these first six chapters form a theme of absorbing interest, but the treatment here given them is so inadequate, so marred by faults of reasoning, and so lacking in a proper historical spirit that the conclusions reached can have little weight for the scientific student. It is somewhat interesting to note that he believes that St. Peter came to Rome in 47 A. D., was banished in 49, and came back in 62 to the city. It may be said, in passing, that the author places the composition of the second gospel, under St. Peter's dictation, in the year 49.

These first chapters are full of an unsound method of writing. The author starts out by stating very fairly all the evidence on a subject. Then, assuming one hypothesis to be true, he goes on until in three or four paragraphs he has built up a triumphant and sounding conclusion, in which all remembrance of other hypotheses or facts, so fairly set forth at the beginning, has been lost. This method of presentation occurs with such frequency that it becomes positively wearisome.

The latter part of the book is devoted to a history of the basilica from its foundation by Constantine to the present day. In preparing the materials for this portion of his work, the author has shown extraordinary diligence and pains. His conclusions are not always plausible, but the work is a decided improvement on the earlier portion. He has made accessible to English readers the very interesting account of the

excavations made in 1626 in the vicinity of the high altar, and has gathered plans and drawings from several hitherto unknown sources. He takes but little notice of portions of the church other than that immediately around the high altar, which rests, according to his firm conviction, directly above the actual tomb of the apostle. Thus the book will not serve as a history of the basilica any more than it will furnish a scientific and careful account of the problems connected with the possible presence of the apostle in Rome. As far as it does go in the former direction, however, it seems a fairly trustworthy guide. The typography and make-up of the book are exceedingly handsome. The index is by no means adequate.

There is a crying need for a work which shall tell exactly what we know about the history of the early Roman church; a work which shall show on the part of its author an ability to handle archæological data on the basis of fact, not of fancy, an acquaintance with the voluminous literature of the subject, and sound judgment on questions of what is and what is not evidence. The work under review will not answer this demand, but will prove useful in the way of reference and decidedly valuable because of its illustrations.

POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE,  
Brooklyn, N. Y.

WILLIAM WARNER BISHOP.

KIRCHENGESCHICHTLICHE ABHANDLUNGEN UND UNTERSUCHUNGEN.  
Von PROFESSOR F. K. FUNK. Paderborn: Schöningh. Erster  
Band, 1897, pp. vi + 519; zweiter Band, 1899, pp. iv + 483.  
Jeder Band M. 8.

PROFESSOR FUNK, of Tübingen, is unquestionably the most eminent among the Catholic ecclesiastical historians. His text-book of church history, of which a second edition appeared in 1890 (Rottenburg am Neckar, Baden; M. 6), has obtained well-deserved recognition; and numerous dissertations and researches, which have appeared chiefly in the Tübingen *Theologische Quartalschrift* and in the historical year-book of the Görres Society, have steadily increased his reputation as a scholar of temperate, cautious, and solid judgment. All experts in his department have therefore gladly welcomed the fact that these treatises, scattered among various periodicals not readily accessible to everyone, have been collected by the author, and, after careful examination and revision, have been published in two portly volumes. The first volume contains twenty-four, the second twenty-two treatises, relating mainly to the so-called inner church history, its constitution, cultus, discipline,

and literature, and chiefly to the early church. There is none of these which does not materially contribute to the elucidation of some important, or at least some interesting, question, even though one cannot always agree with the author's results or arguments. The following is a short summary of the subjects discussed, to which I append brief parenthetical notes:

FIRST VOLUME.—i, pp. 1-23: *The Primacy of the Romish Church according to Ignatius and Irenæus* (discussion chiefly of Harnack's interpretation of the well-known passages); ii, 23-39: *The Election of Bishops in the Ancient Church and at the Beginning of the Middle Ages* (hitherto unprinted; the subject is discussed down to the time when the church community, or the laity, ceased to have the power of election); iii, 39-86: *The Calling of the Œcumenical Councils in the Ancient Church* (the emperor, not the pope, possessed the power); iv, 87-121: *The Papal Ratification of the first eight General Councils* (is not demonstrable); v, 121-55: *Celibacy and Marriage of Priests in the Ancient Church* (not traceable to apostolic regulation); vi, 155-81: *On the Ancient Christian Discipline of Penance* (survey of its development until the council of Elvira); vii, 182-209: *Grades of Penance in Early Christian Times* (origin, spread, and end of their appointment; position of the ὑποπίπτοντες in public worship); viii, 209-41: *The Classes of Catechumens in the Ancient Church* (the idea of three classes is erroneous); ix, 241-78: *The Development of Fasting before Easter* (survey of the first three centuries); x, 278-92: *The Elements of the Lord's Supper according to Justin* (Funk rejects Harnack's view as to bread and water); xi, 293-308: *The Communion Ritual* (survey); xii, 308-29: *Titus Flavius Clemens Christian, not Bishop*; xiii, 330-45: *Hadrian's Rescript to Minucius Fundanus* (he supports its genuineness); xiv, 346-52: *The XXXVIIth Canon of Elvira* (prohibition of pictures); xv, 352-8: *Date of the First Council of Arles* (314 A. D., as against Seeck, 316); xvi, 358-72: *The Basilides of the Philosophoumena not a Pantheist*; xvii, 373-90: *On the Question concerning Hegesippus' Catalogue of Popes* (tradition goes to support this authorship); xviii, 391-420: *Eulogy of a Pope or Bishop* (the "Epitaphium" in Bücheler, *Carmina Lat. epigr.*, I, 1895, 373-5, refers perhaps to Martin I., by no means to Liberius); xix, 421-59: *On the History of the Early British Church* (discussion of Ebrard's thesis of the Rome-free position of this church and its specifically evangelical character); xx, 460-78: *The Papal Election Decree in c. 28 Dist. 63 [Decret. Gratian.]* (this decree, which is alleged to have originated with

Stephen IV., 816-17, was promulgated at the Roman synod of 898; the error in the tradition is to be ascribed to Ivo of Chartres); xxi, 478-83: *The Origin of the Present Mode of Baptism* (i. e., sprinkling instead of immersion); xxii, 483-9: *On the Bull Unam Sanctam* (discussion of the word *instituere*); xxiii, 489-98: *Martin V. and the Council of Constance* (rejection of the view that the pope allowed an approbation to be granted to the synod); xxiv, 498-508: *Epilogue to Dissertation III* (see above).

SECOND VOLUME.—i, 1-23: *Constantine the Great and Christianity* (C.'s religious innovation to be ascribed primarily to his Christian conviction, not to political calculation); ii, 23-44: *John Chrysostom and the Court of Constantinople*; iii, 45-60: *Clement of Alexandria on the Family and Property*; iv, 60-77: *Commerce and Trade in Early Christian Times*; v, 77-108: *Date of the Epistle of Barnabas* (end of the first century); vi, 108-41: *The Didaché, its Date and Relation to the Cognate Writings* (rejection of the theory that it is based on a Jewish document; Didaché the source of Barnabas); vii, 142-52: *On the Chronology of Tatian* (the *Apology* written soon after Justin's death); viii, 152-61: *Date of the "True Discourse" of Celsus* (170-85); ix, 161-97: *The Author of the Philosophoumena* (Hippolytus); x, 198-208: *The Pfaff Fragments of Irenæus* (Harvey II, 498-506, the genuineness doubtful); xi, 209-36: *The tract "Adversus Aleatores"* (against Harnack; second half of the third century, place unknown); xii, 236-51: *The Ecclesiastical Canons of the Holy Apostles* (originated perhaps still in Syria, after the council of Nice); xiii, 251-3: *An Alleged Word of Basil the Great on the Worship of Pictures* (Basil *On the Holy Spirit*, chap. 18, 45, does not attest picture-worship); xiv, 253-91: *The Pseudo-Justinian Expositio rectae fidei* (against Draeseke; the longer framework of the *Expositio* is the original, and the shorter is not the work of Apollinaris of Laodicea); xv, 291-329: *The last two Books of the Treatise of Basil the Great against Eunomius* (were written by Didymus of Alexandria); xvi, 329-38: *The Twelve Chapters on Faith Ascribed to Gregorius Thaumaturgus* (against Draeseke; not by Vitalis); xvii, 338-47: *On the Acts of Ignatius* (not genuine); xviii, 347-59: *Pseudo-Ignatius an Apollinarian* (not a semi-Arian); xix, 359-72: *Date of the Apostolic Constitutions* (beginning of the fifth century); xx, 373-408: *Gerson or Gersen* (not the author of the *Imitatio Christi*); xxi, 408-44: *The Author of the "Imitatio Christi"* (Thomas à Kempis); xxii, 444-76: *On the Galileo Question* (the decision of the Roman congregation faulty and deplorable). G. KRÜGER.

GIESSEN, GERMANY.

KAISER JULIAN, DER ABTRÜNNIGE. Seine Jugend und Kriegsthaten bis zum Tode des Kaisers Constantius (331–361). Eine Quellenuntersuchung. Von DR. WILHELM KOCH. Leipzig: Verlag von B. G. Teubner, 1899. Pp. 160. M. 5.

VOLTAIRE'S saying, that to utter Julian's name without the epithet "Apostate" would be perhaps the greatest possible effort of the human mind, was inspired by the fact that Voltaire's contemporaries maintained that the word correctly summed up the emperor's whole life and character. Julian's was a personality and a career that could leave no one indifferent, and the story of his acts and motives is clouded by party passion. We do not look to any of his biographers for historical impartiality, but it is in the pages of the pagan Hellenists, and not in the Christian Fathers, that we find moderation of language in dealing with the views of opponents. The fact that they wrote under Christian emperors, and so were constrained to curb their sympathies, is, in some cases, an explanation; but this would not apply to Libanius, for of the eight works that he devoted to Julian one only was composed under a Christian régime. Libanius was a rhetorician who has little historical worth; Eunapius falls in the same category; so it is on Ammianus Marcellinus and on Julian himself that Julian's biographers are forced to rely. It had been, until recently, the fashion to regard Ammianus as a trustworthy authority, whose occasional criticisms of Julian proved his impartiality. The exposure of the incoherence and inconsistencies of Ammianus, begun by Hecker in 1886, was carried on more scientifically by von Borries, who, in a searching analysis (in *Hermes*, 1892), indicated that Ammianus, with a perfect lack of criticism and a slavish faithfulness, had employed two sources, distinct and often contradictory. These are: (1) Julian's lost work on the battle of Strassburg, mentioned by Eunapius (frag. 9), the famous *βιβλίδιον*. This short account of the "Alemannen-Schlacht" was written before the rupture with Constantius and Julian's apostasy; hence we find in Ammianus up to the battle of Strassburg a respectful attitude to Constantius and language that may be interpreted as Christian (*cf.* especially, in chap. xvi, *passim*, the references to a *summum numen*). (2) The *ὑπόμνημα*, or "Memoirs," of Oribasius, Julian's friend and physician; this, however, reached Ammianus indirectly after having been worked over by a writer who was familiar with Julian's "Letter to the Athenians," and with some other Julianic letters or writings lost to us. This part of Ammianus is marked by spiteful satire against Constantius.

We have given thus fully the views of von Borries in order to compare with them Koch's treatment of the sources in the present work. Koch is less conservative than von Borries, is too inclined to press dubious parallels into evidence, and arrives at more questionable results. Besides Julian's *βιβλίδιον*, for the existence of which scholars have agreed to accept the testimony of Eunapius, Koch tries to prove that Julian, in imitation of Cæsar, wrote commentaries on his Gallic wars, which Ammianus used as his main source. The problem that scholars who investigate the sources of Ammianus, Libanius, Eunapius, and Zosimus have to envisage is whether, as Hecker thought, and Koch tries to prove, they drew from Julian himself, or only the *βιβλίδιον*, the "Letter to the Athenians," and some other letters, now lost, were at their command. Eunapius certainly refers to writings by Julian, apart from the *βιβλίδιον*, as valuable for his biographers, but we are inclined to agree with von Borries that the reference does not justify us in deducing the existence of Gallic commentaries. The passage in Zosimus (III, 2, 4), on which Koch also relies, is merely a paraphrase of Eunapius, whom, as we know with fair certainty, Zosimus abridged. Koch has no fresh evidence in support of his theory, though his arguments are ingenious.

His second thesis is that Constantius has suffered misrepresentation at the hands of Julian's biographers; he insists on the real friendliness of Constantius for Julian, a sentiment that was alienated only when his court favorites persuaded him that the Cæsar's growing power was a menace to his empire. Constantius added to a peculiarly reserved temperament the studied calm of the traditional Roman, and his true sentiments in his earlier relations with Julian have never transpired. The truth must lie somewhere between the assertions of Julian that he was saved from destruction at the instance of the empress Eusebia, because Constantius hoped that he might work his own ruin by failure in Gaul, and Koch's theory that Constantius felt a genuine kindness for his young cousin, and was liberal with chances of distinction.

Dr. Koch's book is too careful and detailed not to form an important contribution to Julianic literature. He is a Dutchman, writing German as a foreigner, but with admirable clearness. The Greek accents and breathings need revision. One fault is to be found with his presentation: he regularly quotes his Greek and Latin authorities in a German translation, so that the reader is compelled to verify each passage in the original.



When one finds so distinguished an historian of Greek literature as Maurice Croiset (Vol. V, p. 897) assuming, on the strength of the passage in Eunapius, that Gallic commentaries by Julian once existed, one realizes the necessity for such investigations as those of von Borries and Koch, which go far toward a final estimate of the true value of Ammianus and the other biographers of Julian.

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KAISER JULIAN'S RELIGIÖSE UND PHILOSOPHISCHE ÜBERZEUGUNG.  
VON WILHELM VOLLERT. ("Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie.") Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1899. Pp. 106. M. 1.40.

IN the religious convictions of the emperor Julian several factors are to be traced. His scholastic temperament inclined him to the only literature that could satisfy his tastes; in the course of his studies he came in contact with Neoplatonists and theurgists, who fostered and traded on his natural mysticism; his hatred of Constantius and the court party was extended to the state religion; finally he saw in the restoration of Hellenism a glittering opportunity for the satisfaction of that personal vanity which can never be left out when one reckons with the emperor Julian. There is nothing new and little to criticise in Vollert's sketch of Julian's religious and philosophical convictions; nothing certainly that will supersede Naville's handling of the subject, now more than twenty years old. Vollert contrasts Julian with Marcus Aurelius, with whom he has often been compared. Superficially the analogy is alluring, but a closer scrutiny is disastrous to Julian. The steady vision and self-abnegation of the one are a foil to the ill-regulated mysticism and restless egotism of the other; Stoicism had braced Marcus Aurelius, while Neoplatonism led Julian astray. Of late years scholars have been chary of accepting the reports of Julian's Christian historians, but in his survey of the development of Julian's religious and philosophic convictions Vollert draws indiscriminately on all the sources. He is not always abreast of the latest discussions of Julian's personal history; *e. g.*, on p. 14 he gives, without comment, the date 344 for Julian's consignment to Macellum, though Sievers and Koch agree on the year 341. On p. 23, following Eunapius, he accepts the theory that Julian twice visited Greece, though it seems more probable that he went to Athens only once, in 355, through the influence of the empress Eusebia. Vollert's bibliography is by no means complete.

BRYN MAWR COLLEGE,  
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DIE STELLUNG DER BISCHÖFE VON MEISSEN, MERSEBURG UND NAUMBURG IM INVESTITURSTREITE UNTER HEINRICH IV. UND HEINRICH V. Von DR. KARL BENZ. Dresden: Justus Naumann's Buchhandlung (L. Ungelenk), 1899. Pp. 81. M. 1.50.

DR. BENZ has carefully examined the conduct of the bishops of these three bishoprics during the Saxon wars and the struggle about investiture (1073-1122). In general, he has reached the same results as have the historians of the period, but he has been able to correct some of their mistakes and misapprehensions, and to clarify some points which have hitherto been obscure. He has made it apparent that in Germany at least the struggle about investiture was in great measure the continuation of the Saxon wars, and that the opponents of Henry IV. were almost the same in both struggles. Dr. Benz insists on the far-reaching influence of the Saxon wars on the later development of affairs in Germany. These wars determined the policy of the bishops named above; they did not understand the theoretical ecclesiastical questions involved, but were influenced by the political situation.

Henry IV. reaped the fruits of the misguided policy of Otto I. in enriching and strengthening the high clergy in the vain hope that they would always aid the crown against rebellious nobles.

In an excursus Dr. Benz has shown the untrustworthiness of the annals of Lambert of Hersfeld in their account of the journey of Henry IV. to Canossa and his meeting with the pope there. There is need of still further critical work along the same line.

The author shows in his work a good critical method, sound judgment, and a thorough knowledge of the sources.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

OLIVER J. THATCHER.

LA MORT CIVILE DES RELIGIEUX DANS L'ANCIEN DROIT FRANÇAIS. Étude historique et critique. Par L'ABBÉ CH. LANDRY, Docteur en Droit Canonique. Paris: Alphonse Picard et Fils, éditeurs, 1900. Pp. xii + 174.

It is a well-known fact that in France during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries monks and nuns were deprived of their civil rights. Before the law of the land they were practically in the same position as convicted criminals. By a legal fiction they were smitten with what was called "civil death." The author attempts to determine just what this was, in what ways and to what extent it affected those concerned.

The abbé first proves that according to the legislation of Justinian the monk was in no way limited in the exercise of his civil rights. As early as the ninth century, however, there is record of a man who was deprived of his inheritance by his family because he had become a monk. Similar cases occurred during the following centuries, but there existed great uncertainty in regard to their legality. Finally, about 1500, the principle was clearly enunciated by jurists that monks, having separated themselves from the world, were no longer members of society, and consequently were without legal status. Being no longer citizens, they were without the rights of citizens. The law regarded them as dead. This civil or legal death was regarded as natural death, and had practically the same effects. The principal effects of civil death were: (1) The monk was not competent to make a contract, hence could not buy, sell, barter, exchange, etc. Like a slave or minor, he could make no personal engagement. (2) The monk was incompetent to receive or to dispose of property, whether by inheritance, by will, or by deed of gift. However, if a monk were elected abbot or bishop, he was thereby freed from his vow of poverty and could amass personal possessions. (3) Furthermore, among other incapacities the monk was incompetent to contract marriage, to be a party to a suit at law, or to act as a witness to certain important documents, such as wills.

Of these incapacities the second is the most important, and from this probably all the others were developed. It was evidently intended to put a check on the acquisition of land by the monasteries.

The author develops at some length the considerations and arguments by which such legislation was justified, and dwells on their weakness and inconsistencies. He also shows that in France, while the independence of ecclesiastical courts was admitted, the civil authority interfered in them whenever it wished.

The book abounds in interesting information.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

OLIVER J. THATCHER.

A HISTORY OF THE PEOPLE OF THE NETHERLANDS. By PETRUS JOHANNES BLOK, Professor of Dutch History in the University of Leyden. Vols. I and II. London and New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1899. Pp. viii + 374; vii + 420. \$2.50 each.

THE true history of any nation must start at the beginning and continue to the latest development. It must, moreover, have many sides. Nothing more distorts or misrepresents history than a treatment

which takes a microscopic section and directs attention to it as if separated from the great living whole of which it forms an organic part. There are many special studies of brief periods which, while excellent in themselves, still leave much to be desired by one who wishes to know Dutch history in its living reality.

All these requirements seem to be admirably met in Blok's *History of the People of the Netherlands*. The author begins with the Roman dominion, and follows the course of development through all its windings and complications, through its relations with Charles the Great's empire, through the feudal stage, through the period of the Burgundian princes. And the work, when completed, will carry us through the terrible period of the conflict with Philip II., the final triumph of the patriots, and the rise of the Dutch republic, and then down to the formation of the kingdoms of Belgium and Holland.

The two volumes before us bring the history down to the departure of Philip II. for Spain.

But, as we have indicated, this history is not concerned simply with a single phase of the subject. It rather treats all phases, and seeks to show them in their interrelations. Not only does the political side receive ample treatment, but also the commercial, the literary, the artistic, the scientific, and the religious are well brought up. The chapters in the first volume on the clergy, the nobility, and the country people, and the chapters in Vol. II on ecclesiastical conditions in Burgundian territory, and on art, letters, and science under the Burgundians, are good examples of the author's ability to analyze and describe interesting situations. The discussion of each phase throws light on every other phase, and so the reader is presented with as complete a picture of the whole life of the people as could possibly be given.

Professor Blok has properly recognized that the history of the mediæval period of Dutch history must make the foundation of the whole structure. And yet an investigation of this period involved many difficulties. Among these was the fact that no written record existed for the political history of the Netherlands. But the author has overcome this difficulty as well as it could be done.

When completed, the book will fill a place in English previously unoccupied. It will render all the more valuable the great works of Motley and Prescott, and the more recent *William the Silent* of Miss Putnam. Upon these the English reader has hitherto mainly relied for his knowledge of the people of the Netherlands.

The first volume was translated by Mr. Oscar A. Bierstadt, of the Astor Library; the second, by Miss Putnam, who will complete the work.

J. W. MONCRIEF.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

THE HISTORY OF THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER. By REV. LEIGHTON PULLAN, Fellow of St. John Baptist's College, Oxford; Lecturer in Theology in St. John's, Oriel, and Queen's Colleges. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1900. Pp. xvi + 328. 5s.

THE writer of this volume has attempted a history of the Prayer-Book in its doctrinal aspects. The earlier portion deals with the sources from which the various offices of the English Prayer-Book—but especially the communion service—have been derived. The formation of the existing liturgy is next traced through the Reformation and Restoration periods, and the remainder of the volume is occupied with an analysis of the different services. The ground has become familiar to scholars from its having been traversed by such authors as Wheatley, Blunt, and Blakeney. To those thus acquainted with liturgical history the value of Mr. Pullan's work is greatly impaired by his manifest disposition to conform facts to theories. For example, Archbishop Laud is referred to as "wise in his doctrines," and his policy toward the Scottish church is commended. We are informed that, had Edward VI. lived, "he would probably have reduced the Church of England to a Calvinistic sect." Bishop Gardiner is alluded to as "the leader of the conservatives" (?) under Henry VIII. In recording the somewhat questionable consecration of Dr. Seabury "in the upper room of a house in Aberdeen," his notorious "Concordat" with the Scotch Episcopal church is referred to, but in such a way that the ordinary reader would not suppose that consecration was obtained only at the price of a bargain to introduce into the American Prayer-Book the teaching of a priestly sacrifice in the communion. The consecration of Bishops White and Provoost is mentioned in a footnote, with the singular comment: "They appear to have been bishops of the Georgian type, and *greatly neglected their episcopal duties.*" (The italics are our own.) On the whole, the work is untrustworthy as a guide to any fair and impartial view of liturgical history.

CHICAGO.

CHARLES EDWARD CHENEY.

GRUNDRISS DER DOGMENGESCHICHTE. Entwicklungsgeschichte der christlichen Lehrbildungen. Von DR. A. DORNER. Berlin: Druck und Verlag von Georg Reimer, 1899. Pp. xi + 648. M. 10.

It is the task of historical theology to investigate the nature of Christianity with the means of historical inquiry at its disposal, as it is the task of speculative theology to expound the nature of Christianity by (comparative) religious, psychological, and speculative investigations. Dorner's purpose here is, from the conditions peculiar to it, to understand as objectively as possible every stage of development. From this point of view his valuation of Harnack's monumental work is of interest. "It cannot, indeed, be said that his fundamental apprehension of the process and his final resultant signifies a progress." Harnack, he thinks, has enriched the literary detailed investigation by his genial quest and sagacity, and transported himself with a certain congeniality into the development and spiritual work of great church teachers. The book is burdened with ecclesiastico-historical material, and is at the same time a literary effort of the first order. But its fundamental apprehension is under the lead of what is at bottom a dualistic thought, viz., the Kantian distinction between theoretical knowledge and practical value-judgments. Only value-judgments and what lies in this region are held by Harnack to be valid in the sphere of religion, only supramundane religion, not the religion of immanence. "Thus Harnack has made the modern distinction between theoretical knowledge and value-judgments the criterion for the dogma-historical process, a distinction whose worth is doubtful, and which in any event one cannot make the standard for the valuation of the historical process." Dorner's contention is that Harnack has also unnecessarily narrowed the conception of the history of dogma. He thinks that Nitzsch defined the task of the history of dogma more correctly when he characterized ecclesiastical dogma as not the only subject-matter of the history of dogma. The need of knowledge of the Christian content is more or less felt in every age, and, in the entire process, the specific *Dogmenbildung* is only a part of the whole religiously determined process of knowledge (p. 10). As against Harnack, Dorner holds it to be methodically wrong to value the process from a preconceived modern standpoint of the distinction between theoretical and practical knowledge, instead of comprehending every phenomenon on the basis of its time and in connection with its time. In a given situation, in the case of a leading people, what

form did the doctrine of necessity have to take, if it would satisfy the time in which it arose? That, according to Dorner, is the great question. In this book he has held himself consistently to his point of view, with the result that he has produced one of the best works, if not the very best of the shorter works, on the history of dogma in the German language. The German is not difficult, and one feels like commending this volume to all who share the profound interest of today in the tracing of the rise, growth, change, and decay of our doctrinal ideas.

GEORGE B. FOSTER.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

HISTORY OF DOGMA. By DR. ADOLPH HARNACK. Translated from the third German edition by Neil Buchanan. Vols. V, VI, and VII. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1900. Pp. xx + 331; xiv + 317; x + 328. Cloth, \$2.50 per volume.

WITH Vol. VII the English translation of Harnack's *History of Dogma* is completed. Looking back over the series of volumes from this point, I am profoundly impressed with their value. In the mere statement of the doctrines held by different persons and schools they contain little that other and earlier writers have not set forth. But they place well-known facts in a thousand unexpected lights, so that the old takes on manifold new aspects. A philosophy of the various changes of theological opinion is attempted, and is worked out so ably that the movements of Christian thought seem to be the product of a sort of mechanical necessity rather than of free human beings.

It has been said that this *History of Dogma* "is an attempt to distinguish between a purely biblical statement of doctrine and that statement as modified by methods of symbolic articulation and the exigencies of controversy." Perhaps this should be modified. Harnack seeks to institute a contrast between dogma and the gospel, but the gospel, to him, is not identical with the New Testament. As he himself tells us, his gospel consists of certain passages in the sixth, seventh, ninth, tenth, and eleventh chapters of Matthew; a very limited field. On the whole, dogma will not be much damaged by the effort to contrast it with a gospel so narrowly circumscribed. Having cast out of his gospel the larger part of the New Testament, Harnack naturally overlooks in some measure the influence of broad biblical study upon the formation of dogma. He overlooks too much also the influence of the study of the human heart by the church in all ages, and the desire

of its devout thinkers to express in exact language what they have found within their own being, as they have observed the operations of sin and grace there.

But notwithstanding these and other minor defects, the work is of inestimable value for its learning, for its intellectual acuteness and power, and for its fresh interpretations of the great movements of theological thought.

FRANKLIN JOHNSON.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

GESCHICHTE DER LEHRE VOM HEILIGEN GEISTE. In zwei Büchern. Von DR. K. F. NOESGEN, Professor in Rostock. Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1899. Pp. viii + 376. M. 6.40; bound, M. 7.20.

WE welcome this book because of its subject. An adequate monograph on the history of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit has long been a desideratum in theological literature. Professor Nösgen deserves credit for having perceived this need, and for having labored with great patience and industry to meet it.

We wish we could say that his effort had been successful. Unfortunately, however, the book is a disappointing one. And this in several different ways. It is disappointing in its conception. It would perhaps be unfair to criticise a book, whose title is "*History of the Doctrine of the Holy Spirit*," for confining its attention strictly to the theological side of the subject. But doctrine may be differently conceived. It may be isolated from life, and studied as a matter of pure theory. Or it may be viewed as an attempt to understand life, and hence treated in constant connection with the experience of which it is the outgrowth. This intimate connection with life — important for the understanding of all doctrine — is absolutely essential in the case of the doctrine of the Spirit. In isolating his doctrine from its environment, and treating it as a matter of pure theory, Professor Nösgen has made a mistake of judgment which his frequent references to the experimental significance of the doctrine are not sufficient to correct.

The book is further disappointing in scope. The author begins with the apostolic Fathers, referring his readers for an account of the New Testament doctrine of the Spirit to his previously published *Geschichte der neutestamentlichen Offenbarung*. But such a method is in the highest degree unsatisfactory. A history of the doctrine of the



Spirit which ignores its beginnings in the New Testament is a torso. Both the point of departure and the standard of comparison are lacking. The reader is introduced into a labyrinth of the most intricate kind, while the thread which alone can guide him safely through its mazes is lacking.

The book is further disappointing in spirit. The historical treatment is so far dominated by the theological viewpoint of the author as to render his discussion of those with whom he disagrees unsympathetic, and therefore inadequate. The facts are in the main correctly stated, but from a standpoint and in connections which obscure their significance. After finishing Dr. Nösgen's treatise, one might be pardoned for concluding that, with the exception of a few brief periods, and, within these, of a handful of theologians, the Christian church has never had any adequate doctrine of the Holy Spirit. But surely such a position as this is absurd. A wider outlook and a juster sense of proportion would have saved the author from the appearance of this error.

While constrained to make these criticisms, we are not blind to the merits of the book. Within the compass of some 375 pages the author has brought together a vast thesaurus of information. His authorities are cited in the originals and in full, and he who wishes to study the sources for himself will find the book a convenient guide. We may be permitted to express our regret, however, that the author did not see fit to relegate his citations to footnotes instead of embodying them in the text. Had he done so, he would not only have rendered his work more readable for the scholar, but would also have made its results accessible to those who are not masters of the originals. As it is, the latter will find large portions of the book unintelligible.

It remains to add that the discussion falls into two books, of which the first (in four chapters) treats of the pre-Reformation history, the second (in eleven) carries the story down to modern times. It is impossible within our limits to give a detailed analysis. In general it may be said that, in the author's opinion, of all Christian theologians Luther alone has adequately apprehended the doctrine of the Spirit. The Greek church, even while recognizing the full deity of the Spirit, conceived him rather as an influence than as a distinct personality, and failed clearly to distinguish the sphere of his activity from that of the Father and of the Son. Augustine, by his doctrine of grace, pointed in the right direction, but did not wholly overcome the physical conception of the Greek church. His view of the sphere of the Spirit's

influence was unduly narrowed by his predestinarianism. Nor did he sufficiently distinguish between the Spirit and the grace which is his work. The same lack meets us in the Calvinistic theology, as evidenced by the doctrine of the *Testimonium Spiritus Sancti*, which isolates the work of the Spirit from its intellectual and moral conditions, and conceives it as a mere force acting upon man from without, the influence of which can be as little explained as resisted. Modern theology, in its more liberal wing, fails to distinguish the Spirit as an objective supernatural reality from the subjective experiences which are his work. The task before the theology of today is to return to the principles of Luther, and to develop these more fully in the light of modern conditions.

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HORACE BUSHNELL: Preacher and Theologian. By THEODORE T. MUNGER. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.; The Riverside Press, Cambridge, 1899. Pp. xiv + 425. \$2.

THE authoritative *Life and Letters of Horace Bushnell* prepared by his daughters soon after his decease, in a volume of nearly six hundred pages, has long been out of print. Though copies have been sought by intimate friends, and are difficult to obtain, the book is not to be reprinted. With the cordial coöperation of Mrs. Bushnell and the daughters who prepared the earlier biography, and with liberty from the publishers of that volume to make free use of its contents, Dr. Munger has undertaken this new biographical sketch of Dr. Bushnell and his works.

Nearly three quarters of the book are devoted to the exposition, analysis, and estimate of Dr. Bushnell's theological treatises, addresses, sermons, and miscellaneous writings. Indeed, the author says that "this book owes its existence to the fact that no full and connected account of Dr. Bushnell's work as a theologian has yet been made. That full picture of him as dealing with the theological questions of the day, which his greatness and his influence deserves, has not been drawn." Yet it was manifest that Dr. Bushnell's writings could not be understood apart from his personality. The biographical sketch has therefore been combined with this account of Dr. Bushnell as a theologian.

Horace Bushnell was born in 1802 among the hills of Litchfield county, in the state of Connecticut, that home of great theologians.

He was ordained at Hartford in 1833 and resided in that city until his death in 1876. He was the son of an Arminian father, whose mother was a Methodist, and of an Episcopalian mother. Upon their removal to New Preston, when the son was only three years old, both parents joined a Calvinistic Congregational church, the only one there, though neither ever assented to "the tough predestination and the rather over-total depravity of the sermons."

Educated at Yale College, the *alma mater* of such great theologians as Edwards, Dwight, and Taylor, and descended from a reverent but an independent Huguenot ancestry, Horace Bushnell was destined to fill a prominent, and an altogether unique, place in the history of theological thought in America. The avowed purpose of this monograph is to indicate just what that place is. Dr. Munger has done his difficult work with admirable taste and with almost ideal literary ability. He has shown great skill in the compact and comprehensive narrative portions of the book. Selections from such an abundance of inviting material must have been perplexing.

In his "critical analysis" of Dr. Bushnell's theological treatises and opinions, his biographer reveals abundant sympathy with the somewhat elastic interpretation and the "vein of comprehensiveness" which Bushnell himself illustrated and which his *Theory of Language* favored. The statements of what Dr. Bushnell actually held, and of the progress and modification of his thinking, are less definite and detailed than some readers may desire, yet the points which seem most significant to the author are stated clearly and concisely. He has little patience with the technical distinctions of early theologians, and possibly undervalues Bushnell's serious treatment of subjects which were regarded as relatively much more important fifty years ago than today. Yet Bushnell as an original thinker is accorded a place preëminent, and even revolutionary. In spiritual insight he is deemed a genuine seer and prophet. It is claimed (p. 387) that he gave needed relief to the theological thought of his time in four particulars: "first, from a revivalism that ignored the law of Christian growth; second, from a conception of the Trinity bordering on tritheism; third, from a view of miracles that implied a suspension of natural law; and fourth, from a theory of the atonement that had grown almost shadowy under 'improvements,' yet still failed to declare the law of human life."

In the main these judgments are just. Horace Bushnell was undoubtedly the first and the most notable citizen of Hartford since the days of Thomas Hooker, and the Hartford of Bushnell's day was

vastly different from that of Hooker's time. Dr. Munger is right in regarding *Nature and the Supernatural* as Bushnell's greatest work. Many, while they do not accept all its parts, regard that book as the most important contribution to theological thought in America, with the single exception of Edwards' works. That transcendent tenth chapter, "The Character of Jesus Forbids His Possible Classification with Men," is unsurpassed, perhaps unequaled of its kind, in the English language.

Notwithstanding Bushnell's "vein of comprehensiveness" he had the sinewy grip of a theological athlete. There was a robust virility in his thought which cannot easily be described in words. Possibly it belonged to "The Age of Homespun" and cannot be reproduced. There are those to whom the best biography of Dr. Bushnell that can possibly be written must be disappointing. To those who knew him the man will always be vastly greater than any "Life" or analysis of his works can make him appear. Dr. Munger frankly admits, in quoting appreciative estimates of others, that he had but slight personal acquaintance with Dr. Bushnell. Yet he is "confident that it is through the inner man that our readers will get at the theologian or perhaps be led to forget the latter in the former." The few who were accustomed to hear Dr. Bushnell during the last years of his life, in those memorable ministers' meetings at Hartford, will be pardoned if, while they gratefully welcome Dr. Munger's useful book, they still miss something of Bushnell's subtle power of analysis, his positive assertions, strong convictions, keen quest for truth, delight in the measure of truth attained, and perhaps most of all that indescribable combination of strength and beauty with which, by look and manner no less than by words, he gave forceful and frequent expression to his personal faith and to his experimental knowledge of those essential truths which had been, as Robertson says, "forged in the fires of his own soul."

When Dr. Reuben Thomas came to this country in the summer of 1874 as a visitor from England, he said: "Two things I must see, Niagara Falls and Dr. Bushnell." In his sketch of Horace Bushnell in *Leaders of Religious Thought* Dr. Thomas says: "There were days in my early ministry when doubt and faith struggled in a death grapple. Two subjects troubled me exceedingly, the nature of the personality of Jesus, and miracles. I think from the day I read *Nature and the Supernatural* I have had no doubt on the personality of Jesus and no skepticism worth notice on the subject of the miracles recorded in the New Testament." Those who have known and often heard Dr.

Bushnell can quite understand how Dr. Thomas went away after his week at Hartford saying to himself: "There is a man who believes Christ more than he believes anything or anybody." In the freedom of private conversation, with the sincerity and humility of a child, Dr. Bushnell had said: "I know Jesus Christ better than I know any man in Hartford."

BENJAMIN O. TRUE.

ROCHESTER THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

THE LIFE OF EDWARD WHITE BENSON, sometime Archbishop of Canterbury. By his Son, ARTHUR CHRISTOPHER BENSON, of Eton College. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1899. Two volumes. Pp. 1500. \$8.

THE history of the life of an archbishop of Canterbury is, to some extent, the history of the Church of England during his primacy; a statement singularly true of Archbishop Benson, who guided the destiny of the Church of England during years of much stress and strain; and were it for nothing else, the part he took in the Lincoln Judgment must ever remain a great event in the history of the entire Anglican communion. The work of editing the "Life" has devolved upon Dr. Benson's son, Mr. A. C. Benson, of Eton College, himself a man of letters, who enjoyed the confidence of his father. The book bears, above all else, the stamp of truth. The subject of the sketch is drawn as he really was, not as seen through the transfigured light of a son's affection. That affection is, indeed, beautifully manifest, but it is controlled throughout by the writer's respect for accuracy. The impression given by the book as a whole is that Dr. Benson was both greater and less than he appeared to the outside world—greater as a man moving among his fellows; less as an ecclesiastic, a thinker, and a statesman. He was a godly man, preëminently, and his real, heartfelt Christianity appears again and again in his letters. It was no veneer, no outside artifice intended to impress others with a notion of religiousness; it was vital and thorough.

Yet the general idea left after a study of the archbishop's character is somewhat complex. He was not a broad churchman, yet he counted first among his dearest friends Westcott, Temple, and Kingsley. He was not an evangelical, yet there was much in evangelicalism that he loved and admired. He was certainly a high-church man, yet he made no effort to disguise his impatience with, and dislike and distrust of, those who under the cloak of catholicity set themselves to

"finger Rome's trinkets," and in so doing have aided and abetted the "Italian mission," as he called the Roman propaganda in England. He disliked "confession," and wrote strongly against it in a letter to his friend, Bishop Lightfoot of Durham. He disliked such things as fasting communion and non-communicating attendance being forced down people's throats, and in one letter he says: "Just as the church, *i. e.*, the laity, had woke up to the grace and the wisdom of frequent communion, in comes ritualism with its teachings of fasting communion and non-communicating attendance, and draws religious people away. . . . In such a movement one almost *sees* a subtle hand mingling tares and wheat." In 1891 the archbishop wrote: "No worse evil could befall the church than a rupture of the Church Missionary Society. It is the power which keeps the Puritan party faithful to the Church of England." No doubt the statement made in the "Life," that Dr. Benson was in all things *a priest*, is accurate. Ecclesiasticism was, in a real sense, a mainspring of his religious life. But while he dreaded an evangelicalism from which the true evangelical spirit had gone, leaving only the husks of dogmatism, he saw with perfect clearness and affection the true value of a spiritual evangelicalism. Loving the externals of worship as he did, he was never blind to spiritual power which consisted in the "outpour of surrendered life."

Archbishop Benson's life may be conveniently divided into four parts: his career as headmaster of Wellington School, as chancellor of Lincoln, as bishop of Truro, as primate of all England. He was born in 1829, and educated at King Edward's School, Birmingham, under the celebrated Prince Lee, afterward first bishop of Manchester. Among his contemporaries at that school were Lightfoot, afterward bishop of Durham, and Westcott, who succeeded Lightfoot as bishop of Durham in 1890. Of this distinguished trio Westcott alone survives. At Cambridge Benson graduated in first-class honors, besides winning the chancellor's medal, and shortly after taking his degree accepted a mastership at Rugby under Goulburn, whose place as headmaster was subsequently filled by Frederick Temple, now archbishop of Canterbury. Benson's love and admiration for Temple were always great; he knew the man, and knew, too, how under the brusque and rugged exterior always beat a nobly tender and true heart. The "Life" is full of references to Dr. Temple. The record of Benson's days at Wellington is told with considerable fulness. Then follows the account of the chancellorship of Lincoln cathedral and the enjoyable friendship with Christopher Wordsworth, bishop of Lincoln. In 1877 Dr.

Benson became the first bishop of Truro, in Cornwall, and in 1883, to the surprise of most people, but with the approval of such men as Mr. Gladstone, Dean Church, and Bishop Harold Browne, Bishop Benson was advanced to the archbishopric of Canterbury. The status of the primate of all England is unique. Not merely is he the highest subject of the crown, ranking as he does immediately after the royal dukes, but his influence, both direct and indirect, is very great. The whole of the second volume of the "Life" is devoted to an account of the primacy, the public aspects of which are dealt with in much detail, with many interesting glimpses of the archbishop in his private life.

Here we must conclude these comments. It is less than four years since Benson passed away. The manner of his "passing" was affecting, indeed, yet not without a touch of noble completion. He literally died in harness—his eye undimmed, his natural force unabated. He had lived in stirring times. His zeal for the Church he loved, whose fortunes he watched and guided, was as true as it was great.

J. EVERIST CATHELL.

DES MOINES, IA.

CHARLES A. BERRY: A MEMOIR. By JAMES S. DRUMMOND.  
New York: Cassell & Co., 1900. Pp. xii+316. \$1.50.

CHARLES A. BERRY was the Roosevelt of the Congregational churches of England. Not so evangelical in spirit and aim as Spurgeon, not so quick and penetrating an interpreter of Scripture as Robertson, not so mature and well-poised in his opinions as Dale, he yet had all the positiveness of conviction and strenuousness in action which characterize our New York governor. But, while intense, he was not narrow, and, while aggressive, he was considerate. He fretted, as every dissenting minister of his country ought to do, under the disabilities imposed by the established church, and he wanted to see all the free churches of his native land pulling together on terms of mutual respect and love for the ends of faith and righteousness and the upbuilding of the kingdom of our Lord; but he was wise and patient in his methods, and, while burning with enthusiasm, he was careful to express no opinions and advocate no measures which would be likely to recoil to the injury of his cause. Dr. Berry will long be remembered in the United States as the young Englishman who was called to succeed Henry Ward Beecher. He will be remembered long at home for the magnificent work he did in his large and constantly enlarging parish at Wolverhampton, and for the splendid zeal

with which he wrought in the wider field of a united and aggressive Christianity for all England. He died early—at less than fifty—but he lived long enough and achieved a success sufficiently eminent to make his career well worth the careful study of every young minister who would fall into line with his age and make the most of his abilities and opportunities.

F. A. NOBLE.

CHICAGO.

LIGHTS AND SHADOWS OF A LONG EPISCOPATE. The Reminiscences of the RT. REV. HENRY BENJAMIN WHIPPLE, D.D., LL.D., Bishop of Minnesota. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1899. Pp. 568. \$5.

MEN are never tired of hearing about other men, and even dull memoirs have enjoyed extensive circulation. We have here memoirs which are as bright, as lively, and as interesting as any given to the public for many years past, and one would never judge they were from the pen of a man of advanced age much broken by incessant labor and heavy cares.

Bishop Whipple has not only been the Episcopal bishop of Minnesota for over forty years, but he has been a distinguished politician, in the best sense of the word. He has been the very foremost champion of the American Indian. He has labored greatly for the welfare of the American negro. He has been a leader in the educational work of the Northwest. He is just as widely known in England as in America, and there is no American divine more popular as a preacher and more welcome in the most exclusive London society. No one who has ever seen him can forget his striking personality; tall, erect, with keen piercing eyes, and commanding manner, he always attracts attention in any gathering. He is in contact with men of all sorts and conditions, and this book is a record of his varied experiences. On one page he is discussing church questions with the archbishop of Canterbury, and on the next, in a canoe in the wilds of the Northwest. Here he is talking with the queen at Windsor, and there, rolled in his blanket in some Indian tepee, and just as much at home in one place as another. This is all told so naturally, so unconventionally, and with so much freshness that the book has a peculiar charm. It is full of anecdote, sometimes witty, sometimes pathetic, and every now and then come sentences which open up great questions of philanthropy, education, statesmanship, and show how well fitted was the writer for the place he was called to fill. Powerful and affecting, indeed, are the words with



which he closes the record of his many experiences: "This is God's world, not the devil's. It is ruled by one who is the Lord our Righteousness. . . . In my childhood it was no disgrace for men of the highest social position to drink to intoxication. Human slavery was a part of Christian civilization, and the most enlightened nations were engaged in the slave trade. The North American Indian was looked upon as a miserable savage to be driven from the face of the earth. . . . Christian men too often left the poor in cities to die of diseases which came from the violation of the good laws of God, and laid the cause to his providence. . . . Christians were too busy fighting one another for aggressive work against the kingdom of the devil. . . . There was little interest in missions at home or abroad." Then he speaks of the great change in all these relations, and surely no living man has done more to bring about this change than the warm-hearted, fearless, self-sacrificing bishop. The cause of the red man found an advocate in Bishop Whipple when to speak well of an Indian exposed a man to scorn and ridicule. There is a very good anecdote in this connection, told by the bishop about Abraham Lincoln, who said to a friend: "When you see Lute, ask him if he knows Bishop Whipple. He came here the other day and talked with me about the rascality of this Indian business until I felt it down to my boots. If we get through this war and I live, this Indian system shall be reformed." Naturally the bishop's course about the Indian made him for a time very unpopular among the frontiersmen. They organized a party to go down to Faribault and "clean him out." An old pioneer said to them: "Boys, you don't know the bishop, but I do; he is my neighbor; and I will tell you just what will happen when you go down to clean him out. He will come on to the piazza and talk to you five minutes, and you will wonder how you ever made such — fools of yourselves." This settled the question. A prominent statesman once asked the bishop how much success he expected in this Indian fight. "As much," he replied, "as the man who preached forty years and never made one convert, but he saved himself and his family in the ark." No man is quicker at a repartee than Bishop Whipple. I remember a man's saying to him that his epitaph ought to be: "The beggar died." "Well," said the bishop, "I do not mind, if you add the rest of the verse, 'And was carried by the angels into Abraham's bosom.'" The bishop gloried in being a beggar, and a very successful one he was; the outcome of his begging is seen in the splendid and well-endowed educational institutions and the cathedral, which grace the beautiful city of Faribault and

are all described so vividly in this volume. There is many a good fishing story in these pages, for the bishop was an ardent disciple of the "gentle Izaak." He says a friend once expressed surprise that a bishop could be so keen a sportsman. "I reminded him that it was apostolic, and that the man of the college of the apostles who betrayed his master did not come from the Sea of Galilee, but from Kerioth, a trading town in the south of Judea." There is a curious account of the offer made him by the Church of England to become the bishop of the Sandwich Islands. If he had accepted, the Episcopal church there would not be in its present muddle, but how much the whole American church would have lost! One cannot take up this book without pleasure and profit. Strongly urged to write it, the bishop did well in yielding to the pressure and giving us so delightful a volume.

CLINTON LOCKE.

CHICAGO.

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DER BEWEIS FÜR DIE WAHRHEIT DES CHRISTENTHUMS. Ein Beitrag zur Apologetik. Von E. GUSTAV STEUDE, Lic. theol. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1899. Pp. 148.

THIS treatise constitutes the fifth number of the third volume (1899) of *Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie*. Its aim is not so much to establish by argument the truth of Christianity as to put in clear light the method of proof which is valid and which at the present time is most likely to be accepted as valid.

The author begins with a definition of truth: "the agreement of conceptions with their objects," *i. e.*, with objective reality, and not simply with each other, or with the laws of thought, or with the deepest needs of human nature. The proof that such reality, such a higher world, exists, he regards as a necessity at once for Christian faith and for theology. This proof must be inductive; for here the object of proof is that which in its nature is absolutely original and underived, and so cannot be deduced from anything prior. This inductive evidence must attain its object with convincing power, must do no violence to the nature of Christianity, and must be universally valid, *i. e.*, must establish the certainty of faith by establishing its truth.

The point of departure for inductive proof must be miraculous facts known experimentally. Only events not referable to merely natural powers can reveal and so make credible a supernatural world. There are three classes of miracles—miracles in the spheres of nature,

of the human spirit, and of human history respectively. The author takes up the most significant of the lines of argument which have been wrought out under each of these divisions, stating with brevity, yet clearly, each, and following this with a statement and critical estimate of the objections urged against each of the lines. In this way he calls attention to the positions which intrinsically, or relatively to the present time and to different minds, are, on the one hand, the stronger and, on the other, the weaker. If to some he may seem at times to surrender what he ought to maintain, the total impression must be that he has been eminently fair and judicious, and has conducted the reader to safe and solid ground. The discussion, though brief, is thorough and instructive.

GEO. D. B. PEPPER.

WATERVILLE, ME.

ZEHN FRAGEN ÜBER DIE WAHRHEIT DES CHRISTLICHEN GLAUBENS.  
VON PROFESSOR DR. BERTLING, Pastor zu Badersleben.  
Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1899. Pp.  
156. M. 2; bound, M. 3.

DR. BERTLING meets often with men, intelligent (many of them, indeed, university students), conscientious, even religious, who are yet hostile to Christianity. This anti-Christian attitude he finds somewhat dependent on "ignorance and misconception." To remove these is the aim of the "theoretische Erörterungen" which make up this book. These "discussions" touch concisely, of course, but carefully, and, we trust many will be able to add, conclusively upon such *summa fastigia* of our creed as these: spirit, God, the supernatural, revelation, Jesus Christ, the Trinity, and future life.

The pamphlet exhibits everywhere a theological temper which may be described, to borrow an epithet from British politics, as "liberal-conservative." The author holds the distinctive doctrines of Christianity, and yet he regards the "Jonas-Wunder" as an *exemplum fictum*, the narratives of the "staying of the sun" and the "storming of Jericho" as extracts from contemporary poetry, and the account of Christ's "walking on the sea" as handled best in the non-committal manner of the fourth evangelist. To him the experiences represented by "inspiration," "revelation," "illumination" are not shut off in unrelated seclusion, but connected with the movements of our common spiritual life. To him, too, the prophet is not a being interjected into an unrelated environment, but one who, by the "geübte Ohr" possible

to all God-possessed souls, can hear, amid the confusions of individual and national life, the harmonies of the divine rule, and the measured movement of the universal order; can hear just as the musical traveler finds upon the railway train the discords of his progress arrange themselves to "Melodien, die er in sich trägt," or in the noisy street catches strains of a distant orchestra, undetected by his companions, because the music "in seiner Seele klingt."

We believe this brochure will fulfil the author's wish and "help forward the hesitant but earnest-spirited and truth-seeking doubter."

ROBERT KERR ECCLES.

BOWLING GREEN, O.

THE SPIRIT AND THE INCARNATION. By W. L. WALKER. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark; New York: Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons, 1899. Pp. viii + 388. \$3.50.

THE two subjects singled out for discussion by the author are of vital importance in the theological thinking of today. He treats them under four heads, "Biblical," "Explanatory," "The Person of Christ," and "Practical." Under the first head, "Biblical" (pp. 13-35), he determines the distinctive thing in Christianity to be "the entrance into the world, through Jesus Christ, of a new principle and power of spiritual light and life called the Holy Spirit." The second section (pp. 39-176) deals largely with the biblical teaching on the Spirit and its functions. The first part takes up the impersonal influences of the Spirit; the second deals with the Holy Spirit as personal, viz., as the real presence of God and Christ, enabling us to find our true life in relation to God. The thesis of the third section (pp. 179-346) is that God as Son became incarnate in human form through a process of self-realization. Christ is thus God as he has in his "person" of Son and through the Spirit gradually entered into and realized his divine life of sonship in the world. Thus Christ is truly God and truly man. The "Practical" section (pp. 349-78) applies the conclusions previously reached to modern questions.

It is clear that the author has made a serious and helpful attempt to state these fundamental doctrines of Christianity in such a way as to make them acceptable to the representatives of modern culture, and any criticism must keep this fact in mind. That he has completely solved these problems for this present age can hardly be maintained. Touching its good qualities the book speaks for itself. Among its apparent defects may be mentioned the following: (1) In the

distinctly exegetical portions of the work, the lexicographical study of such biblical terms as "spirit," "faith," "righteousness," "law," and "flesh" seems quite inadequate. The various meanings and their distinctions have not been determined with sufficient care. This lack has led, not only to questionable interpretations of particular passages of Scripture, but to the injection of modern psychological and philosophical conceptions into the antique and naïve statements of the Bible. (2) A further evidence of the above is seen in the author's insistence that the manifestation of the Spirit before Christ's coming was wholly impersonal, while after his coming there was a personal element in the Spirit. And with this as a starting-point he goes one step farther in maintaining that there was no personal divine life immanent in the world until Christ came; there was only the impersonal divine Reason and Power. (3) The author continually lays emphasis on the ethical (*vs.* ontological) in his doctrine of Christ and the atonement. But, strange to say, with all this emphasis, he devotes little space to the discussion of the will, the real center of the ethical. God is viewed as if he acts on the world of humanity with irresistible power, or at most needing only man's consent to operate in him; rather than as needing man's free, voluntary coöperation. Even in the case of Christ, his free will of obedience, so much emphasized in the Scriptures, is scarcely brought out at all. Instead of this the author uses such phrases as "the ethical substance of his being" and "the ethical life of God filling him." This gives to the atonement a mystical or magical rather than an ethical coloring. Moreover, the author continually uses the cosmological concept "logos" of the early church fathers—a concept framed to bridge the chasm between God and man, when the two were viewed as disparate in essence—even though he sets aside this presupposition by emphasizing the essential similarity (ethically) of the divine and the human. By this view Jesus is fitted into the cosmological world-process rather than into its central ethical life. (4) The argument has as a constant presupposition that the theological opinions and doctrines of the New Testament writers and early church fathers are binding on present-day theology. This naturally leads the writer to make the teachings of the apostles as normative for Christianity as those of Christ himself, a position which could hardly be maintained from the point of view of these same New Testament writers, since they clearly conceive their teachings subordinate to those of Jesus their Lord.

WM. R. SCHOEMAKER.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

DAS CHRISTLICHE GOTTVERTRAUEN UND DER GLAUBE AN CHRISTUS. Eine dogmatische Untersuchung auf biblisch-theologischer Grundlage und unter Berücksichtigung der symbolischen Litteratur. Von E. W. MAYER, a. o. Professor der Theologie in Strassburg. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1899. Pp. vi + 162. M. 3.60.

THE title of this little work indicates clearly its contents. Beginning with an elaborate exposition of the nature of trust in God in general, it proceeds to consider the view of it as given first in the symbolic literature of the church and then in the various books of the New Testament. In this examination of the New Testament great prominence is naturally given to the Pauline parts. The other portions are treated with brevity, but with sufficient thoroughness to show their main points of agreement with the Pauline writings and of difference from them. This historical sketch is followed by a clear, interesting, and instructive discussion of the mutual relation of trust in God and faith in Christ: of *Gottvertrauen* and *Christusglaube*.

The differences in the New Testament representations of the nature, mutual relation, and effects of the two acts do not in his judgment constitute discrepancies. Acts so complex in their elements and relations are seen now in one light and now in another, and the experience of the writer and his special aim in writing in each case determine his representation. Thus a harmony exists and can be shown. While ecclesiastical writers in the evangelical churches are in substantial agreement with the New Testament and each other, there are at times divergences amounting to contradictions.

The author holds that trust in God has as its intellectual element the assurance of God's personal existence, and of his power and disposition to order all things in the interest of his people, and with this a filial confidence. The relation of this to faith in Christ is that of consequent to antecedent, of effect to cause. Jesus, the Christ, brings to men, reveals and makes effective in men, in mind, heart, and life, the holy nature, will, and grace of the Father, so as to bring men to the Father in trust. It is the historical Christ in the totality of his being and experience that does this. Greatest weight, however, must be given to the crowning revelation, as seen in his self-sacrifice and his resurrection. But the inward experience of the Holy Spirit's presence and work joins itself directly to the historical presentation of the Redeemer, and is itself, in a true sense, a continual historical manifestation of the glorified Christ. Whether in any man there is a trust

in God not consequent on faith in Christ it was not the author's aim to discuss.

GEO. D. B. PEPPER.

WATERVILLE, ME.

**CHRISTIAN MYSTICISM.** Considered in Eight Lectures delivered before the University of Oxford. By WILLIAM RALPH INGE, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Hertford College, Oxford; formerly Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, and Assistant Master at Eton College. London: Methuen & Co., 1899. Pp. xiv + 379. \$2.50, *net*.

THIS volume contains, besides the *Bampton Lectures* for 1899, a preface in which is an interesting account of their genesis, and four appendices, of which one gives definitions of mysticism by various writers, with special comment on those by Professors A. Seth, Herrmann, and Harnack, and another discusses the ways in which salvation has been conceived of as "deification." There are numerous notes.

The first lecture sets forth the "General Characteristics" of religious mysticism. It presupposes a universal religious consciousness, "the raw material of all religion." Mysticism is "the attempt to realize the presence of the living God in the soul and in nature, or, more generally, . . . to realize, in thought and feeling, the immanence of the temporal in the eternal, and of the eternal in the temporal." The material being formless, its expression is by symbols. As vital, it resists formalism and unbelief, and produces its own theory and practice. Thus developed "it seems to rest on the following propositions or articles of faith: first, the soul as well as the body can see and perceive;" second, "since we can only know what is akin to ourselves, *man, in order to know God, must be a partaker of the divine nature;*" third, "*without holiness no man may see the Lord;*" fourth, "our guide on the upward path, *the true hierophant of the mysteries of God, is love.*" Passing to the means by which divine union is attained, the lecturer disclaims for ecstasy and vision any necessary place in Christian mysticism. Types of speculative mysticism are then considered which are deemed "normal and genuine." These retain the truths of distinct personality and moral accountability.

The second lecture deals mainly with the mysticism of John and Paul and the author of Hebrews. Two lectures are then given to speculative mysticism, particularly as related to Platonism. One aim is to show that mysticism is not necessarily pantheistic, though it

modifies conceptions of personality traditional and current among us. The next two lectures treat of practical and devotional mysticism, and the last two of nature-mysticism and symbolism. One of the best portions of the volume considers the mystical view of nature presented in the poetry of Wordsworth.

The book should be judged in the light of its origin and aim. Its author was drawn to the mystics in a quest for personal guidance to a satisfactory philosophy and rule of religious life. He records what he found serviceable, and shows how it may be separated from erroneous principles and methods. The book has the interest which belongs to all such endeavors, where intellectual capacity and equipment combine with sincerity and earnestness. It has the touch of reality, the note of conviction. Its literary form is attractive. As compared with the only other English monograph on its theme—Vaughan's *Hours with the Mystics* (1860)—it is less complete and brilliant, but more serious and mature. It has a distinct and, in important respects, superior value.

The necessary limitations of its sermonic form exclude discussions which we could wish that a writer so competent might more fully take up. Perhaps in a new edition the appendices might be increased.

The definition of mysticism offered shows the lecturer's point of view, and reflects his personal interest in the subject and his aim. It lacks definiteness, however. How are "thought and feeling" related to what is realized, and to each other? Are they coördinate? Or, if not, which is primary? Are both essential? In one form of the definition the antitheses are "living God" and "soul" with "nature;" in the other, "the eternal" and "the temporal." Are these antitheses to be identified?

The statement of fundamental articles suggests the same comment. It shows the author's point of view and purpose, but it does not take us far into a knowledge of distinctive mysticism. The second proposition is, in its premise, especially open to criticism. The tenet that like is only known by like is neither axiomatic nor universal.

One subject, imperative for a critical and adequate treatment of Christian mysticism, is the function and sphere of faith. If we mistake not, the work before us is specially defective at this point.

The distinction between God and man, the Father of spirits and every creature, also seems to require more exact and thorough consideration. There is an *essential* difference which current discussion too often slights or obliterates—a difference which no *progressio* can in the least diminish.



But whatever should be said on these points does not qualify our thanks to our author for what he has wrought. There is a mystical element in Christianity, and in Christian theology and worship. This new volume of *Bampton Lectures* is a valuable contribution to its appreciation.

EGBERT C. SMYTH.

ANDOVER THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

THE SCIENTIFIC BASIS OF MORALITY. By G. GORE, LL.D. F.R.S. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1899. Pp. vi + 599. 10s. 6d.

INSTITUTES OF MORAL PHILOSOPHY. By LYMAN B. TEFFT, D.D. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1900. Pp. ix + 372. \$1.50.

VOICES OF FREEDOM, AND STUDIES IN THE PHILOSOPHY OF INDIVIDUALITY. By HORATIO W. DRESSER. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. Pp. v + 204. \$1.25.

PROBLEMS IN ETHICS; OR, GROUNDS FOR A CODE OF RULES FOR MORAL CONDUCT. By JOHN STEINFORT KEDNEY. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1900. Pp. xx + 252. \$1.50.

DIE SITTlichen GRUNDKRÄFTE. Ein Beitrag zur Ethik. Von DR. FRIEDRICH WAGNER. Tübingen: Verlag der H. Laupp'schen Buchhandlung, 1899. Pp. 91. M. 2.

RÖMISCH-KATHOLISCHE UND EVANGELISCHE SITTlichkeit. Nach einem Vortrag gehalten auf der Sächsischen kirchlichen Konferenz am 26. April 1899. Von PROFESSOR W. HERRMANN in Marburg. Marburg: N. G. Elwert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1900. Pp. 45. M. 0.60.

He who opens Mr. Gore's book with the expectation of finding a scientific treatise has been misled by its title and mechanical proportions. The point of view, indeed, is that of natural science; and the pages are swollen with citations from scientific works. In fact, the erudition evinced by this volume is extraordinary in its extent and its miscellaneous character. But in the requirement of close and systematic thought, which is, after all, the sole essential differentia of a science, the present treatise fails completely. This conclusion, suggested by the table of contents, is confirmed by the body of the book. First of all, there is a bewildering multiplicity of first principles. We

have apparently distinct laws of universal causation, universal continuity, evolution, change and decay, persistence of property in substances (which includes heredity), of universal wave-motion, and the like, defined without any attempt to exhibit them either in organic relations or as mutually exclusive. These physical laws are extended, after the manner of Mr. Spencer at his worst, to human conduct, which is thus loosely described under the head of action and reaction, inertia and momentum, acceleration, and general compensation. It need hardly be said that psychologists have now abandoned the practice of formulating conduct according to such crude mechanical metaphors, even those who believe that psychical relations are ultimately mechanical. The "scientific basis of morality" which is finally reached by this method is nothing more subtle than the principle of aiming for "the greatest amount of good, present and future, to sentient creatures." The book closes with the formulation of this principle into ten rules, the mere enumeration of which is a sufficient evidence of the vague and futile character of the whole work. They include such specific directions as to obey energy and law, to do the greatest good, to improve continually, to consider consequences, to value all things properly, and, finally, to acquire wisdom. What value Mr. Gore's work may have, and for whom, is hard to say. It certainly contributes nothing to the scientific, that is to say, the systematic and business-like, discussion of morals.

Judging from the typographical arrangement, Dr. Tefft's *Institutes of Moral Philosophy* is intended for a text-book. His treatment of the subject is both archaic and dogmatic. He begins with a formal statement of fundamental postulates and axiomatic principles. His postulates, *e. g.*, that the testimony of consciousness is final and conclusive, and that our normal and necessary mental processes are valid, do not distinguish his method from that of any other moralist. The questions implied in them have long since ceased to live. His axiomatic principles, which include the existence of God and free will, quietly assume what for ethical thought at large is in the nature of a problem, and what the author himself afterward prefers to support by argument. The most modern feature of the book is the discussion, now abandoned by ethical writers, of the possible genesis of moral conceptions from antecedents that were unmoral, in which discussion he apparently questions the theory of evolution as a whole. It is not meant that the problems discussed by Dr. Tefft have been solved. On the contrary, it is probably too much to say that any philosophical problems have

ever been solved. They merely reappear in another form. Whatever that change may mean, it is still true that the form of problem discussed in the present volume has no meaning for philosophic thought of the present day.

Mr. Dresser's *Voices of Freedom* is much the most interesting of the above list of works. It is partly a compilation of essays previously published in the *Arena*, from one of which it derives its unfortunate title. But the work is not without unity. The preface contains in its opening paragraphs a statement of the general philosophical situation which, if elaborated in a systematic fashion, would make a valuable introduction to the study of philosophy. Unfortunately, the body of the book hardly satisfies the anticipations aroused by the preface. But the chapters on "The New Thought," "The Philosophy of Activity," and "The Freedom of the Will" contain, with some qualifications, excellent, though popular, expositions of the more recent developments in ethical and metaphysical thought—of which the author has evidently been a careful student. They somewhat overstate the tendencies dominant in the recent thought, but the overstatement has the effect of bringing those tendencies more clearly to the light. In this connection it is to be mentioned that the author's "new thought" is by no means immediately identical with the principle of "activity" so much emphasized in the recent idealistic movement. The "new thought" is the author's modified statement of "mental science." But it seems to me that in relating the two he shows skill and insight. Mental science is simply an ignorantly logical acceptance of a position which for philosophy is still something of a trial-hypothesis. In fact, nothing better distinguishes the philosopher from the popular agitator than the critical attitude of the former, even toward his own fundamental principles. The principles held by the two are, in themselves, frequently identical.

*Problems in Ethics*, by John Steinfert Kedney, is in intent theological as well as ethical. The author makes his ethical and metaphysical conclusions the basis of a proof of the truth of Christianity, more especially of the doctrine of the Trinity. His theory contains all the traditional features of the ethics which defines duty simply as the will of God, the justification of moral obligation being based upon the immortality of the soul.

Dr. Friedrich Wagner's brief monograph on *Die sittliche Grundkräfte* is a serious attempt to define the ethics of activity as distinct from the ethics of pleasure. According to him the ethical situation is

a conflict between tendencies toward the disinterested attainment of ideal ends and those toward the enjoyment of feeling. His treatise begins properly with an attempt to define activity as distinct from feeling, in which difficult task, however, it seems to me that he has not been completely successful.

In his address on *Roman Catholic and Evangelical Morality* Professor Herrmann points out that the Roman church, by its repression of liberty of thought, is running counter to the all of the present moral tendencies.

WARNER FITE.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

THEOLOGIAE MORALIS PRINCIPIA. Auctore P. MICHEL, E. Loc. Miss. ab Africa vulgo Reres Blanco in Seminario Binsonensis Superiore et <sup>issimi</sup> ac <sup>issimi</sup> Cardinalis Langénieux, Archiepiscopi Rhemensis vicario Generali. I: Moralis Generalis, complectens omnia principia, tum intrinseca, tum extrinseca activitatis humanae in finem supernaturalem dirigendae. Paris: Librairie Victor Lecoffre, 1900. Pp. xii + 472.

THIS treatise has the *imprimatur* of Cardinal Richard, archbishop of Paris, and is introduced by a letter of approbation from Langénieux, archbishop of Rheims. This letter very justly characterizes the work as distinguished by clear, logical, progressive exposition, exhaustive analysis, simple, intelligible Latin, and a thoroughly devout spirit. The author is a loyal disciple and ardent admirer of Thomas Aquinas, to whose ethical teaching he gives the "first place," and whose spirit, method, and substance of doctrine he loyally reproduces. He everywhere assumes the unquestionable truth of Roman Catholic teaching as to theology, morality, and the church. Hence he feels no need to search for the foundations of morality, or to vindicate the reality of the foundations assumed; no need even to recognize the ethical controversies that have so large a place in modern thought. The whole tone of the work is mediæval. There is great elaborateness of exposition, great keenness of discrimination, great fineness of distinction, great multiplicity of divisions, subdivisions, and yet further divisions of the subdivisions. This immense accumulation of numbered principles would bewilder, were it not for the mathematical precision of statement and order. The work is a reproduction of the author's class-room instruction, and is intended for a class-room text-book. It

rightly disclaims to be a book of casuistry, but admits that it intends to lay the foundation for casuistry. The multiplication of principles and distinctions is a preparation for the business of a confessor in dealing with the consciences of those confessing. The attention is everywhere turned to degrees of sin or virtue, of demerit or merit, and to the considerations by which to determine these degrees, especially the degrees of sin, as trifling, small, venial, or important, great, mortal. While the will of God is recognized as the supreme moral law, and the conscience of each man as his immediate proximate law, supremacy in the interpretation and application of the law is attributed to the hierarchy. Duties to the church and its officers are to take precedence of duties to the state and its officers, because the church belongs to a higher order than the state, although both are of God.

While Protestant scholars will not assent to all this and much else in the volume, they will find the careful study of the work in many ways extremely valuable. The commendation of it by the high papal authorities implies, what is doubtless true, that there is no clearer, more thorough, and more able modern treatise on ethics from the Roman Catholic point of view.

GEO. D. B. PEPPER.

WATERVILLE, Me.

INTERPRETATIONS OF POETRY AND RELIGION. By GEORGE SANTAYANA. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1900. Pp. x + 290. \$1.50.

THIS is not a commonplace and not an insignificant book. The style has a clarity and a dignity that give it distinction, and it is the vehicle of independent thought. An atmosphere of repose hovers over the pages. The preface to the volume states the "idea" that animates the author. That "idea" is that "religion and poetry are identical in essence and differ merely in the way in which they are attached to practical affairs." The vagueness with which is here set forth the difference, coexisting with the identity, alleged to subsist between poetry and religion, is, when thoughtfully dwelt upon, sufficiently demonstrative of the fanciful and sterile character of the "idea" that the author has thought it worth while to inculcate. It is true enough that religion, in its purest and highest form of experience, and naturally therefore in its most ideal and triumphant expression, tends to become poetical. Witness the psalms and the prophecies

of the Old Testament, together with many passages also in the gospels and in the epistles of the New; witness, indeed, the whole body of literature reflecting the raptures of the soul in that communion with God which is religion itself. But religion has a substantive reality in things very different from transcendent imaginations and transcendent emotions. Religion consists besides in commonplace everyday behavior conformed to the will of God. This, too, is beautiful, yes; in its perfection, it may even be pronounced poetical. But it *is* not poetry, whereas it *is* religion. Religion and poetry, therefore, are not "identical." The academic, not to say dilettante, spirit in which Mr. Santayana writes may be judged from the serenely condescending remark made, p. 115, concerning Christianity as attempting to be a "universal" and an "adequate" religion: "The great success which Christianity achieved in this immense undertaking makes it, *after classic antiquity* [italics our own], the most important phase in the history of mankind." Refreshingly wholesome, however, are some of the author's literary *obiter dicta*. He deals in one paper with what he calls the "poetry of barbarism." Browning and Whitman are his representative "barbarians" in poetry. He explains why (p. 185) "Whitman failed radically in his dearest ambition," and declares, truly no doubt, that "he can never be a poet of the people." Browning Mr. Santayana considers (p. 189) "a great writer," but he finds his "style" "turgid," "weighty without nobility," "pointed without naturalness or precision." He thus sums up, justly as we think, Browning's philosophy of life and his religion (p. 203): "The gist of the matter is that we are to live indefinitely, that all our faults can be turned to good, all our unfinished business settled, and that, therefore, there is time for anything we like in this world and for all we need in the other. It is in spirit the direct opposite of the philosophic maxim of regarding the end, of taking care to leave a finished life and a perfect character behind us. It is the opposite, also, of the religious *memento mori*, of the warning that the time is short before we go to our account. According to Browning, there is no account: we have an infinite credit." If in the "repose" of which we have spoken as characterizing Mr. Santayana's manner there is present something of what the perverse might represent as self-complacency, or even as self-conceit, that is the gravest defect to be found, or to be suspected, in the literary good breeding of the author.

WILLIAM C. WILKINSON.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

TENNYSON AS A RELIGIOUS TEACHER. By CHARLES F. G. MASTERMAN, M.A., Christ's College, Cambridge. London: Methuen & Co., 1900. Pp. 253. 6s.

WE have here a remarkable book—253 good-sized pages devoted to a study of Tennyson's religious teaching and influence—remarkable at least as tribute and testimonial to the late poet-laureate's place and power in the literature of his generation. The writer is thoroughly well-informed on his subject, and he treats it with most elaborate and conscientious, and, for the most part too, we are constrained to add, intelligent, painstaking. The book is well written, without being very readable; most readers, in fact, would, we fear, pronounce it dull. The theological position of the writer seems to be that of the "broad-church" man—very "broad," for we find him (p. 237) speaking thus of Walt Whitman: "Whitman can contribute a calm serenity, 'a grateful acceptance of life as it is, a recognition of the beauty of common things, a steadfast unassailable conviction that the universe is good.'" He virtually, almost expressly indeed, calls Whitman a "great religious teacher." It is an astonishing, a staggering misinterpretation of the frank animalism of this "poet." It even throws a shadow of doubt over the capacity of the writer to deal with the subject that he undertakes. The book is, however, on the whole, a scholarly piece of work. In it full justice is done to the mainly wholesome and helpful moral and religious spirit and purpose and influence of Tennyson's poetry.

WILLIAM C. WILKINSON.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

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CONFIRMATION. By RIGHT REV. A. C. A. HALL, D.D., Bishop of Vermont. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1900. Pp. 238. 5s.

"THESE HOLY MYSTERIES": Addresses upon the History and Meaning of the Christian Liturgy, more particularly with Regard to the Use of the Church of England. By REV. C. CLEMENTSON, M.A., Vicar of Crookes, Sheffield. London: Rivingtons, 1899. Pp. 150. 3s. 6d.

BISHOP HALL is an Englishman, and was for many years a leader of the advanced high-church party in England. Not unnaturally his work on *Confirmation* appears as a volume of "The Oxford Library of Practical Theology." Great learning along the lines of patristic theology is manifest, as well as a singular subtlety in distinctions, suggestive of the schoolmen of the Middle Ages and the Puritan writers

of the school of John Owen. The mode of administration of confirmation, the administrator, the gift bestowed, the relation of the rite to baptism on the one hand, and to the communion on the other, and the preparation for the reception of the ordinance, are all discussed with great elaboration. The chapter on "The Gift of Confirmation, and Its Relation to That of Baptism" may be taken as typical of the whole work. In both these rites Bishop Hall holds that the Holy Ghost is imparted. But, in opposition to many of his school of thought, he makes the gift at confirmation far more than an additional bestowal of the blessing supposed to be already imparted in baptism. Quoting Bishop Seabury's catechism, the author adopts the following definition: "In our water-baptism the Holy Ghost purifies and fits us to be a temple for himself; and in confirmation he enters and takes possession of this temple." Despite the almost mechanical method in which this book seems to suppose the spirit of God to be imparted, its later chapters, dealing with the spiritual qualifications for confirmation, are redolent of a real, if somewhat mediæval, piety.

The word "liturgy," popularly representing any precomposed form of public worship, is employed by Mr. Clementson in the restricted ecclesiastical sense of the eucharistic ritual. The evolution of the English Communion Office is developed with remarkable fullness, and to those who care to seek the sources from which the elements of that service come the work is of value. The subject is approached from the point of view of the extreme high-church man. Naturally, therefore, slight reference is made to the scanty New Testament allusions to the Lord's Supper, but abundant quotations from the Fathers furnish authority for almost all the dogmas which root themselves in the principle that the Christian minister is a sacrificing priest.

CHICAGO.

CHARLES EDWARD CHENEY.

**PRINCIPLES OF PUBLIC SPEAKING.** Comprising the technique of articulation, phrasing, emphasis; the cure of vocal defects; the elements of gesture; a complete guide to public speaking, extemporaneous speaking, debate, and parliamentary law, together with many exercises, forms, and practice selections. By GUY CARLETON LEE, PH.D., of Johns Hopkins University. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1899. Pp. xi + 458. \$1.25.

THE title-page above transcribed gives a sufficiently minute outline of the contents of this volume. The author's treatment of defects of



voice, enunciation, inflection, emphasis, and gesture is suggestive, but the discussion, as a whole, contains nothing new.

This treatise, like many others on public speaking, is too elaborate and complicated. Such a multiplicity of rules confuses rather than helps the learner. The subjective element is not sufficiently emphasized. The root of all effective speaking is in clear thinking and right feeling. That secured, most outward defects are quickly overcome; but without it, while we may have polished declamation, we can have no oratory.

Our author's discussion of extemporaneous speaking is far from satisfactory. He evidently does not understand the philosophy of it. To speak extemporaneously, he insists primarily on the cultivation of the memory. But there is a broad distinction between speaking from memory and extemporaneous speaking. In the latter, memorizing is only a subconscious process. The speaker, with no conscious effort to remember, is simply intent on giving expression to his thought with which both mind and heart are all aglow. The study of words and their synonyms, which our author so warmly commends to the extempore speaker, is just as necessary to him who writes his discourses and delivers them by reading.

The chapter on "History of Oratory" has only a remote relation to the main subject of the book, and even if it were ably written, it would be wise to omit it. But it is uncritical, and has nothing in it fresh and suggestive. It contains some palpable errors. After characterizing Athanasius as "the true Demosthenes of the church," he says that "Chrysostom and Basil of Cæsarea followed in that list of Greek Fathers which ended in Gregory of Nazianzen." But inasmuch as Chrysostom outlived Basil twenty-eight years, and Gregory seventeen, it is obvious that this "list" did not end in Gregory. He calls attention to "Duns Scotis" instead of Duns Scotus; but perhaps here the proofreader nodded. He tells us that Melancthon and Calvin were greater pulpit orators than Luther. Is it possible that one who has read both the discourses and the history of these three men can come sanely to such a conclusion? Still, omitting this chapter, the book as a whole is a good one, and can be studied with profit by all who desire to influence men by public speaking.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

GALUSHA ANDERSON.

*Faith and Light, Essays on the Relation of Agnosticism to Theology.*  
By William Pierson Merrill. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons,

1900; pp. 175; \$1.) After reflecting the present theological conditions of confusion and unrest, in which skepticism does not mean irreligion, but the contrary, and describing the phenomenon of agnosticism, the author discusses suggestively the scientific function of theology and the two great types of theology, the objective and the subjective. Each needs the other, for the objective without the subjective will be falsely traditional, and the subjective without the objective will be falsely independent. An objective theology fails at length in adaptability to a new time, a subjective fails to garner the lessons and dynamics of history. While the book is not written for trained theologians, and contains no message for such, yet many a busy pastor would find stimulus in its pages, and to such it is to be heartily commended.—GEORGE B. FOSTER.

*The Divine Pedigree of Man, or the Testimony of Evolution and Psychology to the Fatherhood of God.* By Thomas Jay Hudson, LL.D. (Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1899; pp. 379; \$1.50.) "The quality of mind exhibited in man's remotest earthly ancestor is essentially godlike, differing from omniscience only in degree, and not in kind" . . . such are the "godlike mental powers inhering in the mind with which the moneron is endowed" (p. 275). The "moneron" shows a mind with divine traits; man is descended from the moneron; therefore his pedigree is divine—such is the argument of this curious book. To those who do not accept Dr. Hudson's premises—and his premises are anything but scientific—his argument is meaningless.—ARTHUR FAIRBANKS.

*Altiora quaero*: Drei Kapitel über Spiritualismus und Realismus. Von R. Rocholl. (Leipzig: A. Deichert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung Nachf. (G. Böhme), 1899; pp. 94; M. 1.60.) *Altiora quaero* is well worth a study. Originally appearing in the form of magazine articles for the clergy, this little pamphlet is not intended as a complete treatise on the concept of God, of the sacraments, and of the church, the designations of the chapter titles, but rather as a timely critique on the philosophical ideas concerning these concepts prevailing among earlier and the most recent German authors. For pastors and theological students conversant with German and well at home in the theologico-philosophical thinking of mediæval and modern times this booklet will be very helpful. The author is a conservative Lutheran, and naturally views the subject from that standpoint. He

lays bare the spiritualistic trend, on the one hand, and the materialistic, on the other, which seem to characterize the thought of the German theologians and philosophers, extolling the Bible-teaching of true realism. What he calls spiritualism is not the modern spiritism, but a convenient explaining away of what as objective truth is hard to master. This "German Hamlet" is also known as idealism. All truth, scientific or otherwise, is more or less related to these three main concepts—God, his way of raising man to him (the sacraments), and the manifestation of that way (the church).—A. P. FORS.

*Outlines of the History of Religion.* By John K. Ingram, LL.D. (London: A. & C. Black, 1900; pp. 162.) He who opens this little book with the expectation of obtaining what its title promises will soon be disillusioned. The writer is a disciple of Auguste Comte, and his aim a theoretic discussion of certain phases of religious activity which are regarded as making for Positivism. It is in no sense an outline of the history of religion, and to employ a deceptive title under which to offer an attack upon Christianity and an encomium upon his own pet system of thought does not speak well for the morality inculcated by the religion of humanity. For the rest, the book contains some new interpretations of epochs and elements in mediæval and modern Christianity which will interest scholars, even if they fail to carry conviction.—*Egyptian Magic.* By E. A. W. Budge, M.A., Litt.D., D.Lit.; with twenty illustrations. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1899; pp. xv + 234.) This is another volume in the series of "Books on Egypt and Chaldea," two of which, Budge's *Egyptian Idea of the Future Life* and King's *Babylonian Religion*, have already been noticed in this JOURNAL. It is interesting, not only and primarily as presenting an important side of Egyptian religion which must be set over against the higher phases, but also because of the survivals of this magic in classical and Christian times. A wealth of original material translated by the author, as well as his *obiter dicta*, make the volume unusually valuable.—*The Dragon, Image and Demon*; or, The Three Religions of China: Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism. By Rev. Hampden C. Du Bose. (Richmond: Presbyterian Committee of Publication, 1899; pp. 468.) This new edition of a useful book on Chinese religion (first published in 1885), by a missionary at Soochow, is welcome. It would be difficult to find another book, of moderate size and written in a popular style, in which the three faiths of China are more clearly and fully presented. The point of view is, of course,

Christian and missionary, but the author is sympathetic in spirit and faithful in portraying the good and the evil of these systems.—*Islam in Africa: Its Effects—Religious, Ethical and Social—upon the People of the Country.* By Rev. A. P. Atterbury, D.D. With Introduction by F. F. Ellinwood, D.D. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1899; pp. xxiv + 208.) In eleven interesting and well-reasoned chapters Dr. Atterbury gives a brief account of Mohammed and his system, discusses its history in Africa, and concludes that its work in the Dark Continent is harmful, a hindrance to the progress of the people in civilization and to the success of Christianity. In this conclusion he is in harmony with Mr. F. P. Noble, in his large work *The Redemption of Africa*. Both writers seem to have good grounds for their position as over against recent English scholars, of whom Bosworth Smith is a representative, who think Islam better fitted to the present stage of African development than is Christianity. One thing is certain: the advance of European nations into Africa means the supplanting of Islam in the near future among the larger number of African peoples.

—*The Gods of Old and the Story that They Tell.* By Rev. James A. Fitz Simon and Vincent A. Fitz Simon, M.D. (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1899; pp. xxiv + 456.) It is enough to state the idea and purpose of this book, which is to show that the ancient classical mythology, as preserved by the poets and mythographers of Greece and Rome, actually was the ancient form in which was taught the science and philosophy of the nineteenth century. All accepted modern theories and conclusions as to the origin of the world and man were anticipated by Hesiod, Ovid, and their train. Here is a rich feast for the curious, and we will not spoil their enjoyment by a single word of unsympathetic criticism.—*The Moral Order of the World in Ancient and Modern Thought.* By the late Alexander Balmain Bruce, D.D. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1899; pp. viii + 431; \$2.) This book contains the second series of Professor Bruce's Gifford Lectures before the University of Glasgow. It begins with a historical survey and estimate of the systems of antiquity, considered from the point of view of their attitude toward a moral order. Buddha, Zoroaster, the Greek tragedians, the Stoics, the Hebrew prophets, Job, and Christ are taken up, and their teachings analyzed and estimated. Modern thought is summed up in the discussion of Browning, and of modern dualism as represented by Huxley, Mill, the author of *Evil and Evolution*, Ritschlianism, Balfour, Kidd, and others. Clearness, vivacity, eminent fairness, and devout faith characterize these lectures, and intensify one's

sense of the loss which modern apologetics have suffered in the death of the author. Only two criticisms may be offered: (1) the author is a little behind the best investigation in his treatment of Buddha and Zoroaster; (2) we miss in the subjects discussed under the head of modern thought on a moral order the deterministic semi-Hegelianism of a flourishing school whose members range from Professor Pfeiderer to Professors Caird and Royce.—*Religionsgeschichtliche Parallele zum Alten Testament*. [Heft 3, dritter Jahrgang, 1899, of "Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie."] Von Paul Wurm. (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1899; pp. 47; M. 1.60.) One expects a rich feast in opening this pamphlet, a collection of materials from other peoples illustrating the character and growth of the religion of Israel. But the expectation is only moderately realized. The author is convinced of the error of modern students of religion who accept the evolutionary hypothesis as a working basis, and his thesis is an endeavor to set up against this method what he calls the biblical teaching concerning the history of religion. His foundation principle is what he holds to be Paul's view of the religious history of heathendom in the early chapters of Romans. His confirmation of this principle is the history of Israel as told according to the traditional order of the Old Testament books. The parallels are found in facts of religion among non-Christian peoples pointing to an original monotheism, and particularly in the history of the religions of India. He maintains that in this field there is a perfect likeness to the traditional view of the course of Israel's history, *i. e.*, from law to prophecy; that in Buddhism we have a transition from national to universal religion as that from Judaism to Christianity. The general impression made by the pamphlet is that, while the author has some good material, he has not worked out his ideas into clearness, nor understood sufficiently the positions of those whom he so passionately opposes.—*The Holy Bible and the Sacred Books of the East*. Four Addresses, to which is added a fifth Address on Zenāna Missions. By the late Sir M. Monier-Williams, K.C.I.E., D.C.L., LL.D. (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1900; pp. vi + 63; 1s. 6d.) In these brief addresses the late Boden professor of Sanskrit at Oxford vigorously promulgates his convictions about the sacred books of non-Christian nations. According to him they contain false religion and false philosophy. There is a vast gulf, unbridgeable, between them and the Bible. The doctrine of religious evolution is, therefore, false. Sir M. Monier-Williams was a capable scholar and a pious man, and his

utterances in these pages are worthy of consideration. His inferences, however, are too broad and his denunciations too sweeping to permit thoughtful men to accept them without more grounds than these addresses afford. We cannot take them, as he desires us to do, on his authority as a scholar and a Christian, however much we may admire him in both respects.—*Die Bibel in der Geschichte*. Beiträge zur Bibelfrage und zu einer Geschichtsphilosophie vom Mittelpunkt der biblischen Anschauung. Von Otto Ziemssen. (Gotha: Thienemann, 1899; pp. vii + 120; M. 2.40.) Ziemssen feels that the need of the age is a fuller and a correcter acceptance of the biblical teachings, and seeks to contribute to the recognition of that need by an exposition of the influence of the Bible upon the history of mankind. In true German fashion he introduces this not very narrow theme with a "vorbereitender Theil" of over fifty pages dealing with the power of literature, and especially of religious literature, in history, and with a series of brief expositions of the various non-biblical sacred books. The treatise is, therefore, in form disproportionate, but its spirit is free and devout, the author's knowledge and reasoning full and clear, and the theme one of surpassing interest and importance.—G. S. GOODSPEED.

*Babylonians and Assyrians: Life and Customs*. By Rev. A. H. Sayce, Professor of Assyriology at Oxford. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1899; pp. x + 263; \$1.25.) An immense amount of information is packed into this volume, which is such a one as only a master of Assyrian lore like Professor Sayce could produce. It is written in an easy, pleasant style, and the picturesque side of things is made prominent. The marks of too great rapidity of preparation are evident, however, by the repetitions, contradictions, and misprints which are too numerous to be excusable. The failure to furnish an index is disheartening.—G. S. GOODSPEED.

*Septuagintastudien III*. Von Professor Eberhard Nestle, Ph.D. (Stuttgart: Stuttgarter Vereins-Buchdruckerei, 1899; pp. 36.) This is a third section to the previously published two studies in the Septuagint, in which Professor Nestle, of Maulbronn, has made valuable contributions to the knowledge of the text and the history of the Greek version of certain Old Testament books. In the introduction he calls attention, and rightly, to the need of a more widespread acquaintance with and use of the Apocrypha of the Old Testament; and the present brochure is a contribution toward that end. It is mainly devoted to a study of

the Prayer of Manasses, treating of its printed text, the manuscript witnesses for it, the form and transmission of the text, and the more recent attention given to this writing. Six pages then discuss certain details of the text of the book of Tobit, comparing the readings of the Sinaitic with those of the Vatican and Alexandrian codices. Such work is essential to the critical determination of the biblical and associated literature, and has a scholar's reward.—CLYDE W. VOTAW.

*Historisch-kritische Bedenken gegen die Graf-Wellhausensche Hypothese von einem früheren Anhänger.* Den Studierenden der Theologie gewidmet. Von Wilhelm Möller. Mit einem Begleitwort versehen von Professor Dr. C. von Orelli. (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1899; pp. xii + 126; M. 2.) If Renan's dictum, that one must first have believed in a religion and then lost faith in it, to be able rightly to estimate it, be true also of other spheres of human life and thought, then the writer of this pamphlet is most thoroughly and properly equipped for his task. The book is another evidence of the new movement in Germany of partial reaction against the prevailing school of Old Testament criticism. Such a reaction is a good sign, for it will put the new views to the test of severe criticism from a point of view to which they have themselves led. The author divides his critique into two parts: (1) comparison of the law with the history of Israel, (2) comparison of the laws with one another. He writes clearly and strongly. The book should be widely read.—G. S. GOODSPEED.

*Die Psalmen.* Uebersetzt von D. Bernhard Duhm, ord. Professor der Theologie zu Basel. (Freiburg i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr, 1899; pp. 222; M. 3.50.) Professor Duhm, whose excellent commentary on the Psalms forms one of the *Hand-Commentar* series, has turned to practical account his technical knowledge, and given us in this little volume a metrical translation of the Psalter. It is intended primarily for popular use, but is based on an exhaustive study of the text. The superscriptions are omitted because not attributable to the authors of the several psalms over which they stand in the Massoretic text. Instead of Yahweh, Jhvh, or any other strange form, the author adopts *der Herr*. About twenty-five pages of introduction on the character and composition of the Psalter prepare the general reader for a lively appreciation of the excellent and simple translation that follows. The language chosen and the method of expression are striking and picturesque. Occasional footnotes contain either translations of passages

not accredited by the author to the original, or variants, or glosses. It is this kind of work that will bring the best results of specialists before the more intelligent laymen, and largely increase the influence of the best biblical scholarship of our day.—IRA M. PRICE.

*Der Gottesknecht des Deuterojesaja.* Eine kritisch-exegetische und biblisch-theologische Studie. Von Lic. theol. Gerhard Füllkrug. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1899; pp. 119; M. 2.80.) There seems to be no diminution of the books, pamphlets, and articles devoted to the solution of the problem of the *Ebed-Yahweh* passages of Isaiah, chaps. 40–66. These passages, Isa. 42: 1–7; 49: 1–6; 50: 4–9; 52: 13—53: 12, have been recently studied in detail, among others by Duhm, Schian, Ley, Laue, König, and Bertholet. The present investigation is, in the first place, an examination of the positions taken by the above-named and several other modern commentators. In the second place, the author carefully considers the questions involved and states clearly, in excellent form, his own conclusions on each of the passages under discussion. On Isa. 42: 1–7 he decides, on good grounds, that the prophet is speaking, not of a collective individual, but of a person, a single individual. The author of this passage was the same as that of the remainder of chaps. 40–48, and it was probably composed just after Cyrus' victory over Croesus. Isa. 49: 1–6 is not connected directly with chap. 48; and vs. 7 is not a continuation of vss. 1–6, but at this verse the same author begins anew. The reference in this passage is to a person, a single individual. Neither on linguistic nor on content grounds can this passage be divorced from the author of chaps. 40–48. Isa. 50: 4–9 in content and language furnishes no objection to its composition by the author of chaps. 40 ff. These verses treat of the same *Ebed* as 42: 1 ff. and 49: 1 ff., and this *Ebed* cannot be other than an individual. But the center of all the discussions of this theme is found in 52: 13—53: 12. Our author sums up his clear treatment, and on eminently sane grounds arrives at the following conclusions: (1) this passage has no organic connection with the context; (2) it forms a connected whole; in 53: 1 the prophet speaks and refers to the following verses where he speaks in the name of the people; (3) the Servant of Yahweh in this passage can only be an individual; (4) considered in and of itself, this passage is rather against its composition by the author of chaps. 40 ff.; (5) the author of this passage, who also composed the other three servant passages, very probably based this prophetic picture of the servant of



God on some real occurrence; (6) the author of chaps. 40 ff. wrote this passage also; (7) this passage was first written after the return from the exile. Summing up his first studies we may note: (1) that while no one of these passages is closely connected with its context, still there is no good reason for divorcing them from their present connections; (2) that the reference in all four passages is to an individual, to a single person; (3) that all four passages were composed by the same author; (4) that this author was the same as that of chaps. 40 ff.; (5) that the first three passages were composed during the exile, and the fourth, on the basis of an earlier event, after the return from the exile. The conclusion of his biblico-theological discussion is that the individual referred to in the preceding Isaiah passages is found in none other than "Christ Jesus, our Savior and Lord."—*Das Buch des Propheten Habakkuk*. Erklärt von Dr. Otto Happel, Prediger in Kitzingen. (Würzburg: Andreas Göbel, 1900; pp. 71; M. 2.) "For thirty years," the author tells us, "no monograph has appeared on Habakkuk from the Catholic point of view." Some of the former difficulties of this book are attributed by the author to the neglect by earlier exegetes of the critical value of the LXX and the Vulgate, especially where these two agree as over against the Massoretic text. The Chaldeans of this book are regarded as an ideal enemy, as representatives of the universal warfare carried on between God and the world. The author of this book is speaking primarily neither of Babylon, nor of Judah or Jerusalem, nor of the temple. The historical background of the book is not the Chaldean invasion, for it presupposes a post-exilic period. This is evidenced by the fact that 2:13 was borrowed from Jer. 51:58, and 1:9 contains in it one form (*Ḳadhima*) that points to the Greek period. In the division of the book, as well as in its proper interpretation, 1:5-11 occupies the chief place. That it refers to the fall of the Chaldeans is pronounced *falsch* at the outset. After reviewing the views of the principal exegetes he decides, as was foreseen, that this division should not be transferred and placed after 2:4, neither should it be stricken out. The book is a unit; without chap. 3 it would be a torso. Its earliest portions are 1:6-11; 2:5-8; 3:3-15. The editor of these prophetic pieces wove into them his own ingredients or contributions, making an artistic whole. Later additions are merely 2:18-20, by one or perhaps two writers. The canonical text embraces all of these portions, and its final redaction took place some time in the Greek period. While exhibiting considerable exegetical skill, the author is necessarily handicapped by his prepossessions

regarding the value of the LXX and the Vulgate. Inspired by the encyclical of Pope Leo XIII., November 18, 1893, as he acknowledges, he has made a useful addition to the exegetical literature of this difficult little book.—IRA M. PRICE.

*The Books of Chronicles.* Cambridge Series. By W. E. Barnes, D.D. (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1899; pp. xxxvi + 303; \$1.) The author occupies a conservatively critical position. He holds the generally received opinion that Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah formed originally a single work. He gives it, however, a very early date, contemporary with Nehemiah, ascribing the passages indicating a date from 300 to 250 B. C. to later editorial additions. In common with the more sober criticism of Chronicles, which has prevailed of late, this work recognizes the employment of many sources other than the canonical books. It is questionable if David's census can be included, however. And probably no distinction should be made between the series of prophetic histories and the books of the Chronicles of the kings of Israel and Judah.

Dr. Barnes unhesitatingly describes the chronicler as rather a religious commentator than a historian. He shows the inaccuracy of certain narratives and the hyperbolic character of others. The Levitical records he considers very uncertain and often anachronistic. At the same time, the historical basis of the records is sought with all fairness. A general view of the historicity of the Chronicles is afforded by a more detailed examination of five typical narratives: the victories of Abijah, Asa, and Jehoshaphat; the contest of Uzziah with the priests; the repentance of Manasseh. It is held that all are founded in fact.

A rigid criticism might consider that Dr. Barnes has sometimes been too concessive, and that some of his conjectures have a tendency to be "harmonistic," *e. g.*, in the price of the threshing-floor. But in general the work, while sympathetic, is judicial, and, in spite of its limited compass, is the most satisfactory commentary on Chronicles yet published in English.—THEO. G. SOARES.

*The Hebrew Tragedy.* By Colonel C. R. Conder, R.E., LL.D., D.C.L. (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons, 1900; pp. 206; 3s.) A rapid outline sketch of the course of Israel's history, with plenty of color, is what is attempted in this little volume. The panorama reaches from Abraham the Sheik swinging across the "broad gray" Euphrates with "his blue-gowned princess" to the

"terrible wandering Jew" who comes back each year to Calvary to hear a voice which bids him journey on. The story is as thrilling as ever, and the way it is told should interest a larger audience in the biblical history. An interesting feature in the narrative is the view that Buddhism had its part in the babel of voices that in Palestine and Syria preceded the advent of Jesus (p. 144). Of course, Colonel Conder has his fling at biblical criticism.—*Historical Geography of the Holy Land* (in the "Bible Class Primers"). By S. R. Macphail, M.A. With forty-two illustrations. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark; New York: Scribner; pp. 188; \$0.20.) This little book is a praiseworthy attempt at putting the geographical facts of Palestine in relation to its history. It is not very successful, however, because the author is not an expert in the details of biblical science. His archæology trips, *e. g.*, "the Hyksos can be traced by monumental testimony to Elam;" Mizraim is "the two mazzors." His history and chronology slip, *e. g.*, Jerusalem was destroyed in 577 B. C. (p. 98); Ashurbanipal took it in 650 B. C. (p. 99); Sennacherib's army was exterminated "when it lay before Jerusalem" (p. 77); Scripture and Sennacherib "exactly agree" as to the amount of Hezekiah's tribute (p. 78); the Phœnicians called their country *Chna* (p. 66); the Philistines "in any case were a Phœnician people" (p. 60). A strange statement about the Siloam inscription describing the completion of a tunnel "2580 years previously" occurs on p. 102. The book should be revised by a competent scholar before another edition appears. Apart from these weaknesses it will prove serviceable to many students.—*The Divine Discipline of Israel*. An Address and three Lectures on the Growth of Ideas in the Old Testament. By G. Buchanan Gray, M.A., of Mansfield College, Oxford. (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1900; pp. 128; \$0.75.) It is with the growth of ethical ideas in Israel that Mr. Gray is primarily concerned. In his first address he argues that "the reconstruction of Israel's history has increased rather than diminished the evidence for a divine discipline of Israel." He traces the religious history of Israel, as modern criticism has worked it out, from monolatry, or the worship of one god conjoined with the belief in many gods, to monotheism, and holds that the latter was triumphantly naturalized in Israel by the prophets at a time when it lay along the line of greatest resistance, and also when failure to accept it would have wrought moral disaster in the nation. The process is explicable, it would seem, only on the hypothesis of a special divine discipline. Mr. Gray would explain the divine choice or permission of a stage of

monolatry in Israel by noting how it intensified the holding to one God, and thus made the succeeding monotheism all the more quick and powerful. The three lectures on the growth of moral ideas in the Old Testament select for exposition three elements: (1) the morality of Jehovah, especially in its relation to human conduct; (2) individual responsibility and ideals of human conduct; and (3) the deepening of the motive of conduct. The history of these three elements is followed through the literature of the Old Testament, and a growth is indicated, the culmination of which is found in the person and work of Jesus. The discussion is sometimes too brief to be altogether satisfactory, but, as method and results are along right lines, one can only hope that the author will enlarge his little book into a history of the Old Testament ethics.—*The Bible for Home Reading*. Edited with comments and reflections for the use of Jewish parents and children. By C. G. Montefiore. First part, to the second visit of Nehemiah to Jerusalem, third edition; second part, containing selections from the wisdom literature, the Prophets, and the Psalter, together with extracts from the Apocrypha. (London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd.; New York: The Macmillan Co., 1899; pp. xviii + 624; xxvii + 799; \$2.25 a volume.) Can the modern critical view of the Old Testament furnish a Bible which can be domesticated, which parents and children can read with edification? Mr. Montefiore believes that it can, and has made a practical venture in that direction with these two beautifully printed volumes. They are intended for Jewish children, and this fact will limit the range of their usefulness, for the author is not at all backward in emphasizing his belief. His use of the term "Bible" is explicable by this—he does not include the New Testament, for which he has no such high regard as Christians are wont to have. His method is, in beginning with Abraham's history, to print a paragraph of the Scripture in large type and to follow with reflections or comments, critical, expository, or moral and religious, in smaller type. Sometimes these comments occupy a few lines, sometimes several pages. A vast deal of admirable scholarship has gone into the book and is put in a simple, popular way. The author's ideals are high, his spirit sympathetic, his admonitions full of pith and sense. His point of view permits him freely to criticise the form and spirit of the Old Testament writings, and the imperfect morality of Israel, in the various stages of its history, frequently falls under his condemnation. As to the success of his effort, as the author says in his admirably frank preface to Part I, "time must decide." We cannot but sympathize with him both in his

recognition of the need for a Bible for the home, in the reading of which the new learning shall make its contribution, and also in his own scholarly attempt to meet the need. We also trust, with him, that "a child whose religious training is based on" the author's "*Bible for Home Reading* will learn to love the Bible with a love at once emotional and intelligent."—G. S. GOODSPEED.

*The Magna Charta of the Kingdom.* By George F. Genung, D.D. (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1900; pp. vi + 164; \$0.60.) The purpose of this volume is to "indicate the underlying unity which binds together the various precepts of the Sermon on the Mount, and the fundamental relation of its teaching to all Christian ethics." This purpose the author accomplishes by showing that the sermon is not a "code or digest of specific commands," to be enforced by a central and external power upon human society, whose reconstitution is thus to be accomplished. It is, rather, the setting forth of ideal truth which will produce in humanity, whose eyes are opened to it, unrest and striving until its lofty spirit is fully apprehended and realized in life. In this way the difficulties into which a purely literal interpretation of many of the specific statements of the sermon (as those touching the oath and self-defense) has led, are avoided. It becomes a statement of the "morality which is the world's savor and light;" no longer an impracticable dream, but absolutely necessary to the production of a perfect humanity. While the details of interpretation where indicated are sometimes open to unfavorable criticism, and the section titles do not always adequately describe or suggest the content of the section, the treatment is stimulating and suggestive, and the book will well repay careful reading by all who desire a just perspective of our Lord's teaching in his great discourse.—*The Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Philippians.* Explained by C. R. D. Biggs, B.D. (London: Methuen & Co., 1900; pp. 190; 1s. 6d.) This volume is one of a series of expositions of the books of Scripture entitled the "Churchman's Bible," which, within the limits indicated by this title, are similar in purpose and method to the *Expositor's Bible*. The present volume is the result of an independent, careful, and sympathetic study of the text, and furnishes in compact form a most readable and a suggestive interpretation of the epistle. As the initial volume of the series it admirably fulfils its design of aiding the general reader in the practical and devotional study of Scripture.—H. T. DEWOLFE.

*The Messages of Paul*, arranged in historical order, analyzed, and freely rendered in paraphrase, with introductions. By George B. Stevens, Ph.D., D.D. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1900; pp. 268; \$1.25, net.) Two years ago the substance of this book was published under the title *The Epistles of Paul in Modern English*. The book has now been reset with some revision, and with the addition of introductory paragraphs and a preliminary essay on the epistolary writings of the apostolic age. The new volume is, therefore, much improved. Professor Stevens succeeded admirably in getting Paul's language into present-day English; the most conspicuous fault is a heavy Latinized diction. The interpretation is well done, and the value of such a commentary to the non-professional Bible student is great. Such literature should be widely used among the general Bible-reading public.—CLYDE W. VOTAW.

*Die Wirkungen des heiligen Geistes nach der populären Anschauung der apostolischen Zeit und der Lehre des Apostels Paulus: Eine biblisch-theologische Studie.* Von Lic. Hermann Gunkel, a. o. Prof. der Theol. an der Univ. Berlin. Zweite Auflage. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1899; pp. xii + 109; M. 2.80.) The present edition of this book—a most admirable example of historically grounded lexicography, in the service of biblical theology—differs from the first (1888) only in its preface. But this latter is itself a most instructive piece of writing, well illustrating by its criticisms of the author's own work, and by its suggestions respecting the methods to be pursued in further work along this line, the steady progress that is making toward a more thoroughly historical basis and method for biblical theology and so, indirectly, for dogmatics. Those who have the first edition will want this second also for its preface. To those who have not the first the present may be commended as a most enlightening, albeit confessedly imperfect, piece of lexicographical study.—*A Problem in New Testament Criticism.* The Stone Lecture for 1897-8. By Melancthon Williams Jacobus, D.D. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons; pp. 285; \$1.50.) This volume from the New Testament professor in the Hartford Seminary deals mainly with the problem of the authority of the apostles, as affected on the one hand by environment and on the other by the Spirit of God. The author recognizes a real influence of environment, not wholly to the disadvantage of the apostles, and a real development, yet maintains that to the apostles was given a unique function in interpreting, as even Jesus in

his ministry could not do by reason of the incompleteness of his own work and the limitations of his mission, the initial facts of Christianity. The book has not the unity which its title would suggest, nor the clearness and conclusiveness which could have been desired. Between the first chapter, which contends for a certain *method* in historical criticism, emphasizing the importance of beginning with internal evidence, and the later chapters there is an open gulf, over which we discover no bridge, unless it be the assumption that the method advocated in chap. I will establish the critical positions taken for granted in the later chapters. The proposition that "with the apostolic ministry development of the fundamental teaching of Christianity ceased," which is almost the central one of the book, is ambiguous in statement, and true, so far as we can discover, in neither of the possible senses. But the book is one of learning and ability, and it will do good in stimulating thought on the important topics with which it deals. By the way, why should an interpreter coin the word "misexegete"?—ERNEST D. BURTON.

*The Development of Doctrine in the Early Church.* By John S. Banks. (London: Charles H. Kelly, 1900; pp. viii + 213; 2s. 6d.) This little volume is one of the "Books for Bible Students." It is a convenient summary of the leading doctrines of the church during the first four and a half centuries. It is based especially upon Seeberg's *Lehrbuch*, but constant use has been made of Harnack's *History of Dogma* and Loofs' *Leitfaden*. The author has shown good judgment in his selections, and the result is a well-balanced consideration of the different phases of the development. The book will be useful to those who want a very general view of doctrinal development.—*Early Church History*, from the Apostolic Age to A. D. 430. With Preface by the Very Rev. Dean of Norwich. (London: Charles J. Thynne; pp. 514; 2s. 6d., *net*.) We have in this volume a series of fifteen lectures on the lives and times of the Christian Fathers, by as many distinguished churchmen. The purpose of the course is to reach the masses who are bound by no church ties, and who have consequently fallen into intellectual looseness and error in all matters pertaining to the formularies of faith. The thought seems to have been suggested by the extraordinary success of the American plan of imparting instruction to the masses by means of lectures. It was but natural that these lectures should be given in the naves of the great cathedrals, where all the surroundings would be as impressive as it would be possible to make

them. These lectures, while popular, cannot fail to be of interest to all who read them. The lecturer's point of view is always evident, and thus, although one may have especially studied such characters as Origen, Athanasius, and Augustine, he will be sure to catch some new glimpses. — *Die Renaissance in Florenz und Rom*. Acht Vorträge von Karl Brandi. (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1900; pp. iv + 258; M. 5.) This is a very charming book. The author shows himself to be a scholar, and a critic with a very simple and attractive style. It is consequently almost a necessary book for the beginner in studies of the Renaissance, and the mature student will find it full of interesting suggestion. Florence and Rome were the two chief centers of intellectual development in Italy during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and the author has rightly chosen them as the basis of his study. In these two cities all the great spirits meet, from Dante to Michelangelo. The work seems to be devoted almost exclusively to biography, and yet it is not really so. The great characters, such as Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, Michelangelo, Savonarola, Lorenzo de' Medici, are vividly described in a few words. But they are seen in their proper historical settings. The result is that most of the leading points of interest are involved, and the reader will come to the end of the volume with a very satisfactory view of the entire period. We do not know of any book in English that corresponds to this attractive little volume. —J. W. MONCRIEF.

· *La Faculté de Théologie de Paris et ses docteurs les plus célèbres*. Par l'Abbé P. Feret, docteur ès théologie, ancien chapelain de Sainte-Geneviève, chanoine honoraire d'Évreux, curé de Saint-Maurice de Paris. Époque moderne. Tome premier: XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle, phases historiques. (Paris: A. Picard et Fils, 1900; pp. viii + 462.) The encyclopædic character of this work is much in evidence in the first volume, dealing with the modern period. The sixteenth was a stirring century. The Theological Faculty of Paris, holding, as it did, a high place among the authorities of the world, was naturally drawn into all the struggles of the time. The author attempts to indicate the attitude of the faculty toward the important questions of the century. The principal struggle of the period was, of course, with Protestantism and the men who endeavored to preach its tenets. Luther, Calvin, Lefèvre, Étienne, and others kept the faculty busy publishing censures and refutations. The faculty was also very active in condemning heretical books, prominent among which was Étienne's translation of the New Testament.



Reuchlin, with his studies of the Old Testament in Hebrew, fared badly at her hands. She kept an "Index Expurgatorius" of her own and published frequent editions of it. She was also drawn into the quarrel over the divorce of Henry VIII. The author tries to trace her actions in all the important movements. Being a partisan Catholic, his statements of certain cases can hardly be taken as adequate. His point of view may be known from the fact that for the lives of Luther and Calvin he quotes only the works of Audin.—OLIVER J. THATCHER.

*Gustav Adolf und die schwedische Satisfaktion.* Von Walter Struck. Sonderabdruck aus *Historische Vierteljahrschrift*, II. Jahrg., Heft 3 u. 4. (Leipzig: Druck und Verlag von B. G. Teubner, 1899; pp. 97; M. 2.80.) It is the general opinion of writers on the Thirty Years' War that the early death of Gustavus Adolphus was fortunate both for Germany and for him. For Germany, because he would have undertaken to control her, had his plans been carried out, and would have prevented her free development. For him, because the effort to control Germany would have led to endless strife, in which he would have appeared as a foreign tyrant, instead of the hero of the Protestant religion. This opinion Herr Struck rejects. He bases his argument upon a careful examination of the accessible evidence concerning the indemnity for Sweden which Gustavus Adolphus intended to demand.—*Supplementary History of American Methodism. A Continuation of the Author's Abridged History of American Methodism.* By Abel Stevens, LL.D. (New York: Eaton & Mains; Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings; pp. 259; \$1.50.) The *Abridged History of American Methodism* by Dr. Stevens came down only to 1866. The present volume continues the narrative to 1899. It exhibits the same marvelous industry in collecting facts and dates for which the other works of the author are distinguished. The publisher might have done better by it. The portraits of the Methodist bishops with which it is illustrated are coarse wood-cuts. There is no index.—*Anerben und Theilungssystem dargestellt an den zwei pfälzischen Gemeinden Gerhardsbrunn und Martinshöhe.* Von Dr. Wilhelm Mayer. Mit 5 Karten. (Erlangen und Leipzig: Deichert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1899; pp. viii + 47; M. 2.) This book gives us a careful study of a remarkable social experiment which has been tried in Germany for several generations. The scene of the experiment is two small districts named Gerhardsbrunn and Martinshöhe, which lie near to each other, are of about the same extent, and are of similar soil and climate. In Gerhardsbrunn the oldest son

inherits everything, but with a certain obligation to care for his brothers and sisters. In Martinshöhe the children inherit equally, and hence a sort of communism or nationalism prevails. As the two systems of inheritance have run beside each other for a century or more, each has wrought out its natural results. Dr. Mayer makes a thorough statistical examination of these results, and exhibits them in a variety of tables and charts. He shows that the system of minute division has given Martinshöhe a much larger population than that of Gerhardsbrunn, a much larger number of houses, and a much larger production of marketable animals and vegetables. He creates an impression altogether favorable to this system of inheritance. But the impression is much modified when one reads the preface, written by another man, and based upon the same statistics. Here it is shown that in Martinshöhe, while the population is larger, it is more ignorant; that the percentage of illiteracy is far greater; and that intemperance is far more prevalent. In the work of Dr. Mayer we have a favorable showing of physical results; in the preface an unfavorable showing of moral results. The little treatise is as important as it is curious and interesting.—*The Latin Hymns in the Wesleyan Hymn Book: Studies in Hymnology*. By Frederic W. Macdonald. (London: Charles H. Kelley, 1899; pp. 158; 2s. 6d.) Mr. Macdonald writes concerning twelve or fourteen of the great Latin hymns. He shows a loving and familiar acquaintance with them, and also with the work of other critics in this field. His style is graceful and fascinating, and the reader does not willingly close the book till he has finished it.—FRANKLIN JOHNSON.

*Samson Occom and the Christian Indians of New England*. By W. DeLoss Love, Ph.D. (Boston and Chicago: The Pilgrim Press, 1899; pp. xi+379; \$1.50.) Mr. Love endeavors to answer the question "whether the Indian is capable of being permanently established in the ways of civilized life; and if so, what conditions will best accomplish this end." He has evidently exhausted the available sources in this study of Christianity as a moral and social factor among the Indians of New England.

The work of Samson Occom is the central feature in the book, although much else is included. Occom, a Mohegan Indian, blessed with a Christian mother, converted to Christ at seventeen, undertook to secure the spiritual welfare of his people by adopting precisely the plan of John Eliot at Natick—that of a permanent Christian community,

dependent upon the soil for a living, and maintaining its own needful Christian and civil institutions. For his labors to this end Occom "will always be regarded as the most famous Christian Indian of New England." The Revolution, which hindered or frustrated more than one missionary movement in America, was a serious check to the development of the plans of Occom and his co-laborers. The later migrations of their colonies to the West, the form of their own government (patterned on the Connecticut statutes), and their various controversies with the white settlers and with the government are fully discussed. A family history of the Brothertown Indians adds much to the bulk, and a full index to the value, of the book.—GEO. E. BURLINGAME.

*Romanism in its Home.* By John H. Eager, D.D. With an Introduction by John A. Broadus, D.D. (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1899; pp. xix+300; \$1.) Dr. Eager's delineation of Romanism at home comes to us strongly recommended by the late John A. Broadus, D.D., and by eight Protestant missionaries now laboring in Italy, and hence acquainted with the facts as eyewitnesses. The picture is dark from beginning to end. Perhaps the best estimate of it is contained in a letter from Rev. Geo. B. Taylor, D.D., the author of *Italy and the Italians*, who intimates that neither the worst nor the best is told in these pages. There are some gleams of light which Dr. Eager does not permit us to see, and some features so black that he would not soil his pages with them. The book is valuable to those who wish to know what the papacy does for a people which falls under its control.—FRANKLIN JOHNSON.

*Dwight L. Moody: Impressions and Facts* by Henry Drummond, with an Introduction by George Adam Smith. (New York: McClure, Phillips & Co., 1900; pp. 125; \$1.) This is one of the most sympathetic and just appreciations of Mr. Moody's character and work which have thus far appeared—intensely stimulating and well worth a second reading.—WM. R. SCHOEMAKER.

*Die Gegenwart des Herrn im heiligen Abendmahl. Eine biblisch-exegetische Untersuchung.* Von Johannes Watterich, o. ö. Professor der Geschichte A. D., Dr. phil. et theol. (Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1900; pp. 88; M. 2.) This book is dated in the present year of grace, but, judging from its spirit, it must have floated down from the controversial age of Lutheran church

history. The author undertakes to prove the doctrine of consubstantiation by the declarations of Christ about his flesh and blood in the sixth chapter of John, and he shows to his own satisfaction that Christ is there engaged in teaching a doctrine of the eucharist. One who can believe this interpretation of the passage can easily believe the doctrine of consubstantiation. The author sprinkles his pages freely with exclamation-points, dashes, italics, and other means of expressing emphasis, and thus gives the reader the constant impression of a loud voice and violent gesticulation.—*Taufe, Wiedergeburt und Kindertaufe in Kraft des heiligen Geistes*. Von Hermann Cremer, Doktor der Theologie und der Rechte, ord. Professor der Theologie in Greifswald. (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1900; pp. 76.) In this little essay Dr. Cremer undertakes to establish a harmony between the Lutheran dogma of justification through faith and the Lutheran dogma of regeneration in infant baptism. It is almost needless to say that he fails, as all his predecessors in the effort, including Luther himself, have failed.—FRANKLIN JOHNSON.

*Der Ausbau der praktischen Theologie zur systematischen Wissenschaft. Ein Beitrag zur Reform des theologischen Studiums*. Von Dr. Martin von Nathusius, ord. Professor der Theologie in Greifswald. (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1899; pp. 50; M. 0.90.) Practical theology in Germany is a group of studies including liturgics, homiletics, catechetics, pastoral work, church polity, and inner and outer missions. The author of this treatise seeks for some single conception to serve as an organic principle for the whole group, by means of which it can be built up into a scientific structure. He finds this in church activity, and he finds the proper definition of church activity in the great commission. From this conception he constructs an order in which the different branches of practical theology should be pursued by the student. Possibly his exhaustive discussion may possess a certain degree of practical value, though it does not seem to me of vital importance that the student should become acquainted with church polity before homiletics, or with homiletics before church polity.—FRANKLIN JOHNSON.

*The Divine Force in the Life of the World*. Lowell Institute Lectures. By Alexander McKenzie. (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1899; pp. 334; \$1.50.) The aim of these lectures is to identify the historic forces of civilization with those of revealed religion. The point of

view is that of an old-school theologian with new theological sympathies, and the method of treatment is expository. Dr. McKenzie holds that the Bible account is still our worthiest theory of man's origin, and that sacred history furnishes the most satisfactory record of his footprints and his evolution. Along all ancient roads signboards point to Bethlehem, and early Christian literature, despite the fires through which it has passed, establishes still the character, work, and teaching of Jesus of Nazareth, while the intervening centuries do but unfold and realize his ideals. Civilization even now is obliged to acknowledge the supremacy of his models and the preëminence of his character. His will controls in human progress. Mankind is fulfilling his petition, "Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done." "We say the world is lost, but we must also say it is found, and some day we shall say it is saved."

The book is optimistic and oracular, but reverent and healthful. There would be gain in brevity, clearness, and grip had the lectures been rewritten for publication in book form.—EDWARD BRAISLIN.

*The Religion of Tomorrow.* By Frank Crane. (Chicago: Herbert S. Stone & Co., 1899; pp. 370; \$1.50.) This book is an effort to get rid of whatever is artificial in theology and to emphasize what is vital. Its fundamental proposition is that "religion is the personal influence of God." It is to be commended for its endeavor after reality, and for its insistence upon the direct contact between God and the soul as constituting the essence of religious experience. The author professes to hold to every doctrine of evangelical Christianity, but he attempts a new interpretation, which he believes to represent "present-day evangelical thought." The most manifest defect of this book is a want of carefulness. The theme demands careful, if not philosophical, treatment. The author is in earnest and has a message. But he has been too hasty in putting his message in the form of a book. For one thing, his style is careless, sometimes slovenly. The manuscript received little or no revision. Moreover, his message is not quite clear to his own mind; he has not thought it through. He asserts, but he does not make clear, the relation between his theme and the subjects of the successive chapters. The element of *ratiocination* appears too little. And yet this book contains many good things, not a few specimens of real insight. In short, the book is good enough to make one feel that it ought to have been very much better.—J. W. A. STEWART.

*Figures of Speech Used in the Bible*: Explained and Illustrated. By E. W. Bullinger, D.D. (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode; New York: E. & J. B. Young & Co., 1898; pp. xviii + 1104; \$10.) This is a thorough treatise on the figures of speech found in the Bible. It stands alone in its completeness. The most comprehensive work on this subject hitherto written was by Solomon Glassius, a converted Jew, who flourished in Germany during the first half of the seventeenth century. But his work is in Latin, and has never been translated. Probably the most exhaustive treatment of the subject in English, before the appearance of our author's treatise, is by G. W. Hervey in his *System of Christian Rhetoric*, published in 1873. But his discussion of figures of speech is only a subordinate part of a larger plan. It remained for our author to survey the whole field that others had only partially explored.

His classification is new and scientific. Under it he treats of more than two hundred figures of speech found in the Scriptures. Some of these figures contain from thirty to forty varieties. The author gives the Greek and Latin name of each, its pronunciation, definition, and English equivalent. He also quotes passages of Scripture in which each figure is used, all of which are fully explained. Of these passages, nearly eight thousand in number, there is a complete index, as well as indexes of the Hebrew and Greek words explained in the body of the work.

Since a clear understanding of the figure of speech employed in any given passage of Scripture often unlocks for us its innermost meaning, this will be for the preacher and Bible-class teacher a very valuable book of reference.—GALUSHA ANDERSON.

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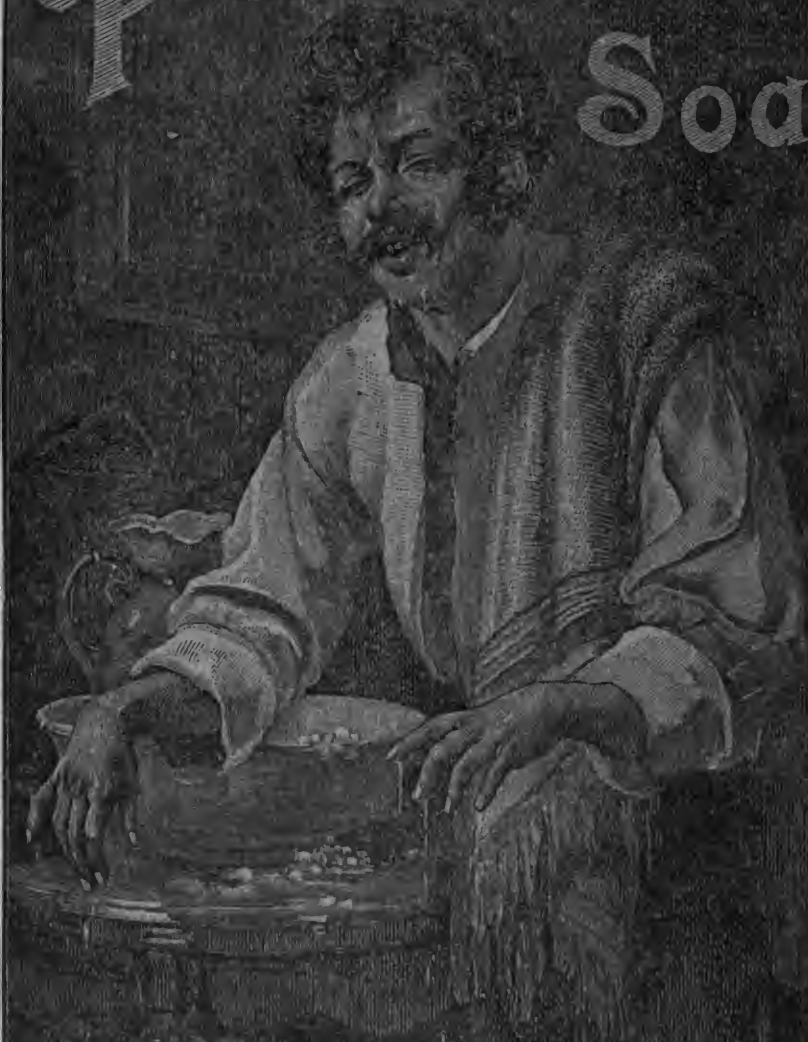
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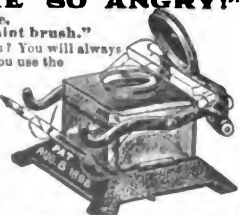
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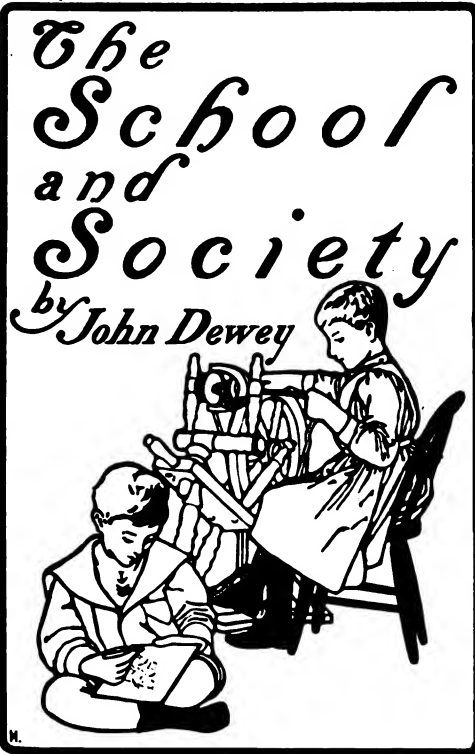
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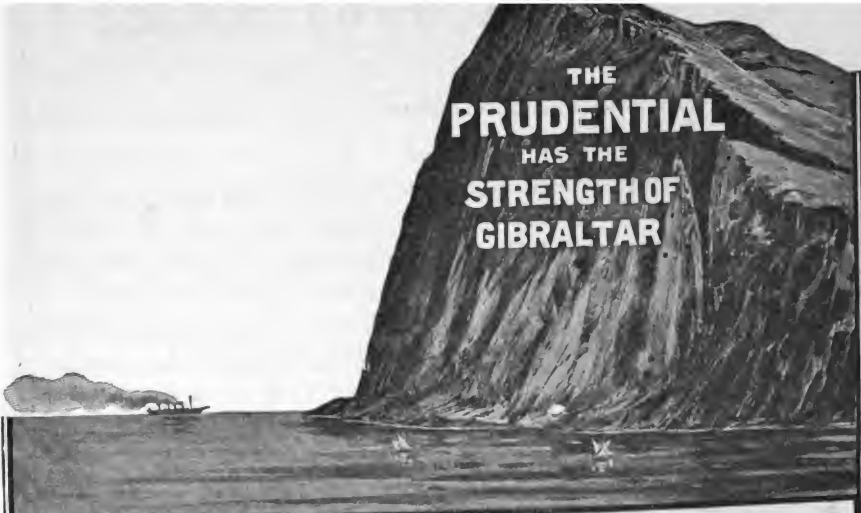
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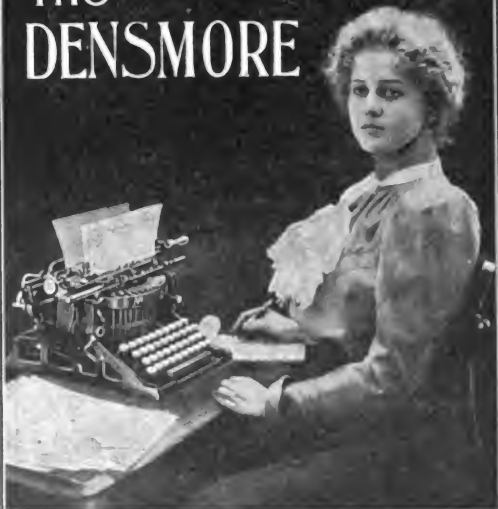
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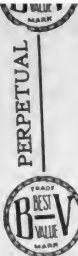
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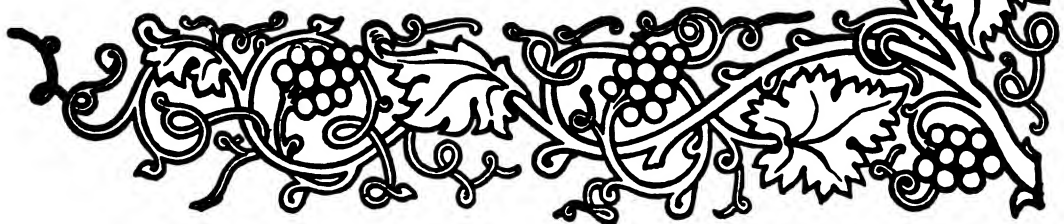
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